

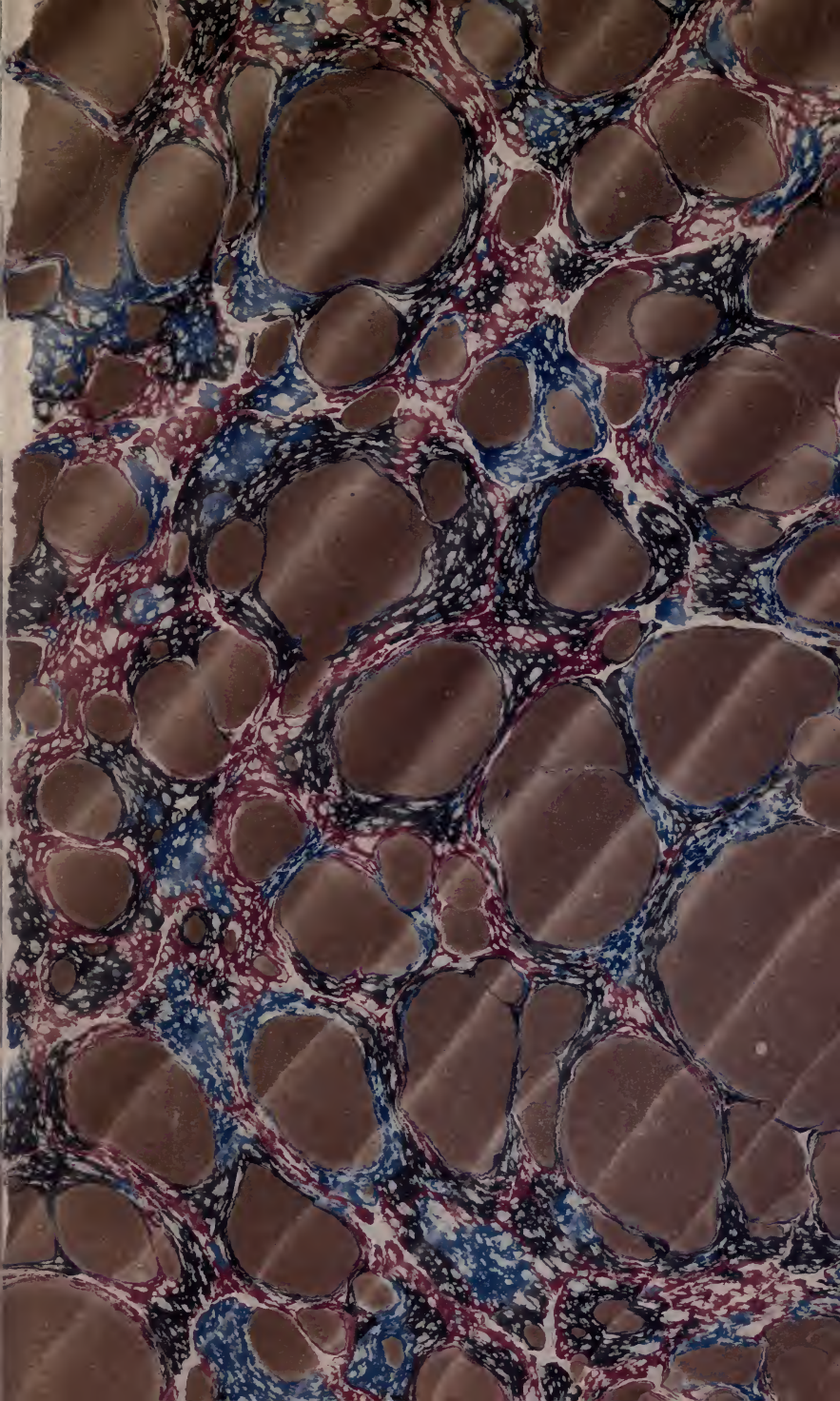
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MARCH, 1850.

ART. I.—*The History of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon.*
By PROSPER MERIMEE, with Additional Notes. 2 vols., 8vo.:
London, Bentley, 1849.

THERE is a force and significance in many of the simple epithets by which the mediæval nations were wont to distinguish their sovereigns, which it would be difficult to surpass by any of the modern refinements of language. The history of the hateful reign of Pedro I. of Castile is told, if not with the same distinctness, certainly with infinitely more moral effect, by the single adjective in which his contemporaries embodied their notions regarding it, than by a full and detailed account of the enormities through which he merited this odious epithet. And, if the value of history be measured by the lesson which it conveys, it is impossible to doubt the importance of these compendious registers of the popular judgment upon the character of the sovereign, not merely as a record of the past, but still more as a warning for the future. There are few rulers, however selfish or depraved, who could be entirely insensible to the contrast between the place occupied in popular history by such names as those of Lewis the Pious or Alfonso the Wise, and that assigned by the contempt and execration of past and present generations, to the memory of Carlos the Bad or Peter the Cruel; still fewer are there, perhaps, so hardened as to be entirely beyond its influence.

At the same time the popular voice, then as now, was far from being infallible. Many of the means of judging of the conduct, and still more of the motives, of the sovereign, were beyond the reach of the great body of the people in those days; and the documents which the

research of modern historians, day after day, brings to light, often afford a clearer insight into the character and the opinions of the men of the past, than the mass of their contemporaries, with all their opportunities of observation, could boast of enjoying. A chance revelation in a confidential letter,—a secret stipulation embodied in an obscure state-paper, may go far to change the character of a whole series of measures; and the historian possessed of this clue to the motives and the ulterior designs of the actors, may be enabled to reverse the verdict which those among whom they lived and acted had pronounced, upon imperfect or mutilated evidence. It would be easy to point out many instances in which modern researches of this character have been attended with the most marked success.

Hence it is of very great importance that the verdicts of past times, even where they appear to have been most unhesitating and most unanimous, should be subjected to a strict and rigorous revisal, and it may be doubted whether a certain amount of scepticism be not a very desirable element of the enquiry: But here, as elsewhere, scepticism has its limits. Take the very lowest estimate you please of one of those popular judgments in history, it is impossible not to regard it as, at least, entitled to be held as *prima facie* evidence, and to assume it as good until it shall have been rebutted. To discard it upon mere conjecture or suspicion, is as much at variance with the just principles of philosophy as it is contrary to the technical rules of evidence; much more illogical would it be to form for oneself an arbitrary hypothesis, in opposition to the traditionary belief, to explain thereby every motive, as well as every action, which forms the subject of controversy, and to bend, at one's own pleasure, into conformity therewith, facts, characters, opinions, and even records themselves. To do this would be to change history into romance, and to upturn every established principle of legitimate historical criticism.

It was with a considerable amount of curiosity, therefore, that we took up M. Merimée's History of Peter I. of Castile and Leon, traditionally entitled "the Cruel." Notwithstanding the universality of this designation among his contemporaries, some controversy arose in later times, as to the precise meaning, if not as to the strict justice, of the appellation. When the grandson of his illegitimate brother and successful rival, Don Enrique, had strength-

ened his own title to the throne by allying himself, about twenty years after Don Pedro's death, with his granddaughter, Donna Costanza, the tone of the court insensibly moderated itself in speaking of the memory of Pedro. Under the reign, too, of the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, in which the policy pursued (though in a very different way, and on very different principles,) by Don Pedro for the extinction of feudalism, became finally triumphant; the community of principle begot a certain degree of sympathy with the ancient champion of independent kingship, and the traditionary appellative, *Don Pedro el Cruel*, was softened into *Don Pedro el Justiciar*. Later writers have professedly undertaken his vindication. The Conde de la Roca published a short vindication of him in 1648, and a more elaborate one, by Don Josef Ledo del Pozo, appeared in the latter part of the last century. Neither of these, however, can be said to have weakened in the slightest degree, the credibility of his contemporary chronicler, Ayala, whose history is the great source from which the judgment of later historians, as Zurita and Mariana, had been derived. M. Merimée, however, undertook to investigate the subject anew; and was understood to have made, with that object, extensive researches for original documents in various repositories, both in Spain and in other countries. The result, according to M. Merimée himself, has been such as to confirm in the strongest manner the authority of Ayala, of whose trustworthiness the Introduction to the History contains a full and elaborate apology, as well as a distinct disclaimer of any intention of vindicating Don Pedro. How great, therefore, has been our surprise to find that M. Merimée, while he professes to follow Ayala as his great authority, and in many cases prefers his statements to the united testimony of the other chroniclers, dissents from him, nevertheless, in numberless instances, when his judgment is unfavourable to Don Pedro; and, in defiance of his testimony, and often of the combined testimonies of the other historians, undertakes, frequently without a particle of counter evidence, to reject as improbable, and even as untrue, the account which he has given, not alone of the motives, but even of the actions of the Castilian king. The key to M. Merimée's seemingly inconsistent scheme of criticism, and the explanation of his evident partiality for Don Pedro, are unhappily but too apparent. He is one of that

class of writers, too numerous in France, from whom the Church, whether of the Middle Ages or of later times, meets but scanty favour. Don Pedro, like most of the tyrants of the time, was an anti-churchman, and probably a practical unbeliever. As in his life he was a flagitious contemner of the Church law, so in his policy he was one of the most rapacious, simoniacal, and sacrilegious oppressors that the Church of Spain has ever seen. Hence, we fear, most of his virtues in the eyes of his biographer.

The general history of Spain during the fourteenth century is, in many respects, exceedingly curious and interesting; and we had intended to avail ourselves of this opportunity of entering at some length into the subject. But circumstances have rendered it necessary that we should postpone this design; and, for the present, we must content ourselves with a brief summary of the leading facts of Don Pedro's reign, and an examination of a few of the points in which M. Merimée ventures to dissent in his favour from the popular notion entertained regarding his character, and from the express statements of former historians.

Don Pedro I., surnamed the Cruel, was the son of Alfonso XI., of Castile, and of Donna Maria, the Infanta of Portugal and daughter of Alfonso IV. of that kingdom, surnamed The Brave. He was born in 1334, and was the only legitimate heir to the throne. His father however, soon after his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, had attached himself to a favourite mistress, Donna Leonor de Guzman, who had borne him a numerous family, nine sons and one daughter, for all of whom, though illegitimate, a large inheritance had been secured. The eldest, Don Enrique, was named Count (then a royal title) of Trastamara, and held rank as the first subject of the crown. He was about two years older than the legitimate heir of the throne; and, partly from his greater age, partly from the ascendancy maintained over the king by his mother, had, in common with his brothers, enjoyed a larger share of his father's affection and confidence than the legitimate prince, Don Pedro.

Alfonso XI., in the very moment of victory over the Moors, fell a victim to the well-known epidemic of the 14th century—the "Black Death"—on Good Friday, March 27th, 1350. His legitimate son, Pedro, then in his sixteenth year, succeeded, for the time, without opposition.

At this period the peninsula was divided into five separate kingdoms,—Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Portugal, and Granada. Of these, Castile was by far the most considerable. Aragon, the next in importance, owed a good deal of its influence to its naval power. Navarre, though small in extent, scanty in population, and poor in natural production, derived a good deal of weight from its commanding the passes of the Pyrenees, and holding the key of the entire territory of the peninsula. Portugal was comparatively weak and exposed; and Granada was tottering on the verge of that ruin into which it was plunged for ever about a century later. The conflicting interests of these monarchies opened the way to endless intrigues, jealousies, and treasons.

The young king of Castile, at his accession, found the administration of public affairs vested unreservedly in the hands of Don Juan Alonso de Albuquerque, the favourite and minister of his father. For a time he trusted himself implicitly to the guidance of his minister. But a severe and protracted illness into which he fell soon after his accession, awakened the pretensions of the different claimants to the succession, who speculated upon his decease; and by developing the tendencies of the various parties and individuals who took a share in public affairs, laid the foundation of that habitual jealousy and suspicion which, when he recovered from this illness, and ever afterwards, was the bane of his political as well as his private life. One of the most powerful of the nobles, or *Ricos Hombres*, named Garci Laso de la Vega, had incurred the hostility of the minister Albuquerque, by the part which he took during this interval of suspense, and the vengeance with which he was visited forms the first scene in that series of cruel and bloody tragedies which have won for Don Pedro the revolting epithet by which he is known in history. It occurred in Burgos during the first progress of the young king through his hereditary kingdom. We shall transcribe the account of it, as the first step in Pedro's career of blood.

“On the night following the arrival of the king, an esquire, attached to the queen-mother, secretly entered Garci Laso's quarters, bringing a mysterious warning from that princess: ‘Whatever invitation he might receive, he was to beware of appearing before the king.’ The proud Castilian took no notice of this friendly hint, and far from attributing it to a feeling of interest in his safety, felt persuaded that his enemies, dreading an open conflict, wished to keep him away in order to make

their accusations in his absence. Early in the morning he entered the palace, attended by his son-in-law, his grandson, and a few gentlemen and burghers, the ordinary retinue of a great noble at that period. The gates were more than usually guarded, and throughout the whole palace might be remarked mysterious preparations and unusual excitement. In the great hall the king awaited him, seated upon the throne, and surrounded by esquires in the service of Albuquerque, all armed with swords and poniards, and wearing coats of mail under their dress.

"Hardly had Garci Laso appeared in the king's presence, than the queen-mother, in evident agitation, precipitately quitted the hall, followed by the Bishop of Palencia, her chancellor, as though to avoid witnessing the scene of violence which she had anticipated. Her departure was the signal for action. Immediately some men-at-arms seized the three burghers who had entered with Garci Laso, and dragged them out of the hall. At the same time Albuquerque, who was standing near the king, addressing an alcalde of the court, named Domingo Juan, said: 'Alcalde, you know your duty.' Then the alcalde advanced towards the king, and speaking in a low tone of voice, but still in the hearing of the minister, 'Sire,' he asked, 'do you command me? I cannot act without your orders.' The king in a hesitating voice, like one repeating a lesson that had been conned beforehand, cried out: 'Ballesteros, arrest Garci Laso!' Three esquires, belonging to Albuquerque seized the Lord of Vega; he saw that his doom was sealed, but too proud to implore mercy, he said to the king, 'Sire, be pleased to give me a priest to whom I may confess.' Then turning towards one of the men who held him, 'Ruy Fernandez, my friend,' he said, 'will you go to Dona Leonor, my wife, and ask her for that indulgence from the Pope which is in her keeping?' The esquire refused to bear the message, but they brought the prisoner a priest who happened to be in the palace. Both were led by the ballesteros of the guard into a narrow passage looking out upon the street, and there the priest received the last confession of that stout old warrior who was now to die. At the same moment the sons-in-law and grandsons of Garci Laso were arrested, and confined in an apartment of the palace. Meanwhile Albuquerque was counting the last remaining moments of his victim, and soon growing impatient, told the king that it was time to issue the final decree. Don Pedro, accustomed to repeat the orders of his minister, desired two of Albuquerque's hidalgos to tell the prisoner's guard to dispatch him. The ballesteros, who were blind instruments of the king's will, distrusted an order transmitted by the servants of Albuquerque, and, like the Alcalde Domingo, would receive it only from the lips of their master. One of them went to ask him what should be done with Garci Laso. 'Kill him!' replied the king. There was no need for further scruples; the ballestero, now perfectly satisfied, hastened to the prisoner, and with a blow upon the head with his mace, felled him to the earth. His comrades finished him with their daggers. The body of Garci Laso was thrown upon the grand square, where the king's arrival was being celebrated after Castilian fashion, by

a bull-fight. The bulls trampled upon the corpse, tossing it several times with their horns. It was then exposed to the gaze of the multitude, upon a scaffold, and there it remained the whole day. At last it was laid upon a bier, which was fixed upon the ramparts of Comparañda. This was the usual treatment of the bodies of great criminals.

“That same week the king, whilst dining with Alburquerque, saw the three burghers, who had been arrested with Garci Laso, pass on their way to execution. Thus was the unhappy Don Pedro taught to rule.”—vol. i., pp. 86-89.

M. Merimée attributes this act of precocious cruelty and treachery to the influence of Alburquerque, and perhaps there is some truth in this supposition. But, at the same time, there can be no doubt that the lesson of blood found in Pedro a willing and docile pupil. Thus we find him, a few weeks later, personally and actively engaged in following, with all the savage ardour of a hunter, the tracks of the infant heir of Don Juan Nunez, one of the aspirants to the throne; pursuing the helpless child into the fastnesses of the Basque mountains, and doggedly maintaining the chase till the death of the child put an end at once to the pursuit and the jealousies in which it had its origin. The sanguinary dispositions thus evinced were his own exclusively, and a scene very similar to that of Garci Laso's death, occurred a short time afterwards in the case of Don Alonso Coronel, (pp. 126-30) who had been equally compromised during the king's illness.

So far, however, Don Pedro may, not unfairly, be regarded as an instrument, though certainly not an unwilling one, in the hands of his minister Alburquerque. But he soon set himself at liberty from this subjection.

Indeed, the fall of Alburquerque is a striking example of retributive historical justice,—the most useful among the many moral lessons which history teaches. Not content with the influence, unlimited as it was, which, from the commencement, he possessed over the mind of his royal pupil, or, more probably, distrustful of its stability, Alburquerque sought, by a disgraceful expedient, of which more modern times furnish too many instances, to govern the young king through a mistress, on whose devotion to his own interests he imagined that he might confidently rely. The lady whom he selected for this flagitious purpose, Donna Maria de Padilla, since so celebrated in Spanish history, succeeded perfectly in obtaining the most

complete ascendancy over her lover; but the first use to which she turned this ascendancy, was to work the overthrow of the patron to whom she owed her disgraceful elevation. Emancipated from the control of Alburquerque, Pedro thenceforth ruled for himself. The uncle, brothers, and other relatives of his mistress, became his chief confidants and advisers, and the highest offices in the state were placed in the hands of the Padilla family.

This dishonourable connexion, however, was destined to bear with it its own retribution, as well for Pedro as for the minister who had planned it. Immediately after his accession, Don Pedro had been solemnly betrothed to a French princess, Blanche of Bourbon; niece of King John, and soon after the betrothal, she had come to Valladolid, where the marriage was to be solemnized. Blanche was one of the most beautiful princesses of her time, and her youthful grace, and gentleness of manner and disposition, had won for her the respectful admiration of the chivalry of the age. The king, nevertheless, engrossed by his disgraceful passion, suffered her to remain for several months at Valladolid, unnoticed, save by his mother, the ex-queen, and Donna Leonor of Aragon, who had gone thither to receive her. It was in vain that the queen-mother, supported by all the influence of his wisest counsellors, remonstrated with him upon this disgraceful proceeding. Month after month was suffered to pass away, and when, at length, June 3rd, 1353, he consented to solemnize his nuptials, it was only to complete the insult by deserting his young bride on the second day after the marriage, never more to return. To these indignities he soon added cruelty of the most revolting nature; not only separating her from the society of his mother, to whom she had become endeared by her beauty, her virtues, and her misfortunes, but consigning her to a close imprisonment, in which she was debarred from all intercourse with her friends, and even denied the miserable privilege of interchanging a word with her gaolers.

The universal indignation, aroused by these infamous cruelties, as well as a series of violent and oppressive acts, and of systematic encroachments upon the rights of the Ricos Hombres, or great lords, coupled with jealousy of the influence of the Padilla family, and of the policy which the king pursued under their dictation, led to a general revolt, organized and headed by Alburquerque and the king's

brothers, Enrique and Fadrique, which terminated in the defeat and virtual imprisonment of the king, and the transfer of all authority from his own hands and those of his favourites to the nominees of the successful party.

Pending the struggle, however, the king had added to his unpopularity by a new scandal. Transferring his fickle affections, at least for a time, from Maria de Padilla to a new object, Donna Juana de Castro, the youthful widow of Diego de Haro, a Biscayan lord, he was compelled, on the failure of all other arts of seduction, to go through the form of marriage; and with this view to declare his marriage with Blanche of Bourbon to have been null and void from the beginning;* and, as if to exaggerate still more wantonly the scandal of the proceeding, he again set at nought the obligations, (which he at least would seem bound to respect,) of this so-called marriage, and, on the day after its celebration, abandoned Donna Juana to return to his old mistress, Maria de Padilla.

After nearly a year of this virtual deposition, the dissensions of the successful conspirators, and the sympathy which, by one of those reactions so common in history, now set in, in favour of the king, who, for all his vices, could plead at least the excuse of youth, and whom the populace regarded as, in some sense, their champion, from the very fact of his being opposed to the great feudal lords, led to his release, and to the re-establishment of his authority. Once reinstated in power, his first thought was of revenge. He pursued it with all the cruel and treacherous pertinacity which was his great characteristic. We shall give one specimen of his policy. His brothers, it will be remembered, had taken a lead in the revolt. Enrique had reached a place of safety, but Fadrique was still in his power, and had rendered himself again an object of suspicion.

* M. Merimée affects to place reliance upon Pedro's declaration that he had privately protested against his marriage with Blanche, and withheld his consent; but there is not the slightest authority for the statement, nor the least probability that it is true. M. Merimée also puts forward, very prominently, the two bishops who declared the marriage invalid, but he suppresses all notice of those who protested against the sacrilege, as well as the universal reprobation in which the compliant bishops were held.—“O hombres,” writes Mariana, “nacidos, n oya para obispos, sino para ser esclavos!”—vol. ii., p. 40.

“A few hours after this conversation, Don Fadrique entered Seville from Jumilla. It is said, that while outside the gates, a monk, perhaps secretly commissioned by Sarmiento, warned him, in mysterious language, that a great danger threatened him; the Master, however, either did not heed his words, or did not comprehend their import. He passed quickly through the city, and entered the Alcazar with a numerous company of knights of his order, and gentlemen of his house. He found the king playing at draughts with one of his courtiers. Don Pedro, who had long since become an adept in dissimulation, received Don Fadrique with an air of frankness, and, with a smile upon his countenance, presented him his hand to kiss: then, discontinuing his game, he asked Don Fadrique where he had last halted, and whether he was satisfied with his quarters in Seville. The Master replied, that he had just ridden a distance of five leagues, and, in his eagerness to pay his homage to the king, had not yet sought a place of residence. ‘Well,’ said Don Pedro, who saw that Don Fadrique was attended by a numerous escort, ‘first seek out your lodgings, and then return to me.’ And, after having bade him farewell, he resumed his game. On quitting the king, Don Fadrique visited Maria de Padilla, who, with her daughters, occupied an apartment in the Alcazar. It was a kind of harem, fitted up after the Eastern fashion. He now dismissed his knights, and entered the apartment, accompanied only by Diego de Padilla, the Master of Calatrava, who, being unacquainted with the king’s plot, had come to meet him, by way of showing honour to his colleague.

“The gentle and kind-hearted favourite received Don Fadrique with tears in her eyes, and betrayed so much sorrow on seeing him, that he was slightly surprised, although far from suspecting the cause of the extraordinary emotion his presence excited. She only, besides the Infante and Perez Sarmiento, was privy to the king’s intentions, and had vainly endeavoured to change them. After having embraced Maria’s children, whom he called his nieces, the Master of Santiago descended into the court-yard of the Alcazar, where he expected to find his people; but the porters had received orders to oblige them to leave the court, and to close the gates. Imagining that this arrangement did not concern him, he called for his mule, upon which one of his cavalleros, named Suero Gutierrez, remarking an unusual stir throughout the castle, approached him; ‘My lord,’ he said, ‘the postern gate is open; leave the court. Once out of the Alcazar, you will find your mules.’ Whilst he was still urging him to depart, two knights of the palace came up, and informed Don Fadrique that the king had summoned him. He at once obeyed, and went towards the chamber of the king, who at that time occupied one of the buildings within the inclosure of the Alcazar, and which was called the palace of iron. At the entrance stood Pero Lopez de Padilla, chief of the ballesteros of the guard,

with four of his men. Don Fadrique, still accompanied by the Master of Calatrava, knocked at the door. One alone of its panels opened, and discovered the king, who immediately cried out, 'Pero Lopez, arrest the Master!' 'Which of the two, Sire?' demanded the officer, hesitating between Don Fadrique and Don Diego de Padilla. 'The Master of Santiago,' returned the king, in a voice of thunder. Immediately Pero Lopez, seizing Don Fadrique by the arm, said, 'You are my prisoner.' Don Fadrique, astounded, offered no resistance. Then the king cried out, 'Ballesteros, slay the Master of Santiago!' For one moment, surprise and respect for the red cross of Saint James rooted the men to the spot: then one of the caballeros of the palace, advancing through the door, cried, 'Traitors, what are you about? Did you not hear the king command you to kill the master?' The ballesteros raised their maces, when Don Fadrique, vigorously throwing off the grasp of Pero Lopez, rushed into the court, and endeavoured to defend himself; but the hilt of his sword, which he carried under the large cloak of his order, had got entangled in his belt, and he could not draw the blade. He ran up and down the court-yard, pursued by the ballesteros, avoiding their blows, but still unable to unsheath his sword. At last one of the king's guards, named Nuno Fernandez, felled Don Fadrique to the ground with a blow of his mace. His three companions followed up their comrade's advantage. The Master was lying stretched upon the ground, bathed in his blood, when Don Pedro descended into the court, seeking certain knights of Santiago, whom he had resolved should perish with their chief; but, as has been seen, whilst Don Fadrique was visiting Maria de Padilla, the porters had cleared the court of all his attendants. None remained but the Master's principal esquire, Sancho Ruiz de Villegas, who, on perceiving the king, rushed into the chamber of Maria de Padilla, and seized hold of her eldest daughter, in order to make her his shield against the assassins. Don Pedro, who followed him, poniard in hand, snatched the child from him, and struck the first blow; after which, one of his courtiers, a private enemy of Sancho de Villegas, finished him upon the spot. Leaving his mistress's chamber inundated with blood, the king again descended into the court, and approached the Master, whom he found lying upon the earth, motionless, but still breathing. He drew his poniard, and gave it to an African slave, bidding him despatch the dying man. Then, having made sure of his vengeance, he passed into a hall, a few yards distant from his brother's corpse, and sat down to dinner.

"Don Pedro could eat undisturbed by the sight of his murdered enemy; but his banquets were unlike those of Vitellius. He had, moreover, need of sustenance, for more than ordinary fatigue must be undergone this day. In a few minutes, he was on horseback on his way to the north. Nevertheless, he had time to send some of his ballesteros to despatch the principal partisans of Don Fadrique.

To Cordova, Salamanca, Mora, Toro, and Villajiro, repaired these messengers of death, punctually executing their terrible commission. The hour of vengeance had arrived, and the inexorable Don Pedro was about to punish all the crimes which hitherto he had pretended to forgive. He had forgotten neither Alfonso Tenorio, who had drawn his sword in his presence at the Conferences at Toro; nor Lope de Bendana, that commander of Santiago, who had insulted him to his face at the gates of Segura. These were the more illustrious victims. The others were obscure agents of Don Fadrique, or the Conde de Trastamara, the medium of their correspondence with the malcontents of the principal towns of Castile."—vol. i. pp. 305—11.

His chief confidant in this foul and treacherous scheme had been Don Juan, the Infante of Aragon, whose assistance he secured by the promise of the lordship of Biscay and Lara. No sooner, however, had Pedro accomplished his design, than his treacherous vengeance turned upon the wretched dupe and instrument of his duplicity.

"A fortnight only had elapsed since Don Fadrique's death, six days since the flight of Don Tello, and already Don Pedro, although without an army, was master of the whole of Biscay. On the morning after his arrival at Bilbao, he summoned the Infante, who at once proceeded to the palace, attended by two or three esquires, who were obliged by etiquette to wait at the door of the king's chamber. The Infante wore no sword, but only a poniard in his girdle. A few courtiers surrounded him, and as if in sport, examined his weapon and carried it away. All at once a chamberlain seized him by the arm, and at the same time a ballestero, named Juan Diente, one of those who had killed Don Fadrique, dealt him a heavy blow on the head from behind. Although stunned by the blow, Don Juan broke loose, and staggering forward approached Hinestrosa, who presented the point of his sword and called out to him not to advance. Then the mace-bearers redoubled their blows, felled him to the earth and despatched him. The square in front of the palace was crowded with people. A window is opened, and the dead body of the Infante thrown into the midst of the crowd, a voice crying out, 'Biscayans, behold him who pretended to be your lord.' And the crowd thought that the king had done no more than justice, and that he knew how to defend the liberties of Biscay."—vol. i. pp. 315—16.

From this date, (1355,) till his death in 1369, the history of his reign is made up of a series of wars, foreign and domestic, so extensive in their ramification, and so complex in their causes, that it would carry us far beyond our limits to recount them at length. The war with Aragon,

which commenced in 1356, and, with some interruptions, chiefly the result of the interference of the Papal Legates, continued till the deposition of Pedro in 1366, was the foundation of them all. To this may be traced the war with Granada, in 1361, and still more directly the civil war headed by his illegitimate brother, Don Enrique,—the English expedition of 1367-8, under Edward the Black Prince, and the new invasion of Don Enrique, in 1369, which terminated in the death of Pedro and the establishment of his rival in his stead. M. Merimée's account of these obscure and complicated events is singularly clear, orderly, and intelligible, and will well repay perusal. For us it will be enough briefly to state that, in 1363, Don Enrique, who in the former wars had acted but as a commander in the service of the king of Aragon, began formally to make pretensions to the throne of Castile; that, by a treaty signed March 31, 1363, he secured the assistance of the king of Aragon for that purpose; and that, by his aid and that of the celebrated Free Company of Bertrand du Guesclin, and still more by the horror and detestation in which Pedro was held by all the influential nobles of Castile, his claim was universally admitted, Pedro was declared to have forfeited the throne, and compelled, in the summer of 1366, to throw himself upon the protection of Edward III., king of England, or rather of his chivalrous son, the Black Prince.

It is hard to analyse the motives by which this chivalrous prince was influenced in giving his support to such a cause as that of Pedro. It has often been ascribed to his high notions of knightly honour; to which a fallen and fugitive king, with three unprotected and weeping daughters at his side, could never appeal in vain. But it is more than probable that jealousy of France had quite as much to do with this resolution, as a feeling of chivalry. Enrique had been a soldier in the pay of France; his usurpation had received the sanction and support of France; and the commander to whose arms he had been mainly indebted for success, Du Guesclin, was one of the most distinguished members of French chivalry.

But whatever may have been this Prince's motives, his arms proved successful in restoring Don Pedro. Enrique in his turn became a fugitive; and there can be little doubt that had Pedro yielded to the wise and merciful advice of his English ally, and learned a lesson of mercy and peace

from the misfortunes in which his past cruelties had involved both himself and his country, he might have remained in quiet possession of the throne. But the cruelty with which, despite the remonstrance of Edward, he treated those of his enemies who fell into his hands, and the obstinacy with which he persisted in the oppressive measures to which he owed his first unpopularity, no less than the bad faith which he exhibited towards the Prince himself, had the effect of disgusting even him with the alliance, and of throwing Pedro once again upon his own resources.

“Notwithstanding Edward’s indignation on hearing of the murder of Lopez de Orozco, Don Pedro suffered it to be seen that his thirst for vengeance was not yet appeased. On the morning succeeding the battle the prisoners were led by in review. Nearly all had surrendered to English or Gascon knights, and were consequently safe under the protection of chivalric honour. Don Pedro, however, required that the Castilians should be placed in his hands, offering to pay their ransoms at any price which might be agreed upon, and requesting the prince to be his guarantee to the knights to whom these prisoners belonged. ‘I will speak to them,’ said he with a ferocious smile, ‘and will induce them to remain in my service. Otherwise, should they escape or pay their ransom, I shall find them still the bitterest of my enemies.’—‘Let not your majesty be displeased,’ replied the prince in a severe tone, ‘but you have no right to make this demand. These nobles, knights, or men-at-arms in my service fought for honour, and their prisoners are at their disposal. For all the gold in the world, my knights would not deliver them up to you, knowing well that your only motive for asking for these unfortunate men is, that you may put them to death. As for those knights, your vassals, against whom sentence of treason has been pronounced before this battle, I consent that they be given up to you.’—‘If this be your determination,’ cried Don Pedro, ‘I hold my kingdom more lost to me than it was yesterday. If you let these men live, you have done nothing for me. Your alliance has been useless, and it is in vain that I have expended my treasure in paying your men-at-arms!’—‘Sir cousin,’ returned Edward, ‘there are other means for recovering your kingdom than those by which you have thought to preserve Castile, and by which in fact you have lost it. Take my advice, renounce your past severity, and endeavour to win the love of the knights and commons of your realm. If you return to your former courses, you will again peril your crown, and will be reduced to such a position that neither my gracious liege, the King of England, nor myself, will be able to assist you, should we even have the will.’

“During this altercation, the majority of the Castilian prisoners expressed their repentance, and entreated Don Pedro to pardon them. The king, declaring that he granted them his forgiveness

out of respect for the Prince of Wales, consented to receive their oaths of fidelity for the future. He even embraced his brother, Don Sancho, and promised to forget his past conduct. Gomez Carrillo and Sancho-Sanchez Moscoso, Grand Commander of Santiago, were, however, excepted from the amnesty, as having been declared traitors by public sentence passed upon them before the Revolution. They were delivered up to the king, who had them forthwith beheaded in front of his tent. Garci Jufre Tenorio, son of Admiral Don Alfonso Jufre, was likewise put to death a few days after, for the same reason. After these executions the two princes separated, each dissatisfied with the other."—vol. ii. pp. 278—281.

Pedro's old enemies, foreign and domestic, raised their heads once more. The kings of France and Aragon, his brothers, the partisans of Albuquerque, the avengers of Blanche of Bourbon, and the whole body of Ricos Hombres, formed a fresh alliance against him. At the head of a small army, chiefly raised among the soldiers of the Free Company, Enrique once more entered Castile in 1368.

"On touching the right bank of the Ebro, Don Enrique asked if he were in Castile. The reply was, that he had just entered his kingdom. He immediately dismounted, threw himself on his knees, traced the figure of a cross upon the sand, and kissed it. 'By this cross,' he exclaimed, 'the sign of our redemption, I swear that, whatever dangers or misfortunes may befall me, I will never again leave Castile alive. In Castile I will await death, or such fortune as Heaven may have in store for me!' Then, rising from his knees, he knighted several hidalgos and esquires, as though it were the morning of a battle, among others, the Bastard of Bearn, whom he afterwards created Conde de Medina Celi."—vol. ii. p. 311.

His partisans increased in number as he advanced, and each accession to his ranks drew in its train a far more than proportionate defection from that of his rival; till at length Pedro was driven, with the small remnant of his followers, to shut himself up in the strong fortress of Montiel, which was speedily surrounded and invested by the victorious troops of Don Enrique. Seeing the utter hopelessness of open resistance, Pedro endeavoured, by corrupting the most distinguished commander of the leaguering army, the celebrated Du Guesclin, to purchase the opportunity of escape. Du Guesclin, however, was proof against all his offers, though they included the heritage of six important towns of Castile, and 200,000 Castilian gold doubloons. After a deliberation with his companions in arms as to the course which, consistently with the laws of

chivalry, it was his duty to take in the circumstances, he communicated to Don Enrique the design of escape projected by his enemy. He went farther. After much hesitation, he consented, in obedience to the strong representation of his knights, and the solicitations of Enrique, to feign compliance with Pedro's proposal, and thus entice him into the power of his rival.

“On the night of the 23rd of March, 1369, ten days after the battle of Montiel, Don Pedro, accompanied by Men Rodriguez, Don Fernando de Castro, and some other knights, secretly left the fortress, and repaired to the quarters of the French Adventurers. They had all bound cloth round the shoes of their horses to prevent the noise of hoofs being heard, and then leading them by the bridle, descended the eminence on which the castle stood. The king had exchanged his usual dress for a light coat of mail, and had thrown a large cloak over him. The sentinels had received their instructions beforehand, and allowed him to pass the line of circumvallation, a kind of wall constructed with loose stones, which had been hastily erected around Montiel; they then led him to Du Guesclin, who, surrounded by his captains, was waiting for him on the other side of the wall. ‘To horse, Messire Bertrand,’ said the king, accosting him in a low voice, ‘it is time to set out.’ No answer was returned. This silence, and the evident embarrassment of the French, seemed an evil augury to Don Pedro. He made an attempt to vault into his saddle, but a man-at-arms was already holding his horse's bridle. He was surrounded. He was desired to wait in a neighbouring tent. Resistance was impossible, he followed his guides.

“A few minutes of mortal silence ensued. Suddenly, from amidst the circle formed around the king, there appeared a man armed at all points, his vizor up; it was Don Enrique. The circle respectfully make way for him. He stands before his brother face to face. They had not seen each other for fifteen years. Don Enrique gazed searchingly at the cavaleros from Montiel, his eyes wandering from one to another. ‘Where, then, is this bastard,’ he said, ‘this Jew, who calls himself King of Castile?’ A French esquire points to Don Pedro. ‘There,’ he said, ‘stands your enemy.’ Don Enrique, still uncertain, regarded him fixedly. ‘Yes, it is I,’ exclaimed Don Pedro, ‘I, the King of Castile. All the world knows that I am the legitimate son of good King Alfonso. Thou art the bastard!’ Immediately Don Enrique, rejoiced at having provoked this insult, draws his dagger and strikes him lightly on the face. The brothers were too near each other in the narrow circle formed by the Knights Companions to draw their long swords. They seize each other by the waist, and struggle furiously for some time without any one attempting to separate them. Those around even draw back to give them room. Without losing hold, they both

fall on a camp bed in a corner of the tent; but Don Pedro, who was not only taller but stronger than his brother, held Don Enrique under him. He was seeking for a weapon to pierce him through, when an Aragonese cavallero, the Vizconde de Rocaberti, seizing Don Pedro by the foot, threw him on one side, so that Don Enrique, who was still clinging to his brother, found himself uppermost. He picked up his poniard, and raising the king's coat of mail, plunged it again and again into his side. The arms of Don Pedro cease to clasp his enemy, and Don Enrique disengaging himself, several of his followers despatch the dying man. Amongst the knights who accompanied Don Pedro, two only, a Castilian and an Englishman, endeavoured to defend him. They were cut to pieces. The others surrendered without offering resistance, and were humanely treated by the French captains. Don Enrique had his brother's head cut off, and sent to Seville,"—vol. ii. pp. 350—3.

Such, at the early age of thirty-five, was the end of this wicked and unhappy Prince. It led to the successful establishment of his brother under the name of Enrique II.; and, in about twenty years afterwards, the rival lines were united by the marriage of their descendants in the second generation, Enrique III. and Donna Catalina.

The brief outline which alone our limits have permitted, will give but an imperfect idea of the history of this ill-starred reign. To fill up its details would be to enumerate a series of cruelties, oppressions, rapines, frauds, and murders. There is no crime of violence, of treachery, or of blood, which the unanimous voice of the historians of the time has not charged upon the memory of Pedro. There is no tie of kindred which he is not accused of violating. The fate of his young and beautiful queen Blanche, would in itself involve infamy enough to blacken even a memory in every other respect beyond reproach. Deserted, almost on the very day of her nuptials, not for one, but for a whole harem of worthless favourites, consigned to a rigorous and cruel imprisonment, in which she pined for ten long years, she was at length carried off in the castle of Jerez, the last scene of her two years' captivity, by poison, administered, beyond the possibility of doubt, by order of her cruel husband.

We may take this charge against Pedro as an example of the spirit in which M. Merimée deals with his history. After relating very circumstantially the manner of the ill-fated queen's death, as recorded by Ayala, he proceeds to suggest a long series of improbabilities, which, he contends,

should move us to discredit the imputation altogether; and concludes by declaring that he "cannot help imagining, that in this instance Ayala became the echo of a mere popular rumour, and too readily accredited a crime which he was at most unable to prove." (II. 84.)

Now let us see the evidence on either side in this important case, in order that we may test M. Merimée's general impartiality in those exculpatory conjectures with which his history of Pedro is filled.

On the one hand, he himself admits that "all modern authors agree with contemporary chroniclers in imputing her death to Don Pedro." (II. 79.) Ayala's statement is most express and unhesitating. (p. 328.) It is found in both the forms of his chronicle, the *Vulgar*, as well as the *Abreviada*. It is also stated in the "Romances del Rey Pedro," appendix vii. It is repeated by Zurita and Mariana, not to speak of the more modern historians, and without the slightest expression of doubt. And M. Merimée confesses that "no contemporaneous authority can be adduced against it." (p. 80.) Such is the case against Don Pedro, as regards extrinsic evidence; and we need not add that it is rendered intrinsically most probable, by the long series of barbarity, insult, and cruelty, to which, for ten years, she had been subjected by her infamous husband.

On the other hand, the only authorities* adduced by M. Merimée are

(1) Roderic Sanchez de Arevalo, bishop of Palencia. Now, even though this writer had not lived, as he did, nearly a century after the event, his testimony is scarcely more favourable to Pedro than that of Ayala, for he attributes the queen's death to the grief occasioned by her husband's cruelty and neglect:

(2) Polydore Virgil. It is fair to state, that he is only cited as "inclining to the same opinion." But even if he were explicit in his exculpation of Pedro, no historian of character would for a moment rely upon his authority † in any disputed point of the history of the 14th century:

* These authorities are cited in a note; and it is not easy to say, whether it is by M. Merimée or his translator, who, in other instances, has added many valuable annotations.

† We need hardly remind the reader of the epigram
 "Virgili duo sunt; alter Maro, tu, Polydore,
 Alter; tu mendax; ille poeta fuit."

(3) The Jesuit Mariana, who is represented as saying that "the uncertainty which prevailed as to the place where Queen Blanche terminated her existence, renders the cause of her death equally a matter of doubt." Now we must say that this assertion took us more completely by surprise than any other part of the case which is made for Don Pedro. M. Merimée gives no reference to Mariana for the passage here quoted; but we cannot hesitate to say, that Mariana never could have expressed such an opinion. In that portion of his history in which he refers to the fate of this unhappy queen, he is as express in laying her death at her husband's door, as it is possible for historian to be. We shall translate the passage.*

"The sufferings and misfortunes of Queen Blanche moved the compassion of many of the nobles of Castile, and induced them to commence negociations for an armed alliance in her defence. They were not successful in concealing their design from the king; and its discovery only drew greater hatred upon the Queen, as if she had been the cause of all these wars and contests. He imagined that, if she were out of the way, he would be relieved from this anxiety; and *he had her put to death by poison, administered at his order, by a physician of Medina Sidonia*, in the strong fortress of which he had kept her in so close captivity, that no one was permitted to visit or to speak to her. O abominable madness! O inhuman, atrocious, and savage deed! To murder his own wife, but twenty-five years old, beautiful, distinguished by her virtues, prudence, piety, blameless morals, and descent from the powerful house of France! Never, within the memory of man, has there been in Spain, a woman so justly entitled to esteem and pity as this poor, unhappy, wretched queen. We have examples of women put to death or discarded by their husbands, but always for some crime or infidelity; and at all events, they had enjoyed, at some period of their lives, some share of contentment or pleasure, to the memory of which they might look back for consolation under their sorrow. But in Donna Blanca, on the one hand, there never was observed an act which did not merit esteem and love; and on the other, she never enjoyed one happy day;—all were for her sad and mournful. Her marriage was, as it were, a living burial. Then she was thrown into confinement, neglected, and in every way dishonoured; nor did she know aught but calamity, misfortune, and wretchedness. Her ladies and attendants were taken from her. Her rival was all-powerful; and who could venture in such circumstances to show her favour? Every human assistance and relief

* *Historia General de Espana*, compuesta por el Padre Don Juan de Mariana, b. xvii. cap. 4, vol. ii. p. 58. (Madrid Edition.)

was denied her. But for thee, thou cruel king, or to speak more fitly, thou inhuman and savage beast, the anger of God awaits thee! For this innocent blood signal vengeance shall be exacted!" —Mariana, ii. 58.

The authority of Mariana, therefore, is clearly against M. Merimée, and these three writers are the only ones to whom he appeals.

For the rest, the only intrinsic reasons which he alleges consist simply in the absence of any assignable motive for the act;—as if it were necessary, in a husband, whom all his previous conduct to his wife, even as it is detailed by M. Merimée, proves to have been a monster of heartlessness and cruelty, to seek for motives by which to explain what, after all, was but the natural termination of the whole course which he had pursued towards her. Or as if, were it even necessary to assign a motive, there would not be enough, and more than enough, in that assigned by Mariana—the hope of freeing himself from the continual anxiety and apprehension of revolt, to which the sympathy created by her presence in Spain had for years condemned him.

We must say that it has seldom been our lot to meet a more thoroughly gratuitous and unsustained hypothesis.

In addition to the murder of his wife, the popular belief of his own time imputed to Pedro the still more heinous crime of matricide. There may be better grounds for disbelieving this odious charge, but it is at least an evidence of the estimate formed by his contemporaries of one in whom it was regarded as perfectly probable.*

But whatever may be the truth of this latter accusation, not even M. Merimée has ventured to breathe a doubt as to the justice of a charge almost equally detestable,—the murder of his aunt, Donna Leonor of Aragon, sister of his father, king Alfonso. At the same time, and by the same cruel hands, perished his sister-in-law, Donna Juana de Lara, wife of his brother Don Zello, and her sister, Donna Isabel, wife of that Don Juan de Aragon, whose murder has been already recorded. In truth, Pedro's cruelty was restrained by no consideration of age or sex. We have seen the barbarous eagerness with which, even at the commencement of his reign, he pursued the infant heir of Don Juan Nunez to the death, as a hunter pursues his prey. The same relentless barbarity he displayed at a maturer

* See *Historia de Espana*, xvi. 4, vol. ii., p. 58.

age towards the youngest of his own brothers, Don Juan and Don Pedro, although they had not been guilty of any attempt against his authority, and had for many years been kept close prisoners in the castle of Carmona, secured against the possibility of machinating against him. Both were slain at the king's command, by a ballestero of the royal guard. In many cases he was himself the minister of his own vengeance. He slew with his own hand Inigo Lopez de Orasco, although he was a prisoner in the hands of a Gascon knight, who had taken him in the battle of Najera, and used every effort to save him from the king's savage attack. He struck the first blow at Sancho Ruiz de Villegas, although the doomed victim held out the king's own daughter as a shield against his dagger. He did not hesitate even to profane the sacred rights of hospitality for the purpose of drawing his enemies more securely into his power. There are few examples of duplicity which can equal the murder of Don Alvarez Osorio.

“ Having neither the means nor the leisure necessary for a siege, the king abandoned his purpose for a time, and for the present thought only of securing his accomplice, Alvarez Osorio. He had now recourse to stratagem, for he was aware that the culprit was on his guard. His first care was to re-assure him, and to lead him to imagine that he was completely satisfied with the excuses with which Osorio had accounted for his apparent defection. He feigned to be his dupe, and promised to appoint him Adelantado of Leon, in the place of Pero Nunez, whom he had cashiered.

“ Such was the fickleness and cupidity of these Ricos Hombres, that Osorio did not hesitate to accept of spoils torn from his accomplice ; he kissed the king's hand and accompanied him into Castile. Don Pedro was now so perfect a master of his countenance, that he could deceive even his most intimate friends. No one doubted but that Osorio was restored to favour, and the whole court began to treat him as one of themselves. Diego de Padilla, notwithstanding his intimacy with the king, was no better informed as to the royal intentions, and he seems to have owed his happy ignorance to the opinion his frank and loyal character had inspired. He invited the new Adelantado to dinner during a halt made by the royal troops, a few leagues from Valladolid, whither they were bound. In the midst of the repast there arrived two ballesteros, Juan Diente and Garci Diaz, the usual ministers of the king's revenge ; they enter, and in the presence of Padilla, who is seized with fear and horror, they assassinate Osorio, and cut off his head. This murder was quickly followed by other executions no less sanguinary. During his rapid march, Don Pedro arrested all those

whom he had convicted or suspected of holding intelligence with the Conde de Trastamara. He kept them for some time in his train, and then had them beheaded. Among his victims may be remarked an ecclesiastic, the Archdeacon Diego de Maldonado, who was accused of having received a letter from Don Enrique."—vol. ii., pp. 11, 12.

Almost equally revolting are the following.

"Slow in maturing his plans of vengeance, he did not withdraw his favour from his victims until he could strike the final blow. Besides, Fernandez was at Molina, on the Aragonese frontier, and surrounded by his immediate vassals, might easily have set his anger at defiance; it was, therefore, necessary, first of all, to entice him from his fortress. The king wrote to him, commanding him to repair to Sadava, in order to confer with the Cardinal de Boulogne, and recommended him on his way to take counsel of the Masters of the military orders, who would give him valuable information concerning the negotiations he was about to direct.

"Gutier Fernandez, suspecting nothing, set out for Alfaro, the place appointed for the meeting with the Masters. Already had he been preceded there by Martin Lopez, the successor of Juan de Hinestrosa in the office of chamberlain, who, under promise of secrecy, came to acquaint Don Garcí Alvarez, the Master of Santiago, with the king's pleasure. On arriving at Alfaro, Fernandez found the troops under arms. He was told that the Masters of Santiago and Alcantara, who had just arrived from a neighbouring cantonment, were about to review their cavalleros, and he was requested to take part in the military exercises which were usual on such occasions. When the review was concluded, the two Masters conducted him with due honour to his lodging, accompanied by a large number of their knights and men-at-arms. Then, the doors being closed and guarded by soldiers, Martin Lopez signified to him that he must prepare to die. 'What have I done,' cried Fernandez, 'to merit death?' All were silent. The king had communicated his suspicions to no one, and he never deigned to explain his orders. Martin Lopez next summoned the prisoner to deliver up all his castles: he consented to this without hesitation. Then he enquired whether he would be permitted to write to his lord. This favour was accorded him, and a notary having been sent for, he dictated the following letter:—

"'Sire, I, Gutier Fernandez de Toledo, salute you, and take leave of you, being about to appear before another Lord, mightier than you are. Sire, your highness is not ignorant that my mother, my brothers, and myself, have, since the hour of your birth, been members of your household; and I need not call to your recollection the insults we endured, or the dangers we incurred in your service, at the time when Dona Leonor de Guzman had sole power in this kingdom. Sire, I ever served you loyally. I believe that it

is because I have spoken too freely of things important to your interests, that you now condemn me to death. Let your pleasure be accomplished, and may God pardon you, for I have not deserved my fate. And now, Sire, I tell you in this solemn moment, and it will be my last word of counsel, that if you do not replace your sword in the scabbard, and cease to strike off heads like mine, you will lose your kingdom and peril your life. Bethink you well, for it is a loyal subject who thus adjures you in the hour when the truth alone ought to be spoken.'

"After having affixed his seal to this touching letter, Fernandez bared his throat to the executioner, who beheaded him in a chamber of the house where he had been arrested. A ballestero of the guard, immediately mounting his horse, hastened to Seville, to lay the head of Fernandez at the king's feet.

"Whilst Gutier Fernandez was expiating his crime, or his imprudence, at Alfaro, Don Pedro was issuing orders in Andalusia for another murder, dictated by suspicions still more vague, and effected with no less art and dissimulation. Gomez Carrillo, the governor of some fortresses recently taken from the Aragonese, was accused by his enemies of maintaining a disloyal correspondence with the Conde de Trastamara. Indignant at such reports, and eager to confound his accusers, he immediately repaired to Seville, and boldly presenting himself before the king, demanded a hearing. He confessed that he had, during the suspension of arms, seen some of his relatives who had emigrated into Aragon, but he solemnly denied that in these conferences he had made or received any proposal contrary to the interests of his master. The king welcomed him, appeared to listen to him favourably, and assured him that he still possessed his sovereign's confidence. Don Pedro added, that, in order to silence calumny, and to avoid communications which might be ill interpreted, he intended to remove him from the Aragonese frontier, and to intrust to him the command of Algeziras. This was, at that time, one of the most important places in the kingdom. Carrillo, imagining the appointment to be a mark of special favour, accepted the command with gratitude, and immediately went on board one of the king's galleys, in order to take possession of his new charge; but scarcely had he entered the mouth of the Guadalquivir, than the captain of the galley had him beheaded. At the same time, his wife and sons were arrested at the other extremity of Castile, by Martin Lopez."—vol. ii., pp. 27-30.

Even the laws of chivalry themselves, sacred as they were then regarded, were treacherously made a cover for Pedro's vengeance.

"Shortly after the death of Gutier Fernandez, the king, whilst at Seville, presided at a combat between four hidalgos. The challengers were two Leonese esquires, Lope Nunez de Carvalledo, and

Martin de Losada. They accused two brothers, Arias and Vasco de Baamonte, Galician esquires, of treason. It was said that this challenge had been given at the king's instigation, and that the sole crime of the accused was their distant relationship to Gutier Fernandez. On the four champions having entered the lists, accompanied by the king's chamberlain, Martin Lopez, who performed the functions of marshal of the field, Lope Nunez was seen to leap from his horse and run to and fro over the arena, as though in search of something. According to the laws of duelling, the combatants might make use of all the advantages which were offered to them upon the ground; for example, they might pick up stones, if they found any, and hurl them at the enemy. By a judaical interpretation of this regulation, arms which might be accidentally found on the arena of the fight might be added to those which the combatants brought with them into the lists. But ordinarily the parties met in a sanded enclosure, which was carefully inspected beforehand by the judge who presided over the combat, and it was his duty to see that the two combatants should enjoy equal advantages. It was, besides, the marshal's office to prevent any one of the spectators from aiding the champions, and he therefore entered the arena with them. This time the marshal's partiality was evident. Martin Lopez, who alone appeared to understand the movements of Lope Nunez, which as yet were perfectly inexplicable to the others, caracoled about the lists, and every time that he passed a certain spot, struck the earth with a long reed which he held in his hand. The action did not escape the notice of Lope Nunez. Sweeping the sand with his hands, he drew forth four darts, evidently buried therein purposely, and hurled them at the horse of Arias Baamonte. The wounded animal, maddened by pain, sprung with his master beyond the barriers. To quit the lists, though only by accident, was considered as a defeat, and the alguazils immediately seizing Arias, delivered him to the executioner, as being by the judgment of God declared a traitor. He was put to death on the spot. Vasco Baamonte, however, remained in the lists and defended himself valiantly against his two adversaries, who attacked him, the one on horseback the other on foot. Advancing towards the platform where the king sat, he cried out, 'Sire, is this your justice?' The king returned no answer. Then Vasco, raising his voice, exclaimed, 'Cavalleros of Castile and Leon, do you not blush at this day's proceedings, carried on under the very eyes of our lord the king? What! in a field over which he himself presides are there to be arms concealed, in order to slay those that come hither to defend their honour and their life?' Then, continuing to fight, as though in sheer despair, he so gallantly withstood his two assailants, that the king, admiring his valour, and ashamed, though a little too late, of the part he was acting, commanded the champions to be separated, and declared all three to be honourable and true knights."—vol. ii., pp. 56-59.

M. Merimée, as usual, thinks it "by no means certain that the king was a party to this treachery;" but it will give some idea of the recklessness of his partiality, that he, in the same breath, acknowledges (p. 59) the authority of Ayala and the "public opinion" of the time to be decidedly against him.

We shall only add that, to a dispassionate student of the history of his reign, there can hardly be any form of revenge which could appear improbable in one who had set every law at defiance when it stood in the way of the accomplishment of his bloody purpose, and who destroyed his victims, without hesitation and without remorse, no matter by what ties of blood, what privileges of rank, or what sacredness of character, they might appear to be protected. Kindred and strangers alike suffered by his hand. There was no rank in the state from which his victims were not culled; no order in the Church which did not fall in its turn under his vengeance;—from the Archbishop of Toledo, down to the visionary priest whom he burned alive in his camp, for the sole crime of predicting to him, alone and in private, that, unless he changed his conduct, he would fall by the hands of his brother Don Enrique—a fate which afterwards too surely befel him. Many of the victims of his cruelty, it is true, had merited chastisement by their disloyalty and treason; but that disloyalty was, for the most part, the consequence of his own crimes; and in the punishment even of the most guilty, as contemporary history has handed it down to us, there are evidences of a cruel and treacherous disposition which it is impossible to overlook, and which fully bear out the judgment which that history, and the popular voice which it represents, had pronounced, even during his own lifetime.

At all events, if the memory of Peter the Cruel is ever to be set right, it must be upon principles very different from the arbitrary conjectures, and flimsy probabilities, which form the staple of M. Merimée's vindication.

ART. II.—*Recherches Historiques et Critiques sur le véritable auteur du livre de l'Imitation de Jesus-Christ ; examen des droits de Thomas a Kempis, de Gersen et de Gerson, avec une réponse aux derniers adversaires de Thomas a Kempis.* MM. Napione, Cancellieri, de Gregory, Weigl, Gence, Daunou, Onésime Leroy, et Thomassy; suivi de documents inédits. Par J. B. MALOU, Chanoine honoraire de la Cathédrale de Bruges, Professeur de Théologie, &c. &c. Louvain, 1849.

THE majority of the Catholic world is nearly of opinion that the question of the Authorship of the Imitation of Christ has been long since practically decided. Very many are not even aware that the claims of Thomas a Kempis have ever been called in question. And yet how numerous and excited have been the discussions to which they have given rise, and how much of pen, ink, and paper, and yet more precious time and labour, have been wasted in the protracted controversy. There has been scarcely ever any question of authorship so long and so zealously debated, not even excepting the world-famed dispute to which it bears a strong resemblance, concerning the origin of the Iliad, and the personality of the blind bard of Ionia.

And it is a strange destiny of human genius in its highest development, that it should thus work unnoticed and unknown: and that the origin and very ownership of some of its highest productions should be enveloped in a cloud of mystery so dark as to bid defiance to man's most earnest and persevering researches. It is also an impressive lesson to that busy and bustling ambition that is ever thrusting itself forward on the notice of the public, to solicit for its wretched mediocrity an applause which it does not deserve. It would seem as if one of the ordinary qualities of Genius, at least in its highest degree, is an utter unconsciousness of its power. As it exerts itself less than others, so is it led to suppose that its exertions are not more remarkable than those of others, and thus the habitual tendency of its character becomes one of natural humility. Unless when disordered by unworthy interests, or influenced by mean passions, or excited to a feverish condition by vanity or worldly applause, true genius will ever be disposed to think lowly and humbly of its works. If this be the natu-

ral tendency of Genius, how much more so will it be its tendency when directed and consecrated by Religion? We may rest assured that such will ever love to be unknown and thought little of, and that, like the author of the *Imitation*, whoever he was, after bringing its garland of sweet flowers for the mystic adornment of the Sanctuary, it will give itself very little trouble about worldly applause, contented that the gift should give out the odour of its sweetness for many an after age, and to many a race of men to whom its author and its origin were to be alike unknown.

That such was the author of the *Imitation* is evident from the book itself; and it is quite certain that the object of his desires has in some measure been granted. Even taking it for granted that Thomas a Kempis was the author, how little beyond that fact is distinctly ascertained, except the order and monastery to which he belonged; and assuming it for certain also that he has been long since admitted to the enjoyment of his heavenly crown, with what pity and compassion must he not, from his immortal dwelling-place, have looked down on the unprofitable labours and often bitter acrimony with which his claims were respectively advocated and impugned.

If the question were simply one of mere authorship, and that its merits were canvassed on literary grounds alone, it would have been long since either definitely decided or utterly abandoned. But, unfortunately, the honour of two important religious orders became involved in the beginning, and were believed to be concerned in the controversy; and while the ardour of the rival advocates was thus stimulated to exertion, it also unfortunately occurred that the inquiry was prosecuted with too much of personal acrimony. In order that the state of the question, as it at present exists, may be distinctly understood, it will be necessary for us to place before our readers some of the circumstances with which they are already acquainted, and give an outline of the controversy from the beginning.

Thomas a Kempis, the reputed author of the *Imitation of Christ*, was born in 1379, at Kempen, a small village in the diocese of Cologne. From this village he derives his name. Having made his studies at Deventer, he was received into the monastery of Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, called the monastery of Saint Agnes, near Zwoll, of which his brother was prior. He received the

Holy Order of priesthood in 1413, and is said to have composed the Imitation in the following year. In 1425 he was elected Sub-prior of his convent, and died there at the great age of ninety-two, in the year 1471. These dates should be borne in mind, as they may be occasionally referred to in the following observations. Little is known of him except that he attained to great perfection in the religious life, and composed several spiritual works, the authenticity of which has never been called in question. He was also well skilled in calligraphy; and some books beautifully written are still extant in his handwriting, one of them a copy of the Imitation.

From the time of a Kempis to the beginning of the seventeenth century, he was generally reputed the author. The first doubt was faintly whispered, rather than loudly expressed, in a Spanish work on the Administration of the Sacrament of Penance, ascribed to Manriquez, but most probably written by an Irish Jesuit of the name of Bates, or Beatty. In this book, published at Milan in the year 1604, it was remarked that in the Conferences attributed to Saint Bonaventure are found several quotations from the Imitation of Christ. If this fact was certain, the claim of Thomas was at an end, because Bonaventure died in 1273, more than a century before the year of his birth. It was subsequently discovered that these Conferences were the work of a writer much later than Bonaventure; but before the discovery was made, the objection had much weight, and exactly at the time that it occupied the minds of literary men. Father Rossignoli, a Jesuit, found in the library of his convent at Arona, near Milan, an old copy of the Imitation, with this title: *Incipiunt capitula primi libri abbatis Johannis Gesen, de Imitatione Christi et contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi*; and at the end, *Explicit liber quartus et ultimus abbatis Johannis Gersen de sacramento altaris*. This house formerly belonged to the Benedictines, and this volume was believed to be a relic of the ancient monastery. Exulting in his discovery, he communicated it to his friends in Rome, Possevinus and Bellarmine. Neither of these had much experience in old books, and instead of submitting it to critical examination, they lent it the weight of their names and authority. It has been since maintained that it never formed part of the library of the Benedictines; that Father Mag-

gioli procured it at Genoa, and that it was among his books when he entered the order of the Jesuits in 1579, long after the Benedictine monastery had ceased to have an existence.

When the news of the new discovery reached the Low Countries, Father Rosweyde of Antwerp wrote to his brethren in Italy to be cautious in the use they made of the manuscript of Arona; and gave it as his opinion that the claims of a Kempis were not to be disturbed. Unfortunately, before his letter reached Rome, the manuscript had fallen into other hands. Dom. Constantine Cajetan, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino, had been for some time engaged in collecting memoirs, and compiling a list of all the great men that at any period could be claimed as belonging to the Benedictine family. In the accomplishment of this object he was not very rigid in the conditions which he required in the individual whom he claimed as his own. Gregory the Great was a Benedictine of course, according to him, and so was Saint Thomas of Aquin, because he spent some years of his boyhood at Monte Cassino; but who could dream that by any ingenuity he would be able to establish a right of property in Ignatius of Loyola? Yet even him he enrolled among his brethren, and attributed the Spiritual Exercises to the lessons he received from Cisneros, a Spanish Benedictine. Many and amusing are the anecdotes related of his indiscreet and over-anxious zeal; and even the grave Baronius interrupts the stately course of his narration, to make him the object of his censure. It may be easily conjectured with what joy Dom. Cajetan received the intelligence of the discovery of Arona, and thought he could place the author of the *Imitation* in the list of his illustrious brethren. His critical discernment, never very acute, was completely dazzled by the brilliancy of the renown which the discovery of the real author would secure for the order of Saint Benedict. Without a moment's hesitation, or an hour's delay, he got the MS. into his hands, and with all possible speed it issued from the Roman press, with this title: "Venerabilis viri Joannis Gessen, abbatis ordinis Sti. Benedicti, de *Imitatione*. Libri quatuor." "The Venerable John Gessen, of the order of Saint Benedict, on the *Imitation*. Four books." The original manuscript bore simply the name of John Gessen. No one knew who he was, or what was his profession. His country and cha-

racter were alike unknown; but Cajetan was not to be turned from his course by such omissions. He first dubbed him "venerable;" next he made him a Benedictine, of which there was not a word in the MS.; and to complete the personality, boldly asserted that he was of a noble family of Milan, and that the family mansion still retained the name, and was to be seen by any curious traveller that took the trouble to find it in the environs of the city.

Dom. Cajetan was an antiquary. Antiquaries are generally credulous, especially in those matters on which they set their hearts; and we may charitably suppose that these details were the result of some pranks played upon the simple father by some of his acquaintance. They were suppressed in the second edition, which he published in 1618. But in the mean time an old copy was found at Genoa, printed at Venice, in the year 1501. On the title page was written, by some unknown hand, the words, "Hunc librum non compilavit Johannes Gerson, sed D. Johannes abbas Vercellensis ut habetur usque hodie propria manu scriptus in eadem abbazia." "This book was not written by John Gerson, but by D. John, abbot of Vercelli, as is still preserved in his own handwriting in the same abbey." Taking this marginal note as authority, it was inferred that John was a native of Italy; and a note on another printed copy was believed to furnish the surname de Canabaco; and hence these disjointed fragments put together, gave the title at large of "The Imitation of Christ, four books, by John Gersen de Canabaco, abbot of Vercelli,"* which was adopted in the course of time.

Father Rosweyde, of Antwerp, finding that the friendly intimation which he gave to his friends in Rome was ineffectual, and convinced that Thomas a Kempis was the real author of the book in question, wrote a formal reply to Cajetan, which appeared in 1617, under the title of "*Vindiciæ Kempenses.*" On the perusal of this work Bellarmine altered the opinion which he had already given. But Cajetan was not to be so easily put down. He soon replied to Rosweyde; and to give greater weight and publicity to

* Libri quatuor de Imitatione Christi magni et Ven. Servi Dei Joannis Gersen de Canabaco Ordinis S. Benedicte. abbatis Vercellensis in Italia." Studio Thomæ Erchard. Bened. Augsburg, 1724.

his opinion, he solicited and obtained from the Propaganda, permission to have a Greek edition of the *Imitation* printed at that press under the name of the abbot Gessen.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to give a particular account of all the works that appeared at each side of the discussion. A paper war, almost without a parallel in the annals of literature, was the result. The Benedictines and Canons Regular rushed respectively into the field, with as much ardour and perseverance as if an article of faith was at issue; and some of the most illustrious names in the literary history of the seventeenth century are found mingled in the contest. Cardinal Richelieu, having given orders at the royal press at the Louvre, to print a magnificent edition of the *Imitation*, in which no expense or skill was to be spared, Dom. Tarrisé, Superior of the Benedictines of Saint Maur, deemed it a good opportunity to urge the claims of Gersen, and requested to have the new edition issued under that name. The cardinal appointed a committee to inquire into the relative claims of the candidates. After a long and diligent inquiry, and an examination of several MSS., they were unable to come to any decision; and by way of giving a triumph to neither party, the book was ordered to be printed without any name, and appeared in 1640. But the fact of printing it without a name was deemed a triumph by the Benedictines, and was perhaps in some degree susceptible of that interpretation, inasmuch as it was publicly and formally depriving Thomas a Kempis of the possession which he had enjoyed for two centuries. It was weakening, if not destroying, the "prima facie" evidence which he had hitherto enjoyed; and by refusing to acknowledge him in the capacity of author, was an admission that his claim to that honour was at least questionable.

The controversy continued without intermission. Books without end were published at each side of the question. The only arguments of any novelty were the list of Flemish provincialisms in the *Imitation*, published by Hesel, at Ingoldstadt, 1651, and "Thomas a Kempis a Scipso restitutus," by Thomas Carr, an Englishman, and Confessor to the English Benedictine nuns in Paris. This last work was an ingenious attempt to prove by a comparison with his other acknowledged writings, and by giving parallel passages, that the *Imitation* was beyond all question the production of à Kempis. To these items of intrinsic

authenticity, Raynald, a Jesuit, added two others, one was its complete resemblance in style to the other devotional treatises of the Canon Regulars of Windesem,* of which Kempis was a member; and the other was the frequent use of the words "devoti" and "devotio," which, in the Flemish school, were quite common, but rarely employed elsewhere.

The controversy was hushed from 1652 for about twenty years; not for want of zeal in the cause, or because either party was convinced by the arguments of the other, but because nothing new was to be adduced at either side. But the subject was not, it appeared, lost sight of altogether. The Benedictines had been collecting manuscripts from all quarters. The illustrious Mabillon had taken an active part in the contest, and what could not be decided by the evidence of style, was sought to be determined by the antiquity of the manuscripts themselves. Mabillon had latterly acquired considerable celebrity by labours in this department, and it was resolved to apply his principles and his experience to the discovery of their relative antiquity. Permission was obtained from Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, to hold a meeting in his presence, of the most distinguished scholars, at which the manuscripts may be examined. It was unanimously agreed that the thirteen manuscripts exhibited did not show any sign of erasure or alteration. Those who were interested in the claims of à Kempis, alleged that the meeting was packed by their opponents, and they resolved on having one of their own, which was held at the monastery of St. Genevieve, in 1681. This was again met by a counter-meeting of the Benedictines, in 1687. But it is evident that little or nothing could be done in such a cause by the examination of the style of penmanship. The form of the letters may enable a critic to determine with tolerable accuracy the century to which a writing should be referred, but where the real point in dispute did not involve a period of more than 40 or 50 years, within which the style of penmanship suffers but little alteration, an examination of this description could be of no utility whatever.

In 1758, the Abbe Valart tried to re-model the Imitation, and made several alterations in the style. Notwithstanding the many unwarrantable liberties which he took

* Now Windesheim.

with the text, his edition has been followed by several others. He rejected the claims of à Kempis. The only matter of importance that occurred in the remainder of this century, was the publication of the fac-simile of the MS. of Kirkheim, and of the note on the bottom of the title-page, which declares that à Kempis was the author, and that the copy in question was actually written in 1425, and in a convent of Canons Regular.

In the beginning of the present century, the claims of Gersen began to be urged again. The Chevalier Napione, of Turin, advocated his cause in 1808, and was followed by the Abbè Cancellieri, of Rome, in 1809. The Chevalier Gregori, in 1827, published a special treatise on the subject, advocating the claims of Gersen. His work was translated into German by the Abbe Weigl, and published at Sulzbach, in 1832. It will be seen by these several treatises, as well as the work which forms the subject of our notice, that the controversy seems as far from being at an end as ever. We doubt whether any controversy of a purely literary nature has ever occupied so much time, or enlisted the labours of so many learned men. The only new argument that has been introduced into the discussion, is that of the Avogadri manuscript. In 1830, at the very time of the French revolution, M. de Gregori, found a MS. of the Imitation in Paris, without a date, but written in Italy, and which, in the year 1550, was the property of the Canon Jerome de Avogadri, as the outside leaf testified. He tried to discover who the Avogadri were, and by a strange coincidence he succeeded in discovering, among the family papers of the house of De Avogadri de Ceredon, in the Vercellais, an old memorandum, which declared that, on the 15th of February, 1347, the book of the Imitation had been bequeathed to Vincent de Avogadri, by one of his brothers. De Gregori at once inferred that the very MS. discovered by him, was the identical one which, in 1347 had been bequeathed by one member of this family to the other. But whether it was or not, this old memorandum seemed a convincing argument that the Imitation must have been written at the time, which, if true, would at once decide the controversy in favour of Gersen against à Kempis. In looking at the list of editions published within the last ten years, the majority in Italy and France are decidedly in favour of Gersen, and this opinion is also adopted by Rohrbacher, in his history of

the Church, published in 1846. In Germany, however, and the Low Countries, à Kempis has the majority at his side. Judging from the conflicting authorities of both sides, it would seem as if the world was never to be at rest, and yet never to be convinced by the discussion.

It would be entirely beyond our limits to place before our readers the arguments that are adduced in favour of Thomas à Kempis or against him; but on a subject that has been so controverted in other countries, it may not be amiss to give a few of the leading arguments which are relied on by his advocates. As usual in such matters, they are divided under several heads. First in order come the testimony of his contemporaries, of whom no less than fifteen assert him to be the author, and who all lived before the close of the 15th century. They may be considered his contemporaries. Many of them were his friends and acquaintances, among whom was John Buschius. This writer was admitted, in 1420, among the Canons Regular of Windesheim, which was but three miles from the monastery of Zwoll, of which à Kempis was Superior at the time. They were on terms of the greatest friendship and intimacy. In 1464, seven years before the death of à Kempis, he finished the Chronicle of his order, on which he had been some time engaged. In this work he tells us, that a few days before the death of John Van Heusden, prior of Windesheim, "two remarkable brothers from the monastery of Mount Saint Agnes, near Zwoll, of his order came to Windesheim to consult his prior, John Van Heusden, on some matters. One was Thomas à Kempis, a man of a holy life, who has composed many works of piety, to wit, 'Who followeth me?' 'Of the Imitation of Christ,' and others also." This testimony is clear enough. It will not do to say that the passage in question is an interpolation, for the original MS. of Baschius was to be seen at Louvain in 1760, and was examined by competent persons, who made a formal declaration that there was no appearance whatever of erasure or insertion. The value of this testimony, as well as several others of this period, is enhanced by the circumstance, that those by whom it is given lived and wrote before the commencement of the controversy.

Hermann Ryd, born in 1408, entered the monastery of Wittenbroeck at the age of nineteen years. In 1447, he was sent to the monastery called "Novi Operis," of his

order, and there wrote a description of the Houses of the Canons Regular of the order of Windesheim. In this work is found the following passage :

“The brother who compiled the book of the Imitation is called Thomas. He is Superior in the same monastery of Mount Saint Agnes, near Zwoil, in the diocese of Utrecht, in the province of Cologne. This monastery is only a league from Windesheim, the principal house of the order, where the Canons Regular of the provinces of Cologne, Mayence, and Treves, hold each year their General Chapter. This writer was still living in 1454, and I, Brother Hermann, of the monastery ‘*Novi Operis*,’ in the diocese of Magdebourg, having been deputed to the Chapter in that year, was speaking to him.”

This was written in 1454, just seventeen years before the death of à Kempis. This testimony is not alluded to, of course, because it was not known in the early stages of the controversy.

Another most valuable and important evidence in his favour, is a German translation of the three first works of the Imitation, belonging to the monastery of Wingen, and written in 1448. “This book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ,” the writer of the MS. says in the title-page, “was composed by the very venerable father, Master Thomas, a Canon Regular. It embraceth all that a spiritual man hath need of.” And at the end of the volume is written, in the same handwriting: “This book was finished on the Wednesday before Easter, at nine o’clock in the morning, in the year 1448, by me, Gaspar de Pforzheim. May God Almighty be praised.”

There is extant also a life by an anonymous and contemporary author, who appears to have been an intimate acquaintance, in all probability a member of his congregation, who assumes, as a matter of course, that Thomas was the author of the Imitation, and even gives us some of the circumstances that led to or attended the composition of the Third Book. At the end of his biography, the author gives us a list of the several works of à Kempis, in order that the public may know with certainty what he wrote; and what is curious, he puts down each of the books of the Imitation as distinct treatises, in the following order, leading to the obvious inference, that they were originally composed as separate treatises, and only afterwards collected in one work, probably by Thomas himself. This inference becomes more probable from the fact of the Wingen MS. containing only the three first books.

The order of the anonymous biographer is as follows, for the books of the Imitation as it is constituted at present.

“No. 5. The little book of the sentences and words of the humble Jesus, which is otherwise called the Imitation of Jesus Christ, to wit, ‘Who followeth me?’”

This is the First Book of the Imitation. The next on his list is:

“No. 6. The second treatise, ‘The kingdom of God is within you.’”—Second of the Imitation.

“No. 7. The third treatise—Of the Sacrament, ‘Come to me.’—The Fourth Book of the Imitation.

“No. 8. The fourth treatise—Of the inward speech of Jesus Christ to the faithful soul, viz: ‘I will hear what he saith in me.’”—The Third of the Imitation.

Another witness is Hardenberg, who, in his life of Wessel, says:

“The reputation of that excellent man, Thomas à Kempis, attracted round him a great many persons. He was engaged at that time in composing the book of ‘the Imitation of Jesus Christ,’ which commences thus, ‘Who followeth me?’ Wessel used to say that he got from this book his first impulse to a pious life; and it was this also that led him to cultivate the acquaintance and intimacy of Master Thomas, evidently with the intention of embracing the religious life in the same convent.”

Hardenberg was a disciple of Wessel, who had been in his turn the disciple of à Kempis. In a manuscript volume containing the writings of Hardenberg, which has been lately discovered in the library of Munich, there occurs the following passage, but recently published:

“The Religious of Mount St. Agnes,” says Hardenberg, “showed me several writings of the most pious Thomas à Kempis, among which is still preserved, the truly inestimable work of ‘the Imitation of Jesus Christ,’ in which Wessel avowed he got the first taste of real theology. This book led him, while yet young, to study the belles lettres at Zwoll, that he may thereby have the opportunity of cultivating the friendship of the pious Thomas à Kempis, who was then a Canon of the Convent of St. Agnes.”

These testimonies we have quoted as being for the most part less known, and, with two exceptions, not employed in the early periods of the controversy. They form, however, but links in the chain of evidence which extends over that portion of time which elapsed from the publication, if

we may so speak, of the Imitation, by whomsoever composed, to the period when the controversy may be said to have its origin, but which evidence is, therefore, the more valuable, because it preceded by so long an interval the ardour of the discussion.

The conclusion which M. Malou draws from the consideration of all these testimonies, we shall permit him to give in his own words.

“A tradition, well established for more than thirty years before the death of the author, and admitted without question for more than thirty years after his death, cannot fairly be suspected. This tradition is above all lawful and unquestionable, when it has been preserved by a body, or a society, or a Religious order, the members of which know, watch, and help one another, and can neither conspire to deceive the public, nor be deceived themselves, on a matter that has taken place before their eyes.

“I will add, that it is unknown in the history of letters, that an ancient work has been ascribed to a modern author. Very often a modern work has been ascribed to an ancient author, in order that it may have the more weight, but the opposite course has never been followed, nor can it be followed. Now this is exactly what should have taken place, according to the Gersenists. The Imitation, though written two hundred years before, should have been ascribed to a Kempis, who never wrote a line of it. Such a plagiarism is impossible, more especially in the case of a work so remarkable as the Imitation of Jesus Christ. We must, therefore, admit the contemporaneous, domestic, constant, unquestioned, and universal tradition, which we have just proved, or fall into a real scepticism of all history.”—p. 53.

The next class of arguments to which recourse is had, are the manuscripts. We have already stated that it was the discovery of an old manuscript at Arona that first gave rise to the discussion; and, in fact, we have scarcely any other evidence of the existence of Gersen than this one of Arona. Let us see, therefore, how the case stands with à Kempis in this particular. We again have recourse to our author.

“The only manuscripts that can be reasonably appealed to in this discussion, are those that have an author’s name and a date, or something substantially equivalent to both. Those, and they are the most numerous, that have neither author’s name nor date, can never afford a sure proof, because their exact age can never be determined but by inferences resting upon conjectures, questionable in themselves, and, in fact, always questioned; conjectures which, moreover, have no firmer basis to support them than the form of letters, which are scarcely

changed in a century. The most skilled in paleography agree that it is impossible to determine the age of a manuscript that bears no date, within thirty years, and even thus but in a conjectural way. Now, in order to make an argument out of the MSS. produced in this discussion, their age should be determined almost to a year. I shall not discuss this subject with the Gersenists, for our discussion would never have an end, but shall confine myself to those whose clear and definite testimony is above suspicion.

“ ‘The first and oldest with a date is that of Kirkheim, of which the Abbe Ghesquiére published a fac-simile in 1775. This book, which is in 4to, contains the three first books of the Imitation, and has upon the title-page these remarkable words :

“ ‘Notandum quod iste tractatus editus est a probo et egregio viro magistro Thoma, de Monte Stæ. Agnetis, et Canonico Regulari in Trajecto, Thomas de Kempis dictus, *descriptus ex manu auctoris in Trajecto, anno 1425, in sociatu provincialatus.*’

“ Which may be thus translated : ‘It is to be observed, that this treatise was composed by a very pious and learned man, Master Thomas, of Mount Saint Agnes, and Canon Regular of Utrecht, called Thomas à Kempis. It has been copied from the autograph of the author, in Utrecht, in the year 1425, in the mother house of the province.’

“ Here then is a copy of the autograph of Thomas à Kempis, taken at Utrecht, in the house of the Canons Regular, ten years after the work was composed. There is no other MS. with date and author’s name as old as this. Thomas à Kempis has, therefore, the start of all his competitors.

“ The oldest with a date, and bearing the name of Gersen, is that of 1464, (the MS. of Parma.)

“ The oldest with date, and the name of Gerson, is that of 1460, (the MS. Sangermanensis, or Bretonianus.)

“ Thus the most ancient with date, and the name of à Kempis, is anterior by thirty-five years to the oldest that has the name of Gerson, and by thirty-nine years to the oldest that has the name of Gersen.

“ The oldest MS. with the name of Thomas à Kempis, was written *forty-six years before the death* of the pious writer, while the oldest MS. with the name of Gerson was written *thirty-one years after his death*, and the oldest with the name of Gersen, *about two centuries and a half after his death.*

“ Thus Thomas à Kempis, who died 42 years after Gerson, and 250 years after Gersen, was, as far as we can discover, admitted to be the author of the Imitation before either of the others.”—page 54.

The second MS. is one that has been frequently quoted and alluded to. It belonged formerly to the Jesuits of Antwerp, but it is now in the Burgundian library at Brussels. It is all the hand-writing of Thomas à Kempis

himself, and bears on the title-page the following words: *
 “Finitus et completus Anno Domini 1441, per manus fratris Thomæ Kempensis, in Monte Stæ. Agnetis, prope Zwollas.” Its contents are the four books of the Imitation, and several other treatises. All the other treatises are genuine and admitted works of à Kempis; the whole MS. is confessedly in his hand-writing. Are the books of the Imitation his own composition as well as his own hand-writing? This is the question at issue. It is not likely that a writer of his virtue and humility would put a work of such merit and his own on the same level, or in the same flattering juxta-position, unless his claim and right to all were equal. Thomas was a copyist of much skill and industry. There are many MSS. still existing of his hand-writing. He never in any one of them mingles the writings of others with his own. The weight of the argument, however, is attempted to be evaded by the explanation that the words of à Kempis only refer to the copying, and not the composition. Even admitting this to be the case, which is admitting a great deal too much, we should say that it is very probable that the MS. in question is a transcript from an older copy of his own composition, as is admitted to be the case with his other works in the same volume. The whole turns upon the meaning which will be given to the expression “per manus.” Does this exclude or include the idea of its being his composition also? On this the whole depends.

It is not our intention, nor will our space allow of more than a reference to the other manuscripts. There are 14 in all that bear dates anterior to 1500. The latest indeed is that of Rebdorf, with the date 1488. There are a great number without date that ascribe the Imitation to Thomas a Kempis. The most remarkable is one that the Canons Regular of St. Martin of Louvain procured from that of Mount St. Agnes. It is in the handwriting of à Kempis, and in it the fourth book is but a rough draught with several corrections. This would go to prove that it is anterior to the Jesuit copy, which is a perfect one, and in our opinion is one of the strongest proofs that à Kempis is the author.

We come now to the printed editions. It is admitted

* Finished and completed by the year of our Lord 1441, by the hand of Brother Thomas à Kempis, in Mount St. Agnes, near Zwoll.

that the earliest editions of the *Imitation* were printed in the name of à Kempis. The oldest is that of Ginther Zainer, printed at Augsburg. There is no date, but the printer's name will enable us to conjecture it, at least approximately, for it is ascertained by the obituary register of the Holy Cross of Augsburg, that Zainer died in 1475. It must therefore be before that year. M. Malou ascribes it to 1468. From this period to 1500 there were no less than 25 editions issued with the name of à Kempis. Even the editors of the works of Gerson have gone so far as to negative his claims to the authorship of the *Imitation*, which about the beginning of the sixteenth century began to be ascribed to him.

It is also well known and admitted that à Kempis was a distinguished member of the Congregation of Windesem, which was a reformed branch of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustin. This Congregation had a peculiar style, both of thought and expression, in devotional matters. Their peculiarities were so marked as to constitute almost a distinct and separate school, of which Gerard Groot, John Van Heusden, and Florence Radewyns may be considered the representatives. Their devotional and spiritual works are marked by a certain phraseology, which pervades them all. If à Kempis studied in this school, it would be but reasonable to expect that his writings would be thus characterized; and among the rest the *Imitation*, if written by him. This we find to be the case. Let any one compare the following passages, taken respectively from John Van Heusden and the *Imitation*. Van Heusden was abbot of Windesem, and died in that abbey in 1424, when à Kempis was a member of the community.

John Van Heusden.

“*Vita D. N. Jesu Christi* quæ nos præcepit, fons est omnium virtutum, qua mediante ad omnes virtutes citius pervenitur. Sine quâ ad veras virtutes, et ad suum amorem pervenire non possumus.”

Again.

“*Quia* exercitium et cognitio

The Imitation.

“*Qui* sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris; hæc sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur quatenus *vitam ejus*, et mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, et ab omni cœcitate cordis liberari; summum igitur studium nostrum sit in *vita Jesu Christi* meditari.”

Book i. chap. 1.

Imitation.

“*Qui* autem vult plene et sa-

pariunt amorem, idcirco necesse est, ut prius in ea exerceatur; et qui ista negligit, quamvis haberet et *sciret totam Bibliam* et Scripturam, et legem unquam positam aut conscriptam, id minime sufficeret."

pide Christi verba intelligere oportet ut totam vitam suam illi studeat conformare. Si scires totam Bibliam exterius, et omnium philosophorum dicta quid totum tibi prodesset?"—Book i. chap. 1.

We can quote no more. There is certainly a strong resemblance in the ideas and even words of these passages. The inference must be that the author of the Imitation learned under John of Heusden. There is something more than a casual resemblance between them in those passages.

"The Congregation of Windesem," says M. Malou, "has been called by Buschius 'the modern devotion.' All the members of the Congregation are in the constant habit of employing the words 'devoti,' to designate their brethren, and the word 'devotio,' to designate their order or institute. Eusebius Amort assures us that these words are employed 440 times throughout the acknowledged works of a Kempis. Now what is the author of the Imitation in the habit of doing? Exactly what I have pointed out as peculiar to the writers of Windesem and St. Agnes. This assertion is evident to any one who compares the Imitation with these writings."—page 69.

Considerable pains have been taken to discover whether from such idiomatic forms of expression as the Imitation affords, the country or birth-place of the author could be known. If the author were French, the phrases or terms of expression, where they deviate from the pure classical standard, should incline to that language; and thus also should it be were he Flemish or Italian. The only three candidates for the honour of the authorship are A. Kempis, Gerson, and Gersen. It is asserted and maintained that the idioms of the Imitation are universally Flemish. This is a point which we must receive on the authority of others. M. Malou asserts it to be a fact; and it is probable that in a matter concerning the language of his country he is a competent witness. For the curious in those matters we quote the following phrases, as those that form the basis of this argument.

"Si scires totam Bibliam *exterius*."—Book i. chap. 1.

"*Post te gemere, necesse est*."—B. iii. c. 59.

"Ita ut *una æquali facie* in gratiarum actione maneas."—Book iii. c. 25.

"Verus amator Christi *non cadet* super consolationes."—B. ii. c. 9.

"*Pro bono totum accipias*."—B. iii. c. 49.

“Ecce in cruce *totum constat* et in moriendo *totum jacet.*”—Book ii. c. 12.

“*Si bene steteris cum Deo.*”—B. iii. c. 44.

“*Bonum nobis est quod aliquando habemus aliquas gravitates.*”—B. i. c. 12.

“*Quid est homo inde Melior, quia reputatur ab homine major.*”—B. iii. c. 20.

“*Pone ex corde.*”—B. iii. c. 57.

“From this remarkable coincidence we are led to believe,” says our author, “even if we had no other proof, that the author of the Imitation was neither a Frenchman nor an Italian by birth; but that he was born in a country where the Congregation of ‘the Modern Devotion’ flourished, and that he spoke all his life a language that neither Gersen nor Gerson knew anything of.

“And now that we have established, by such arguments as the Gersenists themselves are fond of, the intimate connection that existed between the author of the Imitation and the members of this Congregation; now that their perfect identity of doctrine, language, country, and school has been established, it remains for me to prove that the author of the Imitation is Thomas a Kempis himself, one of the ‘notable brothers’ of the Convent of St. Agnes, and one of the most celebrated writers of the Order. To do this I shall show the reader by parallel passages, 1st. that Thomas a Kempis has invariably treated of the same subjects which are treated of in the Imitation, that he has done so in exactly the same order, and often in the same words; 2. that Thomas a Kempis has always employed in his style of writing, the forms of expression which have been adopted by the author of the Imitation; 3. and finally, that Thomas a Kempis has constantly used the same strange phrases, the same unusual forms of expression, and even the same barbarisms, and that he has been guilty of the same solecisms as the author of the Imitation. If this resemblance does not prove their being one and the same individual, I venture to say that there is no such thing as a satisfactory proof in the whole range of critical literature.”

It would be too tedious to follow the author through all the details of this proof, but we can state that he has accomplished his task with much labour and ingenuity, and also in our opinion with very considerable success. He has arranged the several parallelisms in such a way as to give Thomas a Kempis a very strong resemblance to the author of the Imitation.

Having devoted much of our space to the claims of Thomas à Kempis, we can give but little to those of the other claimants. Fortunately, they do not require very much, and a few words will express the substance of the arguments that have been relied on by their supporters. It has always seemed to us highly probable that Gerson and

Gersen were in reality one and the same; but as they have been distinguished from one another in the controversy, we do not consider ourselves at liberty to mix their pretensions together. It is certainly very unfortunate for the Benedictines, that, with all their labour and research, they have not been able to establish convincingly his existence, and that this should be only an inference, natural enough indeed, from the fact of authorship. Yet until this fact be decided in his favour, it is more or less of a "petitio principii" to take it for granted that he was a real living personage. The principal proof by which both have been sustained, is the MS. of Arona, which has been already mentioned; but this MS. has no date, and its origin is only conjecturally assigned to the middle of the 14th century. Until his name was discovered on the title-page of this MS. Gersen was not known. He is mentioned by no author; he is alluded to by no historian; he is connected with no monument. The Benedictines, usually not neglectful of their illustrious men, have preserved no record of him in the annals of the order. It is only since the present controversy started into existence that his name was heard or his personality admitted. This is, to say the least, suspicious. Even his name is not very accurately determined. It is written in three different ways: Gesen, Gessen, and Gersen; even Gersem and Gersennis have been occasionally met with. The very monastery of which he was said to be abbot has not been determined with any precision. The record of the abbots of Vercelli has been long since lost; and of the few whose names have survived the wreck of time, and been preserved in the memory of their successors, there is no one of the name of John until the year 1491.

Many of the manuscripts under the name of Gersen of the 15th century, state expressly that he was Chancellor of Paris; which fact tends to render more probable the conjecture to which we have before alluded, that Gerson and Gersen were substantially the same.

The advocates of Gersen also appeal to the internal evidence which the Imitation affords, they say, of having been written by an Italian. Here again we must have recourse to our author:

"In the Third Book, Chapter 21, is found the word *solatiocissimus*, a barbarous superlative from the Italian word *solazzoso*; elsewhere are found the words, *licenciatus*, *bassari*, *pensare*, *regratiari*, *contentari*,

grossus, sentimenta, devotionis, nihilitatis, &c. Here are a good many words of a purely Italian origin changed into Latin ones. Therefore the author was an Italian.

“This list of words is very different from the list of Flemish idioms we have already given. But even these words do not prove the Italian origin of the author. They have been all used in our provinces. Their source can even be pointed out. As these barbarisms have been all derived from the Latin, which was spoken in our country by the Roman armies, and still later by the Church, it is very probable that they have continued in use among us from that time down to the 16th century, when a purer taste began to prevail. They may have even been propagated by the circulation of Italian books. People were not very choice in their words in the middle ages. Whatever may have been their root, the whole argument derived from them in this instance is entirely destroyed by this one fact: that these same words have been frequently employed by the Brothers of Windesem, and particularly by Thomas à Kempis. Amort cites ten works of this writer in which the word *regratiari* is used. The works of Thomas à Kempis contain the word *pensare* thirteen times, *contentari* eight times, *licentiaré* four times, *sentimenta* once, *grossus* twice, *solaziosissimus* once.”—page 166.

The latest and the most ingenious argument for Gersen, is that put forward by M. de Gregori, in 1830, grounded on the manuscript de *Advocatis*, discovered by him in Paris in that year. This copy of the Imitation belonged in the course of the 16th century to the family of that name, as an inscription on the title-page testifies. This family is still living, at a place called Bielle, in the Vercel-lais; and here, on enquiry, he found in some old family register, dated February 15th, 1349, that a copy of the Imitation was presented by one member of it to another on that day. It was presumed that the MS. discovered in Paris was the very copy then presented. It is evident that if these assumptions were true, the claims of Thomas were at an end; and if à Kempis be not the author, to whom must it be assigned if not to Gersen? But we confess that, however plausible all these inferences may appear at first sight, they do not seem to us to be able to stand the test of inquiry. The family register turns out to be a mere loose scrap of paper, though dignified with that name. There are several notes upon it that render it rather suspicious, and the connection between the two is after all but questionable. May there not have been two or more families of the name? It is also asserted by some who examined the copy of the Imitation, that it does not at all warrant the claims to high antiquity which are asserted for it. The

forms of many of the letters and figures are exactly such as are found in the writings of the 15th century, about the time that printing was invented. With all these reasons for doubt, we must still think that the proof of M. de Gregori, however ingenious, is not solid nor satisfactory. Besides, the very off-hand manner in which the writer mentions "the Imitation" by that name, argues a comparatively recent date, for it is quite certain that the work was not generally designated or known by that name until the close of the 15th century.

The claims of Gerson are more easily, because they have been more calmly, discussed than those of Gersen. There is no contemporary author known who ascribes the Imitation to Gerson. The very editors of his works, in 1488, declare that it was not his, though this very declaration is a proof that at this period some persons attributed it to him. There are two manuscripts that bear his name, one with the date of 1441,* the other in 1460. The first of these was twelve years and the second thirty-one years after the death of the person to whom they were ascribed. The hypothesis, however, which has been most generally acceptable to the admirers of Gerson of late years, is that of M. Onesime Leroy:

"The persons whom I have mentioned, having observed about fifteen years ago, among the MSS. of the library of Valenciennes a remarkable book which contained 'the Internal Consolation' entire, the text of which seemed joined to the sermons of Gerson in such a manner as to appear a principal part of his works. After having examined this precious volume with the most scrupulous care, these gentlemen declared that the hypothesis put forth by Lenglet Dufresnoy was become an historic fact, and that the claims of Gerson were thenceforward placed beyond the reach of controversy."

The nature of this discovery was, that the work of the "Internal Consolation," in three books, in French, which was bound up with the works of Gerson, was the original of the Imitation, and that the Latin was but a translation by another hand. The MS. of Valenciennes, on which this discovery rested, was a beautifully written volume, and was copied out, as is mentioned in the end, by one David

* This is the MS. of Pollingen in Bavaria. It bears the date of 1441, but the name is doubtful, and is claimed by Gersen as well as Gerson. "De Imitatione Christi a Johanne Gers. lib. iv."

Aubert, for Philip, Duke of Burgundy. The copyist lived and wrote this volume about the year 1462. But the whole of this hypothesis crumbles into ruins when it is known that the same identical work on the *Internal Consolation*, on which it all rests, is also to be found in a volume in the library of Amiens, under the title of "A Translation of the *Imitation of Jesus Christ*," and that this translation contains the three first books of the *Imitation* exactly in the same order that David Aubert followed in the MS. of Valenciennes; that is, the second book is placed first; then the third; and the first book is placed at the end. The MS. of Valenciennes is dated 1462; that of Amiens in 1447. This translation was made at Heusden, and probably by Aubert himself, who was a native of that place. The discovery of this volume at Amiens has, therefore, overthrown the theory of Leroy. It is strange that any one with pretensions to taste or judgment, should suppose that the Latin was not, by whomsoever written, a genuine and original composition.

But the claims of John Gerson to be the author of the *Imitation*, are in our opinion very easily determined. Whoever wrote the *Imitation* was a member of a religious order, and lived in a community of religious men. It is equally certain that Gerson was not one of this description. Nor could he have written it while on a visit in a monastery; for the whole spirit of the *Imitation* is that of a religious man who has contracted solemn religious obligations, and who encourages others of the same class with whom he lives, to perfection and perseverance. The whole work breathes this spirit, and furnishes us with its clear and unquestionable testimony that the author was a Religious, and therefore was not Gerson.

This argument will not weigh against Gerson, who is stated to have been an abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Vercelli. But it seems clear to us, that all the circumstances of Gerson's life and character have been only put forward since the controversy commenced; and that if his cause had not been sustained by the learning and renown of the congregation of St. Maur, it would have long since fallen to the ground. It rests, as we have seen, entirely on the authority of manuscripts, especially that of Arona. Now it so happens that in this discussion, manuscripts, except sustained by extrinsic evidence, are of no authority whatever, for this reason, that there are some of the great-

est antiquity and authority in the names of each of the three claimants. Two of the three must be wrong, and consequently the name which depends on the authority of the manuscript alone, has the chances more than two to one against it. The manuscripts in the name of Gerson the Chancellor are as old as those with the name of Gersen the Benedictine, and yet his cause has been almost entirely abandoned; and so also would be in all probability that of the Benedictine, if his cause depended for its maintenance on the claims of truth, and not on the honour of an order or the pride of a party.

And we do confess that we feel a pleasure in declaring, from a calm, and we trust impartial, consideration of the reasons adduced on all sides, that we think the claims of Thomas a Kempis to the authorship of the *Imitation* are unquestionable. Setting aside the authority of the MSS. altogether, we have the unequivocal and definite testimony of his order that he was the author. This testimony is given by his contemporaries, of whom several lived on terms of intimacy with him, and who express the great pleasure they felt in being permitted to speak with him, and preserved by the tradition of the Brethren of the Congregation of Windesheim. The whole tenor of his life, his character and writings, tend to show how consistently and properly it may be ascribed to him. The very internal evidence of the composition; its Flemish idioms and turns of expression, some of them evidently branches of a Saxon stock; the interjectional and exclamatory turns of thought, so like what is found in his other writings; the great and close resemblance of the subject matter, as well as its mode of treatment, all combine to give his claims the accumulative support which place them beyond the possibility of being hereafter disturbed. The MS. of Louvain, which contains the fourth book in a rough state, with the author's corrections and alterations, is the charter of his dignity. This MS. belonged to the Canons Regular of Saint Martin's of Louvain, who procured it from the Convent of Mount St. Agnes. It is in the hand writing of à Kempis, and contains the fourth Book with several corrections and alterations. It is probably the original copy from which that of 1441 was taken by Thomas à Kempis himself. This clearly indicating an author's right and privilege of making what changes he thought proper in his own work,

puts it beyond a question, and we hope and trust that the controversy will never be renewed.

We feel a pleasure in finding that great and good man placed in the high and honourable position from which his own humility would have shrunk, of being the acknowledged author of one of the finest productions of the human mind. He himself no doubt would, in conformity with his own advice, prefer being unknown; and having cast his book upon the great highway of human existence, been content to let it fructify an hundred-fold, or be trampled on by the passers by, as the Almighty, in the designs of His providence, may think proper to arrange. We may rest assured that fame had but little attraction and few charms for him. His vocation was for silence and retirement. The cloister was his world, the altar the sublime object of his ambition. Beyond the esteem and love of his brethren, he had on earth no motive to urge him to labour, or to reward him for success. But what was wanting upon this earth was amply compensated from above; and in the tranquil seclusion of his cloister, a spirit was given to him, that, by its holy inspirations and rapturous emotions, made ample compensation for those that were wanting to him among men. Drawn to the seclusion of God's house, and to the functions of the altar, while yet in the freshness of his innocence, and most probably with a conscience that was never stained by grievous sin, he devoted himself during a long life to the acquirement and practice of the virtues suitable to his state. Study and prayer were the happy alternations of his untroubled career; and, like the activity and repose of daily life, each prepared and disposed him for the performance of the other. Often at the time of recreation, when surrounded by a group of his younger brethren in religion, who listened with love and reverence to the words—stirring words they must have been—that fell from his lips, he would feel the outpouring of the divine Spirit in his heart, and the first thrill of those rapturous communications with which he was often favoured, and saying to his expectant hearers that a friend demanded his presence in his chamber, he would repair thither to commune with God in silence and alone. What they said to one another in that blessed intercourse of prayer it is not for us to know; but it is not presumptuous to suppose that it was in times like these, that many of those spirit-stirring pages were produced which move our very souls within us in the

admirable volume of the *Imitation*. Would it be rash to say, that even in our times the spirit of Inspiration is not altogether departed from the writings of Christian teachers, and that, like the Son of Sirach, who was not sanctioned in the old, there have been, and perhaps are still, in the new dispensation, writers on whom the Church has not pronounced, and probably never will pronounce, but who notwithstanding have been immediately influenced by the Holy Spirit, and whose pages, not sanctioned by the Church, because not to be employed in her public teaching, were yet in truth and reality inspired, for the maintenance of a heartfelt and loving spirit of piety in the breasts of God's children, and for the keeping alive of that flame of divine love, without which men, were they to speak with the tongues of angels, would be but a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

And we rejoice, too, that one of the masterpieces of human genius has at length obtained an owner and a name, for one of the greatest efforts of human genius the *Imitation* unquestionably is, and of genius in its highest and best forms of development, full of highest truth, and noblest aspiration, and deepest poetry, a well-spring of pure and generous emotion, whence the soul, in every one of its ever-varying moods, may drink deep draughts of happiness and contentment. The cloistered virgin, in the purity of her innocence and the silence of her cell, may peruse its page with delight, and learn therein to love with a warmer and a more tender love her heavenly Spouse, and to cherish with a more devoted attachment the advantages of her state. The penitent, whose heart is bursting with a grief and compunction which he seeks in vain to express, will find how well his feelings are embodied in the words of a *Kempis*, and the words that express his feelings will increase at the same time the bitterness of his compunction. The divine, whose well-informed mind is acquainted with the whole circle of revealed truth, and whose acute and searching intellect is able to discover the lurking sophism, and penetrate the specious fallacy, will find in the pages of the *Imitation* that there is a science which the most learned treatises scarcely contemplate, and which the acutest syllogism cannot compass—the science of the heart. If the highest triumphs of the poet's skill be to affect, to please, to charm, to elevate above the ordinary course of human events, to waft us to worlds more fair and

beautiful than the actual reality of the present, and to make us yearn for something better and purer and more deserving the affections, than the commonplaces that so frequently challenge them here, who has done so more effectually and triumphantly than à Kempis? In his pages we find no sensual imagery, no degrading associations of idea or sentiment, no mere worldly or earthly sources of interest, such as are so often met with in the choicest productions of human poesy; but every line, from the beginning to the end, breathes throughout the spirit of purity and simplicity. We feel everywhere, and almost audibly, the beating of that deep, earnest, affectionate, loving, and at the same time simple and spotless heart, which the Holy Spirit consecrated, and prepared, and furnished for itself with the precious gifts which he brings to those with whom he takes up his abode. We owe the Imitation much. We have derived much happiness, and we hope some benefit, from the perusal of its pages. And we rejoice that we have at length some definite individual to look to with reverence and gratitude as the author, and that the crown so well deserved, yet so long and warmly contested, is at last, and we trust for ever, fixed beyond the reach of cavil upon the brows of the pious, humble, but highly gifted THOMAS A KEMPIS.

ART. III.—*Geschichte Papst Innocenz des dritten und seiner Zeit-genossen.* VON FRIEDRICH HURTER. History of Pope Innocent III. and his Contemporaries. By DR. F. HURTER. Vols. 3 and 4. Hamburg, 1842.

THE Middle Age was the childhood of the European nations. It was the age of earnest and generous feelings, warm impressions, fond imaginings, and ardent aspirations. It was the period that witnessed the rise and first development of European States, and in which were sown the germs of all modern civilization and modern greatness. Hence the interest which attaches to those ages, more than to all others. If we look with a sense of

reverential admiration on those primitive times of the Church, when the divine seed of Redemption put forth its first fruits, and our fathers in the faith sealed their testimony with their blood; it is with feelings of tenderer and more clinging affection we turn to those ages, when our ancestors in the flesh laid the foundations of our civil polity, and Christianity, after having renovated the individual, began to exert her benign influence on the social man. We have called it the childhood of European nations; but that word of course involves the idea of imperfect progress and undeveloped civilization. Those times are also frequently, and with propriety, called the "Ages of Faith," not as if they exhibited a state of faultless perfection, or as if the moral and intellectual ideal of Christianity were absolutely and everywhere exhibited in them; but in contradistinction to those ages, when heresy obtained so fatal a triumph in the northern countries of Europe, and when the *social* influence of the Church was weakened, even in some of those states that remained Catholic. In that long period there were epochs of the most diversified character, moral and intellectual. The Church then, as before and since, had her eras of disciplinary decline and revival; and these were ages of intellectual rudeness and high comparative refinement. In different European lands, too, there were, during the same period, various degrees of moral and intellectual culture.* The last three centuries have been the turbulent, intemperate youth of the European nations, many of whom have entirely forfeited the gift of faith, while all, by greater or less infidelity, have grievously offended against their mother. Now that those nations seem to be verging towards their intellectual and political manhood, they are beginning to give evident tokens of repentance for the errors and transgressions of their youth. And as when in soberer manhood, men would renounce the intemperate joys of youthful years, they love to recur to the days of childhood, and recall to mind its innocent pleasures, its pure impulses, and fond anticipations; so the same feelings now prompt the European nations to turn to their ages of political infancy. In those ages it is they must

* Thus the tenth century, which, from the vice and ignorance then prevalent in France and Italy, has been called by Baronius the iron age, was truly entitled in Germany to the appellation of *silver*.

look for their purest and most beneficent acts—their most generous sentiments—their loftiest aspirings, and most heroic achievements. There they must seek for the well-spring of their manners, laws, and civil polity—for the glorious beginnings of their arts and sciences—in a word, for the grandest social manifestations of that sublime Faith, the sole guide to the future, as it is the best interpreter of the past.

In the Middle Age we witness the struggle between barbarism and Christian civilization; and hence the contradictions which the history of that period so often exhibits. The rude nations whom Christianity had then to discipline to her yoke, had that unsteadiness of character and those vehement passions common to all barbarians. Hence we so frequently encounter in the men of those times the extremes of good or ill, heroic virtue or reprobate wickedness. In the first ages of the Church, the Christians formed a community set apart from a corrupt world; but now the world itself had long become Christian, and therefore of necessity those who disgraced the Christian profession by their vices, were far more considerable than at the former period. But with this single draw-back, which is in the nature of things, nowhere do we find a faith purer and more intense—greater zeal for God's glory, for the splendour of Divine worship, for the propagation of the Gospel, and the extirpation of error and ignorance, than in those much-calumniated times. Nowhere do we find a faith more fruitful in good works; and as patience and fortitude were the characteristics of the early ages of the Church, so overflowing love is the predominant trait of the mediæval times. What countless institutions for the succour and alleviation of every form and variety of physical suffering and moral destitution! Hospitals, orphanages, asylums for indigent manhood and destitute old age, schools and institutes of gratuitous instruction for every class and every capacity;—nought escaped the inventive zeal of watchful love. If the ills which flesh is heir to be innumerable, yet Christian charity had discovered a balm for every wound, and a medicament for every infirmity.

The political organization of that period, unfinished and imperfect as it was, was truly admirable. The respective claims of authority and obedience, of the sovereign and the subject, were settled with wonderful skill; and the same wisdom pervaded the relations of the several classes in the

state; and for the first time in History did the world witness that mighty social reform—the abolition of servitude. Royalty, as represented in very many princes of that time, exhibited a character of mildness and paternal benignity till then unknown; and chivalry, by infusing a high spirit of honour and self-devotion into the nobility, tempered the fierceness of war, and refined the intercourse of private life. The municipal institutions of the middle age have never been surpassed for wisdom and liberality; and the commercial prosperity and political freedom which they insured, might well excite the envy of the moderns. The theory of a mixed monarchy was better realized at that period than at any other. In the first place, the Catholic Church enjoyed the most perfect liberty in the exercise of all her sacred rights; and this spiritual independence, so necessary to the moral well-being of nations, is the most solid basis and the surest guarantee of all their other liberties. In the second place, the Church not only possessed the utmost freedom in all spiritual concerns, but was enabled, by her great wealth and political privileges, to exercise considerable influence in matters of state.

The nobility, by its large possessions, its chivalric spirit, its warlike achievements, its glory, personal and ancestral, was one of the chief corner-stones of the political edifice. The born protectors of the prerogatives of the crown, and the liberties of the people, they took the most active part in the national councils, and were mixed up with the whole judicial and administrative functions of the state. They were not, like their descendants in too many modern countries, content with gracing the court-levee, or at best with exercising the profession of arms. Compared with subsequent times, the power of the Commons was then, indeed, feeble; but in most countries, as England, Germany, Spain, and Italy, the third Estate, by its intelligence and wealth, had directly and indirectly risen by degrees to considerable political importance. And with respect to the influence of the press, whereof so much is now said, two remarks occur to our mind. In the first place, the press is not the exclusive organ of the middle or lower classes, but represents also the special feelings and interests of other orders, as well as the doctrines common to them all. Secondly, in a well-regulated Catholic state, where ecclesiastical dogma, and not mere individual opinion, decides all the fundamental questions of morals, the

press could not exercise the same tyranny over public opinion, as in Protestant and half-infidel countries. The modern press, when confined to its *legitimate* action, corresponds in some degree to the influence exercised in the middle age by the universities. But the democratic element was precisely the least developed in the political institutions of the middle age; for in that period we are only to look for the first rudiments, as it were, of the Christian monarchy.

Royalty was the summit of the social edifice. Yet the king was not then, as afterwards, a mere pensioner on the bounty of his Parliament; but he was an independent landed proprietor, that could not be starved into a surrender of his rights. Nor could he, under the pretext of the system of *ministerial responsibility*, be defrauded of his inalienable birth-right—the free exercise of the veto. No new impost could be levied indeed, no law passed by royal edict; but the sovereign could never be made the passive tool of his parliament, or any majority within it. It has often been said of the old monarchies of the Middle Age, that the limits between the Regal and the Parliamentary powers could not be exactly defined. This is the best eulogy those monarchies could have received. But the sovereign and the subject were often compelled to make mutual concessions;—there was a giving and a taking on both sides; yet royalty had ever its assigned sphere of action, within which it could freely exercise its prerogative. In no monarchy, not even the most absolute, does the sovereign possess such a degree of independence, that he can violate with impunity the fundamental laws, customs, usages, and institutions, civil and religious, of his country, or even always run counter to the clearly expressed will of his people. In the modern representative system the supreme power is lodged, not as in the mediæval monarchy, in the person of the king, but in the aristocracy or the democracy. Whereas in our own Constitution of 1688, the sovereign authority was virtually centred in the aristocracy; there the State enjoyed a degree of stability, and insured a degree of freedom, which has been utterly unknown to those spurious imitations of that constitution, that have sprung up in such rank luxuriance since the French Revolution of 1789. These constitutions, wherein the democratic principle was either openly or covertly predominant, have, within the last sixty years, risen up and

disappeared, like the fungus of the field. No permanence in institutions—no steady systematic foreign policy—no large well-ordered freedom—no repose for the people, where in a populous state democracy has obtained the ascendant. Thus, as regards its political institutions, the Middle Age may well challenge a comparison with subsequent times.

The international relations of states were in the Middle Age on a far more solid footing than in modern times. How many wars were prevented, how many others terminated by the paternal umpirage of the Popes! How many a noble confederacy of princes for the defence of Christendom against its barbarian foes was planned and brought about by papal wisdom and vigilance! And in the internal affairs of nations, how often did the same tutelary power protect the defenceless widow and orphan against the violence of lawless usurpation, or arrest regal tyranny in its full career, or crush rebellion in its struggles against anointed majesty!

If we look to science, when did the queen of sciences, Theology, assume a more majestic mien than at this period? If in philological and historical learning the ancient Fathers and modern Divines far excel those of the Middle Age, the princes of the mediæval school are at least unsurpassed in acuteness of reasoning and depth of observation. Theological discussions, being carried on exclusively within the precincts of the school, and in a foreign idiom too, which is of necessity adverse to the natural eloquent expression of feeling, that elegance of diction, in which modern theology is often arrayed, was not of course to be looked for. If the external evidences of Christianity were not treated with the same skill and learning as in other times, yet at no period were the intrinsic proofs—the internal consistency and harmony—the divine wisdom of the Christian Revelation better understood and more clearly demonstrated.

That excessive subtlety and spirit of empty dialectics, which has often been alleged against the philosophic labours of the Middle Age, applies only to the works of later and inferior schoolmen, or to such productions of the better among them, as were designed for scholastic disputation, and not for general utility or edification. At no period were logic and metaphysics cultivated with so much zeal, or won so much popular favour. The obscurity and

over-refined subtlety, into which the scholastic philosophy sometimes fell, are to be attributed partly to the secluded habits of its professors, partly to the more contracted sphere of knowledge at that period. Addresses to a general public necessitate clearness of expression and lucidness of method; and acquired learning, by furnishing the mind with solid food, makes it disdain the light nutriment of mere verbal subtleties. But what solidity of observation and depth of thought the mediæval philosophy could frequently exhibit, the writings of Scotus Erigena, (in despite of important errors), of St. Anselm, St. Bernard, John of Salisbury, Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura, and others, may attest.

Jurisprudence, too, was another favourite study in the Middle Age; and, after theology and philosophy, no science was more calculated to sharpen the reasoning powers, and strengthen the judgment. The high degree of refinement which the science of Canon Law then attained to, exerted a strong influence on the sister study of civil jurisprudence. The customary laws of Germany, France, and Italy, were severally committed to writing. And as a great writer* has observed, it would have been well if the European nations, instead of transplanting among themselves a foreign jurisprudence, like that of Rome, had cultivated and developed their own customs and laws, imparted to them a scientific form, and adapted their principles to the growing wants and exigencies of society.

The Poetry of the Middle Age was late in its development, because, before the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the vernacular languages received scarcely any culture. In the cloister, where the Latin language was in familiar use, and, as it were, naturalized, sacred lyric poetry was cultivated with great success, long ere the vernacular muse had the courage to utter her accents aloud. Yet in the later part of the Middle Age, in Italy, Germany, France, and England, lyric and epic poetry reached a degree of excellence never since surpassed. The *Niebelungen-lied*, by Wolfram von Eschenbach, the *Divina Commedia* of Dante, the odes of Petrarch, and the tales of Boccaccio and Chaucer, have, at least as regards beauty of style, some of them not been excelled, others not

* Frederick von Schlegel.

equalled, in modern times. Wherever the Middle Age was able to mature its intellectual productions, there unrivalled excellence was its apanage.

If this were true of the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas and the poetry of Dante, it holds good of those mighty monuments of art—the cathedrals of the Middle Age. Never in any species of architecture were lightness and solidity, unity of design and variety of ornament, depth of understanding and sublimity of imagination more happily blended than in those mediæval edifices—the noble creations of Christian faith. Christian painting did not then attain to the same pitch of excellence; yet if it laboured under certain technical defects of drawing and colouring, its better productions are often, in point of design and expression, superior to those of subsequent times. The admirable works of Angelico da Fiesole, Perugino, and Von Eyck, may in every respect challenge a comparison with the mightiest efforts of later art.

History, during this period, was in a state of comparative infancy; yet its naïve and artless accents possess an incomparable charm. The vernacular prose being (except at the close of these ages) totally neglected, the foreign idiom, in which these chronicles were written, was, for the reasons above given, little favourable to eloquence, especially as the classical models of the Latin tongue were not studied with a view to style and diction. Philosophy, in its relations to social life, had been little cultivated; and general knowledge was too confined, as well as the sources of historical information too scanty, to admit of a careful and searching enquiry into facts. Hence neither critical acumen, nor political generalization can be looked for from the chroniclers of this period. But if truthfulness, candour, good sense, and piety, be the first requisites of an historian, the works of the mediæval annalists may well compete with the more elaborate and rhetorical productions of many of their successors.

Such are the ages, which, in their most flourishing and creative epoch, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Dr. Hurter has, in the work before us, depicted. Our readers are doubtless aware, that this eminent man was a minister of the Calvinistic Church at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland; that he occupied a place of importance and dignity in that Church; and that for the favourable sentiments which he publicly avowed towards the Catholic Religion,

as well as for his well-known Conservative opinions in politics, he was an object of persecution from the Rationalists and the Radicals of his native canton. His historical researches on the Middle Ages, conducted with most indefatigable zeal and honest impartiality, had led him to a due appreciation of the doctrines, liturgy, hierarchy, and intellectual and social influences of the Catholic Church, as well as of the merits of the many eminent and holy personages of every rank, that have adorned her annals. The fruit of these laborious enquiries, that were prosecuted for twenty years, was the celebrated work entitled, *History of Pope Innocent III. and his Times*; a work which is one of the most remarkable historical productions of modern times, and has been pronounced by a competent authority* to be a noble monument raised to the honour of the Catholic Church. This book it was which brought on its author the persecution adverted to above. He was deprived of his office and dignity in the Calvinistic Church under the charge of Crypto-Catholicism, or a concealed adherence to the Catholic Religion. After two years spent in reflection and travelling in France, Germany, and Italy, his last remaining doubts were dispersed by the light of Divine Grace, and he was at last brought by the Hand of God over the threshold, and admitted to contemplate the glorious sanctuary of that Church, whose external beauties and harmonious structure he had, while yet without, so fervently admired, and so learnedly illustrated.

The work we propose to review on the present occasion, is the *Continuation of the History of Pope Innocent III.*, which, after the conclusion of the *Biographical* portion in the second volume, comprises in the two concluding volumes a series of dissertations on the manners, laws, customs, civil and religious institutions, arts and sciences of Europe from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century. Our object in reviewing these volumes is, first, because being published subsequently to the *Biographical* part, they are less generally known; secondly, on account of their intrinsic interest and importance; and thirdly, because as a competent hand has undertaken their translation into our language, we would fain prepare the English reader for a due appreciation of so very valuable a work.

* Count Montalembert.

The first thing which strikes us in Dr. Hurter is his immense learning. Not only has he mastered the contents of the great Benedictine Histories and Collections, such as the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, the *Gallia Christiana*, the *Art de vérifier les dates*, the *Traité Diplomatique*, the *History of the Benedictine Order*, by Mabilon, the *Collectio amplissima* of Martene, the *Spicilegium* of D'Achery, and the rest, but he evinces great familiarity with the Bollandists, the *Italia Sacra* of Ughelli, the *Espana Sagrada*, *Hansitz Germania Sacra*, and Mansi's voluminous *Collection of Councils*. With the writings of the mediæval philosophers and divines he possesses an intimate acquaintance; and his knowledge of the *Monastic Chronicles*, whether of Germany, Italy, France, England, and the Northern countries, as well as of the works of the modern historians of those kingdoms, is truly prodigious. His learning, too, is as exact and critical as it is various and profound. The testimonies of the chroniclers are sifted, weighed, and balanced against each other; and their records of events estimated according to their intrinsic probability, and the character, situation, circumstances, and age of the several writers. Not only every general statement, but every specific assertion is supported by citation, or by reference to the volume and page of the writer or writers on whose authority it is alleged. Never was such a mass of historical details brought together in a single work, nor sifted by such a searching criticism, nor informed and pervaded by such luminous sagacity. When we consider the multitude and complex variety of facts, which, in these later volumes especially, the author has collected from the most scattered and diversified sources of information, we cannot sufficiently admire the lucid method which has presided over their arrangement.

Dr. Hurter's erudition may at times be exuberant, but still it is never paraded for ostentation sake, and never degenerates into a trifling pedantry. His peculiarity is, that he blends the minute accuracy of a Dutch artist with the bold strokes and grand conceptions of the historic painter; for solidity of judgment and sagacity of observation are especial characteristics of his genius. He is not only most careful and acute in the investigation of facts, and most methodical in their classification, but he traces with much philosophic skill the causes and the consequences of great religious and political events. His

imagination is lively and vigorous, and his powers of description are of a high order. His style, indeed, is deficient in lightness, flexibility, and grace; but it is remarkable for clearness, and a manly, robust strength. We see before us the sturdy woodsman of the Alps, who, fearless of danger, and unappalled by obstacles, cuts his way through the tangled forest.

On the whole we have never met with an historian, who, in the same compass, condenses so much valuable information, and whose labours are directed by greater purity of intention, and singleness and honesty of purpose. Such qualities Divine Providence, as we have seen, has not suffered to go unrewarded. Not only has the author met with the most brilliant literary success, but he has still further received for recompense the inestimable pearl of the true faith. Indeed, the whole History of Pope Innocent III. rendered Dr. Hurter's conversion to the Catholic Church a matter of great probability; for with the exception of a few incidental remarks, the reader would never have supposed the book to be the production of any but a Catholic.

We shall now proceed to give an analysis of the volumes at the head of our article.

In the *first* volume of the "Institutions," which constitutes the *third* volume of the entire work, the author treats first of Pope Innocent's Theology; next of the Papal power, of the Cardinals and Legates, as well as of the Missions for the propagation of Christianity; then of Bishops and Chapters, Curates and Vicars; and lastly, of Monasteries.

In the first chapter on Innocent's Theology, there is much curious as well as interesting matter; but the author, being a Protestant, does not sufficiently distinguish between the ecclesiastical dogmas and the individual opinions to be found in the Pontiff's writings. In the next chapter the relations between Church and State—the Papal Supremacy—its recognition on the part of the primitive and mediæval Christians, and the opinions of Innocent himself on that subject, are brought under review. The right of the Holy See in respect to Excommunication and Interdict, and in regard to all Church temporalities, is then examined.

The following Chapter is devoted to an enquiry into the Episcopal Order. Their spiritual office—their ecclesiasti-

cal rights—their election—translation and deprivation of bishops—the virtues and qualifications requisite for their dignity—and then their temporalities, and political rights and privileges are severally examined. The author concludes this chapter with interesting sketches of worthy and edifying prelates; and, true to his system of impartiality, he then proceeds to give examples of such bishops as dishonoured their holy office by their vices. The capitular and parochial clergy form the subject of the succeeding chapter. The origin and importance of the Canonical dignity—the ecclesiastical rights and obligations, as well as temporal endowments of the Prebendaries—their mode of election and rule of life, are here traced. The author then proceeds to describe the spiritual rights and duties of parish priests, as well as their tithes and dues, and ends with an account of the piety and conscientiousness, as well as the contrary vices of the various members of the inferior clergy. An elaborate enquiry into the Monastic Orders concludes the volume; and this forms the most interesting chapter. The motives for founding religious houses—the donations made to them by princes, nobles, and private persons—their temporal endowments, and their relations with the laity—their religious rules and observances—and the immense services which, by their hospitality, by their beneficence to the poor, their care of the sick and the infirm, their self-denying, self-devoted love to suffering humanity, their heroic zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, their careful instruction and education of youth in Christian virtue and doctrine, and in profane learning, and lastly, by their zealous promotion of husbandry, science, literature, and the elegant and mechanical arts, they rendered to society;—all are set forth with much copiousness of learning, and sagacity of observation.

The first two chapters of the fourth volume, or the second of the Institutions, turning upon abbots and monastic advocates or proctors, form a continuation of the chapter on religious communities. Here the author treats the subject of the election and deposition of abbots, as well as their rights and duties, giving an account of worthy and exemplary members of that body, as well as of such as by their conduct dishonoured their sacred profession. The succeeding chapters are dedicated to an elaborate disquisition on the various Orders of monks and nuns. The Benedictine family, with all its numerous branches—the Cluniacs

—the Cistercians—the Premonstratensians—the Carthusians;—then the Trinitarians, the Carmelites and Augustinians; and lastly, the religious orders of chivalry, successively pass under review. With much learning and judgment Dr. Hurter traces the peculiarities of each order in its rule and observances; gives a short notice of its founders and more eminent men; traces the circumstances which gave birth to the institute, and dwells on the services that each rendered to religion, to humanity, and to art and science. To specify each of those Orders would lead us too far. The author concludes his work with a masterly summary of the moral, social, and intellectual condition of Europe from the middle of the twelfth down to the middle of the thirteenth century. In this chapter he points out the beneficial influence of the Church on manners, customs, legislation, arts and science, and shows how she renovated and transformed all sections and orders of society—the nobles, the burghers, and the common people. The subjects that here engage the reader's attention, are the liturgy and festivals of the Church—pilgrimages—devotion to the saints and the Blessed Virgin—hospitals and other establishments of public beneficence—the Christian virtues of the knight and the burgher—the civil polity, especially the municipal institutions, of that period, and finally, the state of schools and universities, art, literature, and science.

We shall now proceed to extract such passages, as by their interest and importance are most entitled to the reader's attention.

The following sketch of two archbishops of this period will be read with lively satisfaction.

“Of the palace of an excellent Archbishop, a contemporary, who resided at that of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, gives the following description. ‘There is here,’ says he, ‘a conflux of the most learned men in every department of knowledge. The time which elapses from prayer to the noon-day repast, is employed in reading, and in the investigation and the decision of all manner of cases. From all parts of the kingdom the most complicated questions are referred to us. They are set forth in the common meeting-room, and each one in his turn, without contention, and without disparagement of his neighbour, strives, in well-assorted words, and with the utmost acuteness, to furnish the most fitting solution to the question proposed. Should an inferior, by the grace of God, give the best decision, then all, without envy or jealousy, adhere to it.’ (Peter of Blois, Ep.)

“Here we may give the portraits of two Archbishops of this time, eminent in various ways. Absalon, Archbishop of Lund, who died on

St. Benedict's Day, in 1201, united the rare qualities of a worthy dignity of the Church, a far-seeing statesman, an heroic warrior, and a zealous patron of science. It would almost appear as if he had been placed between his distinguished predecessor and a successor like to him, in order that the excellencies of the two, combined in his own person, might be set in a more brilliant light. The high nobility of his birth he hallowed by that of high intellectual culture and comprehensive knowledge,* whereby he exercised a beneficial influence over all Denmark, and excited a zeal for learning, the fruits whereof have survived to our time. † Like to his equally great successor, his nephew, Andrew, who in summer led the king's armies, and in winter imparted instruction to his clergy, he wielded the sword for the honour of the empire, and swayed the pastoral staff for the salvation of the faithful. In twenty battles he upbore the banner of his earthly monarch, while he planted the standard of the heavenly King on shores hitherto unconsecrated to Him. On the battle-ship, as under the tent, he fulfilled the duties of his calling, whose spirit he evinced, even amid the turmoil of war, by the very great humanity he manifested towards the foe. Twenty years had he ruled the Church of Röschild as bishop, when, in the fiftieth year of his life, he was raised to the primacy of Denmark and Sweden. The archiepiscopal dignity appeared to him rather a burthen of great responsibility than any object of desire; so that, on hearing it was about to be imposed on him, he concealed himself, and sought every means of escape, averring that he was unequal to the charge. But when all resistance was fruitless, as the threat of excommunication forced him at last to accept the archbishopric, he directed all his endeavours to satisfy, with the whole energy of his will, and all the resources of a richly gifted mind, the multiplied requirements of his holy office. This he achieved in the first place by his own example, and by constant exhortation to the clergy to observe gravity in their demeanour. He introduced into all the churches uniformity in divine service; and, at a national synod, caused all the Liturgical books to be arranged on the same plan. For the rights and liberties of the Church he stood up as manfully as on the battle-field for Denmark's power; and with the like firmness he ever adhered, at all times to the centre of ecclesiastical unity. Through his mediation, or by his support, churches and monasteries rose up in nobler structure; and on many did he bestow furniture, ornaments, and bells. Many a dispute was settled by him, and his instructions enkindled in the hearts of clergy and laity a love for

* He had studied at Paris and at Bologna, and was master of several languages. An old epigram says of him, "Fortior exstiterit seu doctior ambigit omnis."

† He patronised and supported the historians Swend, Aagesen, and Saxo Grammaticus. He had in his library several classics, of which, according to Micatur, the public library at Copenhagen still possesses a Valerius Maximus.

the Divine Word. Amid affairs of state, or in the discharge of the duties of his sacred office, he never forgot the studies which he had loved from his youth upward; nor did he relax the rigid mode of his life, which had become habitual to him, so that on Fridays he never tasted food. Avarice was so alien from his character, that he would rather give than receive; and the rich revenues of two sees he employed for ecclesiastical objects, and in various works of beneficence. From human ambition he was so free, that in the cathedral, he caused to be erected an image of his crucified Redeemer, that comers and goers might show reverence to this, and not to him. Thus speaks a contemporary of him: 'He was full of wise counsel, the solace of the care-worn and afflicted, the pious patron of all religious, the modest guide of the whole people, the benefactor to the stranger and to the poor, the energetic assailant of the Slavonians; a crown of faith, a model of sobriety and continence, a clear mirror of magnanimity and valour; in the house of the Lord a shining light,—a mighty and immovable pillar.'—(Vita S. Wilh. Abb. Roschild, in Act. SS. 6 April.)

"William, Archbishop of Bourges, the son of noble and pious parents, was educated for the Church by his uncle, the Archdeacon of Soissons. The latter he imitated in his severe course of life, and thereby excited admiration in the monastic habit of Grammont. Soon after this, a bitter dispute broke out in the Order. William fled for refuge to the still cloisters of Citeaux, there read the Holy Scriptures, prayed, watched, fasted, and won such respect and confidence, that he was successively elected Abbot by two monasteries. When, on the death of Archbishop Fleury, the Canons of Bourges could not agree upon a choice, and they had promised the Bishop of Paris and their Cantor, as arbitrators, to accept for their Archbishop whomsoever, out of three Cistercian abbots proposed, they should please to name, the bishop ordered the names to be placed under the altar-lid, and after Mass, one of them to be drawn out. It was William's name. The people thanked God that He had sent them a pastor, from whom every blessing might be looked for. William, on the other hand was sad, because he had henceforward to look to the care of secular things. But out of obedience he submitted to the command of the Abbot of Citeaux; he durst not despise the suggestion of the Holy Spirit. Yet his monastic vow he never forgot in the enjoyment of archiepiscopal power; amid wealth and high dignities he wished to remain poor in spirit, and preserve inward peace amid the turmoil of the world. His revenues were, for the most part, devoted to the poor; the sick and the imprisoned were gladdened by his visits, and many waited for him to receive alleviation by the imposition of his hands. During divine service he was ever inwardly collected, but in the intercourse of life he was ever serene and joyous; a circumstance which gave scandal to those who made the essence of piety to consist in a dull melancholy. He rejoiced in his God as one who, not

from ambition, but in perfect conformity with the will of Christ, had entered on the episcopal office. Hatred, menace, injustice, he bore with courage, patience, and indulgence. He incurred the disfavour of his king, and thereupon many whom he had accounted his friends, turned their backs upon him. But no fear of the loss of goods, or of any impeachment, or of any sentence against him, could make him vacillate in his duty. A dispute which he had with his Canons was followed only by greater love, evinced as well on his side, as on the part of those who had offered him the most strenuous resistance. Rights which the Chapter desired unanimously to confer on him he did not accept, for they might, he said, be one day exercised to the detriment of the Church. In his presence he would tolerate no frivolous discourse, no disparaging judgment on others. For his attendants he chose none but godly people. Even an enemy could find nothing to blame in his conduct. No bishop was so assiduous in the visitation of his diocese as himself. Every function of his office he personally discharged; no weariness, no need of rest, could ever prevent him giving his assistance where it was required. Often he heard confessions, admonished the erring, attended funerals, provided the poor with interment, washed the feet of pilgrims, and served them at table. His charities to the aged, to widows, and to orphans, were so manifold, that the rich revenues of his Archiepiscopal See seemed almost inadequate to their supply. He wished to march against the Albigenses, but feeling himself ill, he desired to be conducted to the church of St. Stephen, in order, for the last time, to exhort his flock to walk in the fear of the Lord. After he had preached upon the text, 'Because we know that it is time to awake from sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than we thought,' and had given his blessing to the people, the fever, heightened by the draught in the church, seized him with more violence than ever. He had time, however, to arrange his affairs, and make his last will. On the sixth day he demanded Extreme Unction, and the Body of his Lord. As the holy Eucharist was brought to him, he, to the surprise of all, sprang out of his bed, humbly advanced towards it, worshipped it, and received it with joy. Then again he lay down, imparted to all the clergy of his Church the kiss of peace, and beckoned to them to pray for him. For his shroud he retained the vestments in which he had received consecration. Clad in these, he awaited his last end in peace. Early next morning, having ordered Matins to be recited, he muttered them out, and commanded his attendants to lay him down on ashes, on the earth, and here surrendered his soul to the care of his Redeemer. The tidings filled the whole city with deep mourning; all work was spontaneously suspended; and when the earthly remains of the dear pastor were interred, all ranks, ages, and sexes, followed the funeral; infants were raised up by their mothers to see the corpse of the deceased pass by. It was said miraculous cures were wrought at

his tomb, and by his intercession ; and hereupon his successor obtained from Pope Honorius III, that Archbishop William should be ranked among the saints."—*Historia Episcoporum Bituricensium* in Labbé *Bibl. Mscr.* T. ii.

After giving examples of several Archbishops who were mindless of their sacred duties, the author traces a description of such prelates as were, for their learning and virtue, an ornament to their holy order.

"Of several Bishops contemporaries relate, that their elevation exercised a salutary influence on their mode of life ; * whether, like Hugh, Bishop of Leige, they reformed their morals, † or avoided what was misbecoming to a Prelate, ‡ or whether their new dignity acted as a stimulus to strive after greater moral perfection, § or whether they endeavoured conscientiously to realize the expectations which their electors had formed of them. || John of Treves considered, that his country was poor and barren, incapable of sustaining wars ; and, therefore, preferred to defend it by the resources of policy, rather than by force of arms. ¶

"Activity in the discharge of the multiplied duties of this sacred calling, was with reason required of a worthy prelate. The more distinguished took especial care to impart to divine worship greater pomp, ** solemnity, and dignity, whether by increasing the persons required for the several ministrations, †† and by attention to the inter-

* According to the old saying, which has been verified in both senses : *Honores mutant mores, rarò in meliores.*—*Pet. Bles. Ep.* 15.

† *Sicut primò fuerit dissolutus, tamen vitam suam correxit, et postea multa facta sunt per eum in Episcopatù laude digna.*—*Magu. Chron. Belg.* 235.

‡ Henry Von Veringen, Bishop of Strasburg : *religiose capit vivere et guerras et prælia declinare.*—*Frag. Hist. in Urstis, SS.*

§ Of William IV., Bishop of Avranches, the *Chronicle Savignacense*, in *Rec. xviii.* 351, says : *Cujus cum crevit dignitas, crevit et probitas.*

|| We may see, for instance, the testimony as to the ordinances of Otho of Freysingen, (the well-known historian,) in regard to his diocese.—*Hund. Metrop. Salisb. i,* p. 107.

¶ *Gesta Ep. Trevir. in Martene Collectio Amplissima, T. iv.*

** Adolf, Bishop of Osnabrück, introduced into his church wax-lights, instead of tallow.—*Möser, t. iii., p. 45.*

†† *Ad divini cultùs ampliacionem studiosius debemus intendere.*—*Record of Bishop Odo's, in the Gallia Christiana, t. vii., p. 78.*

nal decorations of the church and its necessary furniture,* or by removing everything calculated to disturb or degrade that worship, that in former times had crept in, or in consequence of disfigurement, had degenerated from its former use. Thus the Bishops Odo and Peter of Paris strove to put down in their diocese the scandalous 'Festival of Fools,' which, throughout the greater part of France, was celebrated not only with farces, and the mimicry of sacred dignities, but with shameful excesses, often attended with bloodshed. In opposition to this feast, these prelates introduced the commemoration of St. Stephen, as the proto-martyr. It appears that Pope Innocent supported their endeavours, for he says in an ordinance: 'Men fear not to introduce into the churches, plays and such-like mummeries; even priests, deacons, and sub-deacons have the impudence to take part in such farces. We charge you to banish from the churches such shameful spectacles; such uncleanness should not contaminate their dignity.' At a council held in Paris, in the year 1212, the assembled Bishops agreed never to attend at such festivals, and severely to interdict them to all religious.

"This age was not so corrupt, or so jealous of the exercise of spiritual authority, as to disapprove of a greater measure of severity, not only against itself, but against laymen in high places. It was not then thought that any earthly condition could exempt men from their general obligation to their fellow-men, nor any temporal rank do away with the general dependance on God. The nobleman, the count, the prince, was still a Christian, like every other individual; and the curate, the bishop, the archbishop, stood in the same relation to the high as to the humblest of the community. To the vices common to all men, the great frequently joined those excesses incidental to power, and which were directed against the influence most importunate to the sense of might, and the self-confidence it inspired. Ecclesiastical superiors who sought to realize a just conception of their station, even in this life, took care not to sacrifice that station and its obligations to their connection with princes, or to any respect for persons. In the certain conviction that they were responsible for the salvation of the great ones of this earth, the more conscientious prelates thought they could least pass over in silence the transgressions of the mighty. In this course, the Bishops found in Innocent's and in many of his predecessors' words and example, encouragement and energetic support. 'Our office would be despised,' writes that Pope to the Archbishop of Sens, 'if we were to treat lightly the transgressions of those entrusted to our care, and to have respect to persons. The word of rebuke is wont to make deeper impression than the mere word of exhortation.'—Ep. vi., p. 236.

* A reproach, among other things, is made by Innocent III., that the "Ornamenta Ecclesiæ" had not been provided for.—Ep. ii., p. 236.

“It was especially regarded as a glorious merit in a Bishop, when, in defence of ecclesiastical liberty, (and under this head was classed the right of tolerating no impost on the churches and the clergy,) he feared not resolutely to resist royal demands, and even to suffer death in that behalf.

“The presence of Bishops in their dioceses was a matter of course; and, except when at councils, on Papal commissions, on business at Rome, or at royal courts, on the crusades, or on pilgrimages, absence from their dioceses was of rare occurrence. Even pilgrimages, when too long protracted, were held to be incompatible with the higher obligation of the pastor to remain with his flock. (Peter of Blois, Ep. 148.) It was, indeed, admitted that the attendance of clergymen or Bishops at the court of a monarch, might exercise a salutary influence on the latter, be useful to the poor, and promote a more impartial administration of justice; that a prelate might serve the king with good council, but that there was danger of his forgetting at court the flock entrusted to him. If it were honourable to serve the king with advice, the service of the King of Kings was still more glorious. (Peter of Blois, Ep. 150.) Too active participation in concerns foreign to his sacred charge, especially the functions of a criminal judge, brought a Bishop into ill repute, and undermined public confidence in him. The last office was even considered a species of degradation. Innocent commanded the king of England to release the Archbishop of Canterbury from the place of Grand Justiciary, for it was unbecoming a Churchman to meddle in secular law-suits. (Matthew Paris, p. 135.) Lastly, the abode at court entailed much expense; but a stately train, especially of horsemen, numerous servants, high-bred horses in brilliant harness, suited indeed a temporal prince, but not a Bishop, who ought not to seek in worldly pomp for the essence of his dignity. People even thought that the Almighty wished to show, by the example of Lawrence, Bishop of Breslau, his displeasure in a Bishop's giving way to too great a love for scents.* For when this prelate was but in his twenty-fifth year, and from his vigorous frame and robust health had every prospect of a long life, the too strong scent of roses, at his country seat, brought on a disease which baffled the skill and all the efforts of his physicians.† On the other hand, it was reasonably required that no one should be ashamed of, or should neglect, the outward signs of the priesthood.” ‡

* *Dum nimium odori rosarum indulgeret.*

† *Ut ostenderet Dominus in viris, præsertim ecclesiasticis, apostolicum locum tenentibus, etiam odoris et deliciarum usum esse perniciosum.*—Anon. *Vitæ Ep. Wratislav, in Sommersberg Scripturis rerum Silesiarum.*, T. ii. p. 187.

‡ It was a reproach alleged against the Bishop of Geneva, that he did not wear the tonsure.—*Enquête.*

The author proceeds to point out more in detail the various virtues of the episcopal character, as exemplified in the lives of many prelates of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

“We have now to portray the feelings and the actions of Bishops in particular, in so far as these evinced a due appreciation of the nature and importance of their office.

“A true picture of humility was given by Theodorick, Bishop of Lübeck,* who, on occasion of his installation, amid the canticles of the clergy and the jubilee of the people, wished to enter bare-footed, not on a richly caparisoned steed, but on an ass; for he was a modest, meek, benevolent, pious man. Of many bishops it is recorded, that they shone in all virtues, † were lovers of peace, ‡ were distinguished for learning, § for various acquirements, || especially for knowledge in Holy Writ, as well as for pulpit eloquence; ¶ that they preached on the High Festivals, and other solemn occasions, or when they distrusted their own powers, caused sermons to be composed by other able men. There were some who, to announce the Word of Life, traversed various regions,** or repaired to lands in which the seed of the gospel had just been sown, in order, by their efforts, to further its growth. †† It is noted, as especially praiseworthy, when a Bishop knew how to watch over the conduct and morals of the inferior clergy, and under the conviction that hereby their ministry might be rendered most salutary, knew how to keep them in check. ‡‡ Sigewin, of Camin, trod in the footsteps of his worthy predecessors, and held it to be his duty publicly and

* Arn. Lub. iii., 13.

† Of Eugelhard of Naumburg it is said, “omni virtutum genere conspicuus.”—Sagittarius Ep. Naumb., p. 75.

‡ Eberhard II., Bishop of Salzburg: “amator pacis.”—Hansitz *Germania Sacra*, T. ii., p. 313.

§ The same is said to be a man, “vir magnæ literaturæ.”—Chron. Garstens. ad annum, 1216.

|| Like Andrew, Archbishop of Lund.—Münter. t. ii. p. 365.

¶ Both are stated of Wolfger, Bishop of Passau, according to the old Chronicles.—*Germania Sacra* of Hansitz, t. i., p. 337, and of William of Langres, t. iii.

** Episcopus, Brechinensis, Abbas Abbirbrothensis, in Scotland.—Boeth. *Hist. Scot.*, p. 279.

†† The Bishop of Paderborn went, about the year 1210, to Livonia.—Gebhardi *Hist. of Livonia*. Univ. Hist., p. 336.

‡‡ Like Theodoric, Archbishop of Treves.—Brower an *Trev.* t. ii., p. 118.

solemnly to rebuke the transgressions of his clergy. What a pleasing impression doth not Stephen, Bishop of Tournay, make, demeaning himself with gravity where gravity was required, with cheerful serenity, and even sportive humour, where this was admissible, evincing an exquisite tact in his treatment of those in high station, as well as of inferiors. (Steph. Tornac., Ep. 230.)

* * * * *

“Of many Bishops, especially such as had been formerly monks, it is recorded that they renounced all the conveniences of life, and by observance of extreme simplicity in food and raiment, nay, by their rigour towards themselves, gave proof that, in the administration of their office, they sought not its worldly advantages.*

“Our age, which is totally alien from the views then entertained of Christian perfection, may, perhaps, think that Godfrey, † Bishop of Meux, went too far, when, during the great fasts preceding Christmas and Easter, he not only ate but three times a week, but chose such bitter nauseous food and drinks, that others could not even taste them but with disgust. Yet it was in that age considered, that the value of such mortifications depended on the motive that dictated them. He who drank wine in moderation, was to be preferred to him who, in a spirit of arrogance, kept to water. ‡

“Just, therefore, among well-thinking ecclesiastics and laymen, was the grief at the demise of a Bishop, who, like Gardolf of Halberstadt, discharged with fidelity and earnestness all the duties of his ministry, united blameless conduct with refinement of manners,—liberality with a care for the temporalities of the Church,—conciliatory conduct towards the temporal power, with a benign superintendence over his clergy. The tears shed over his bier proved how deeply the diocese felt the loss of their revered pastor. (Chron. Halberst, p. 141.)

“When the writers of that age not unfrequently record displeasing traits of avarice or prodigality, mean extortion or unseemly pomp, a worldly style of living and vulgar carousing, as exemplified in some particular Bishops; when here and there one is stated to have diverted the great revenues or benefices of his church more to the profit of his nephews and kinsmen than to worthy purposes, yet was the number of those prelates still greater, who, either during life, or by various foundations prior to their death, employed their

* Of Arnulf, Bishop of Orange, it is said, “*Exemplar sobrietatis erat.* Gall. Christ. vol. i., p. 775.

† *Labbè Bibl. Mscr., t. i.*

‡ *Melius est vinum bibere cum ratione quam aquam cum fastu et superbiâ. Atque mihi quidem aspicit eos qui cum ratione pietatis et religionis vinum bibunt, esse viros sanctos; eos autem qui inconsiderate et citra rationem cum arrogantia aquam biberunt, esse homines profanos et corruptos.*—*Rosweidi Vita Patr. Sen. p. 706.*

riches in works of beneficence and piety. Justinus, Bishop of Concha, gave all his revenues to the poor; and, in order to procure a subsistence for himself and servants, used in his leisure hours to make wicker baskets. William of Nevers had not his equal in generosity; during a famine he daily fed two thousand men. When Arnulfus of Orange died, people asked: 'Who will now take compassion on the needy? who will feed the hungry?*' Maurice of Paris acquired the name of a Father of the Poor and Protector of Orphans.† St. Gilbert, Bishop of Caithness in Scotland, caused several poor-houses to be built. From his noble liberality, for divers objects, Otho II.‡ Bishop of Bamberg, received the surname of the Generous. Conrad of Halberstadt,§ on his return from the Holy Land, through Italy, took all the youths of his diocese at his own charge; for the support of students passed for an eminently episcopal duty, for a worthy application of Church revenues.|| Adolphus, Bishop of Osnabrück, Count of Tecklenburg, was wont, whenever he repaired to his palace of Furstenau, to enter a hut by the way-side, where a leper dwelt, in order to solace the unfortunate creature; and was very indignant, when, on one occasion, his courtiers, in order to spare their master so distressing a spectacle, had put away the leper.¶ With such dignity as William of Auxerre, no Churchman in all France could exercise the rights of hospitality. (Lebeuf Hist. d'Auxerre.)

"Other Bishops built palaces, castles, and towers; ordained embellishments of every kind for the entertainment of visitors, and their delight on high festivals; or they brought districts into cultivation, dug fish-ponds, and appointed other regulations for public convenience.** Maurice, Bishop of Paris, built two stone bridges, the one over the Seine, the other over the Marne. Their episcopal residences, as well as considerable towns within their territories, they encompassed with walls, and dignified with the privileges of cities.†† The liberality of the prelates was mostly displayed in

* Quid facient inopis inopum miseretor obierit amisit solitas plebs miseranda dapes.—Epitaph Gallia Christiana, t. i., p. 775.

† Trithem Chron. Hirsaug, vol. i., p. 288.

‡ Anon, Vitæ. Ep. Wratislav. in Sommersberg Scriptor. Vol. i., page 186.

§ Odor. Raynaldi aun. ad. ann. 1207, No. 18.

|| Chron. Lemovia. S. Martini in Recueuil xviii., 240. Gall. Christ. xii., p. 642.

¶ Möser, vol. iii., p. 16. Munificus in pauperes, præsertim leprosos. Vita S. Adolphi. Ep. Osn. in Act. SS., 11 Feb.

** Hist. Epp. Autiss. in Labbé Bibl. Mser., t. i.

†† Thus Verden, by Bishop Iso.—Spangenberg Chron. of Verden, p. 73. Thus Lütry in the Vaud, by Berthold, Bishop of Lausaum.—From the Counts of Neuf-Chatel. Levade Diction.

regard to their churches, their chapters, their episcopal sees. Many bishopricks can be pointed out, a long succession of whose occupants increased the estates of the see, improved the benefices of the Canons, bestowed on the latter lands and privileges, exempted them from burdens, and supplied the churches with books, chalices, ornaments, vestments, and bells, as well as consolidated, enlarged, and beautified their structure. *.....

“Besides the cathedrals,† many other churches were indebted to the care of Bishops for their construction, or their embellishment and decoration; for their wealth in altar-ornaments, in vestments, in other valuables and furniture, whereby the splendour of divine service was exalted; for attention to such things the prelates recognized as a sacred obligation, ‡ the neglect whereof was justly blamed. They also founded monasteries and collegiate churches, or augmented the property of those already established. §.....

“When it is considered that we have alleged but a few instances of episcopal liberality, and that in so contracted a period of time, it is only fair to conclude, that the property of the Church is under as much obligation to the generosity of her own prelates, as to that of lay-benefactors. Is it any way deserving of blame, when, in records and books of history, such foundations, acquisitions, and donations, are noted down by grateful contemporaries, or their descendants?

“Often brought up from their youth in the vicinity of churches, the Bishops, before their death, left them sometimes their whole inheritance, sometimes a considerable portion, not rarely determining the future application, or they conferred special endowments on the Chapter. With all his love for warfare, Philip, Bishop of Beauvais, must have cherished the sciences, for he bequeathed to his cathedral, three hundred volumes which belonged to him. Before he went to Palestine, Peter, Bishop of Paris, made over to the churches and abbeys of that city, his assortment of valuable

* For instance, the reader may consult the Chronicle of Hildesheim, in Leibnitz, SS., which gives a long series of such traits in the succession of Bishops.

† The cathedral at Drontheim, which, in size, in the pomp of Gothic architecture, in the solidity of its masses, and in the abundance of sculptures, surpassed all that had yet been witnessed in the north, was founded about this time, by Archbishop Eystein.—Münter, vol. ii., p. 403.

‡ Buggo Wormatiensis Episcopus strenuus æmulator divini cultûs et religionis, sicut ecclesiæ per ipsius industriam seu ab exordio fundata, seu in melius, renovata.—Record of Bishop Conrad in Schounat Hist. Wormat., vol. i., p. 84.

§ Maurice, Bishop of Paris, founded four monasteries.—Mag. Chron. Belg., p. 217.

priestly vestments, and a large collection of books. His successor, Maurice, made also valuable gifts to the same city. Even in the remote North, we see the libraries of cathedrals founded, enlarged, and enriched, by the scientific zeal of Bishops.

“On the fact that several Bishops of this period were canonized, or ranked and revered among the saints, we wish to lay no further stress, than to show how many prelates, by their praiseworthy conduct, and by the blessings which they conferred on their contemporaries, were preserved in honourable remembrance.”—P. 307-14.

Our author has brought together many touching examples of virtue and conscientiousness in the second Order of the sacred ministry. The following passage will show the minute research and solid judgment which distinguish his labours.

“Even in the rudest ages, the requirements of the Church, the obligations she imposed, exerted a moral influence on her ministers, so that, in an equal number of laymen and churchmen, the latter could show a far greater multitude, distinguished for decorum, morality, or dignity. Dense as the ignorance might be, there ever beamed in the clergy a spark of higher light; deep as the general degradation might be, all ecclesiastics were not drawn into its abyss; and though the moral virtues might have fled from society, they still found an asylum in the bosom of individual churchmen. The clergy, if not in its entire body, yet in many of its members, still remained, what it ever should be,—the salt of the earth.

“Did it not evince a great tenderness of feeling, when an English chaplain, whose run-away horse not only threw him, but cast a child out of the arms of its mother and killed it, held himself unworthy of all ecclesiastical functions until he received pardon from the Pope? (Innocen. Ep. iii, 19.) With tears did another priest accuse himself to Innocent, that he had placed himself on a heap of clothes, under which the mother had laid a sick child. At the cry of the mother he sprang up immediately, but the child was dead. Whether its death were the consequence of the illness, or whether it had been stifled by the clothes, or the weight of the Priest, could not be ascertained. The Priest held it for the safest course to take the fault on himself, repair to Rome, and do penance. (Inn. Ep. ix., p. 59.) A sub-deacon made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, because, on the murderous assault of a layman, he had, in self-defence, given him a blow, from which he died a few days after. Innocent vouchsafed it to him as a favour to retain the ecclesiastical grade which he then held. (Ep. ix., p. 29.) The chorister of the cathedral at Nice did not wish to be ordained Priest without papal sanction, because a woman reproached him that he had once given her a kick in the back, which had occasioned miscarriage. And yet he could not call to mind the alleged fact, and the woman, on closer questioning, did not even adhere to her allegation; and

it was the general belief, that she only sought to extort money from the chorister. (Inn. Ep. vii., p. 170.) A poor deacon remembered that he had received the deaconship in such early youth, that he could not recollect whether it had been preceded by the other Orders. Thereupon his conscience made him such reproaches, that he confessed to his Bishop, and spontaneously submitted to a suspension for half a year. Yet Innocent III. willingly permitted the withdrawal of the penance, provided, only for caution sake, the omitted orders were repeated. (Ep. viii., p. 118.) A knight in the kingdom of Leon once invited a deacon in a friendly way to dine with him. Suddenly the knight fell on him and castrated him, accusing him of holding a criminal intercourse with the knight's concubine. The king, in his indignation, ordered the knight and the woman to be burnt. The deacon recovered, concealed what had taken place, and received priestly Orders. Soon after, he felt great uneasiness at having transgressed against the laws of the Church. He craved pardon of Pope Innocent. This the Pope was willing to grant, if the deacon were quite guiltless of the crime brought against him by the knight, and of all participation in the royal sentence. (Ep. xi., p. 103.) Many such traits may have occurred, but history rarely records what may have adorned the tranquil existence of thousands, who, by their position, were known only to their immediate circle, and whose fame did not extend beyond the narrow compass of a human life.

“That love, in default of an adequate benefice, would not spare labour to support poor parents or kinsmen; that sufferers found in the clergy especially, a refuge and a solace, was certainly not rare. As lords, the clergy, on the whole, exercised a far milder sway than the barons; they were not so easily hurried into acts of violence, (for exceptions, of course, constitute no rule,) as secular potentates.* Living among the people, they were, in various ways, its benefactors.

“In Sweden, much that could improve the land and advance its commerce, was promoted by the clergy. They extolled it as a work of piety, to construct roads, build bridges over rapid torrents, and smooth the laborious way of the traveller. They applied to horticulture, taught the preparation of salt, and drew attention to the manifold treasures which lay hid in the earth's bosom.† Willingly were they chosen for arbitrators, and to their sentence did all disputants yield submission. Emperors and princes sought their messengers of peace among them, and by their efforts many a contest was composed, many a reconciliation brought about. In the year 1204, at Genoa, the executioners of the Podesta put to death by mistake a noble youth in the night. Many of his kindred took

* This is observed by Hume, vol. ii. p. 392.

† Rùhs History of Sweden, vol. i. p. 158. (In German.)

up arms, and excited the people against the Podesta. There the clergy interposed, and brought about a reconciliation. (Ubert. Foliet Hist. Gennens. in Græv. Thesau., vol. 1., p. 298.) A singular measure did the Priest Lambert adopt, in order to avert, if possible, the displeasure of Arnold, Count of Guignes, against the clergy of Ardres. He wrote the history of that noble house." (Ludwig Reliq. vol. viii., p. 592.)

We arrive now at the author's account of Monasteries; and this, as we observed above, constitutes one of the most valuable, as well as interesting chapters of his work. The extreme importance of the subject will, we trust, be a sufficient apology for the length of the citations which we shall take the liberty of making. Dr. Hurter first speaks of the various motives which animated the founders in the erection of monastic communities.

"An important, influential, and remarkable portion of Christian society," says he, "did the monastic establishments constitute. Down to the close of the period which engages our attention, the Benedictines and Augustinians were, with various ramifications, the leading religious Orders.....If the bishops and secular clergy represented in their external relations the bearings of the Church to the world—relations which were indeed to many the occasion of fall rather than of exaltation; the monasteries, on the other hand, secured to their inmates a still, contemplative spiritual life. And both these systems stamped on Christianity the undeniable impress of a great creation, revealing unity in variety.

"The favour of princes—the piety of believers—the industry and economy of the monks, raised in course of time the monasteries to a high degree of wealth; and on the other hand the presumption and worldly-mindedness of their superiors, or the avarice of grandees, and the jealousy of others, brought many of these communities into difficulty and want, or occasioned their downfall.*

"The two centuries whereof the age we describe constitutes the centre, saw the greatest part of the many foundations of this kind spring up and flourish, in their temporalities at least.† Various

* A writer of the sixteenth century, apud Mager de advocatiâ armatâ, p. 25, says, in reference to Germany: "Where are all the foundations and monasteries of the princes of the empire? Have not all been desecrated, abolished, torn down, and ravaged? Have not bishoprics been turned into secular principalities, churches and monasteries into arsenals, stables, ball-rooms, powder-magazines, and public baths?"

† From the year 1066 (the period of the Norman Conquest) down to the year 1216, about 550 monasteries were founded, five-sevenths of all those which existed just prior to their dissolution by Henry VIII.

motives are to be assigned for this remarkable phenomenon. The first is the power of Christianity, which pervaded every generous emotion of life, nay, had absorbed all existence into its sphere. Experience of one's own or others' frailty often induced the charitable spirit to found for the weaker sex at least, asylums where passions rarely rage; asylums where they might escape the licentious example of contemporaries, or be protected against the dangers which are too often incident to poverty, and the struggle for worldly subsistence.* Men looked back to heathenism, and saw what princes and the rich under its influence had done for the priesthood, and held it to be shameful for the children of the reconciled father to be behind the heathen in liberality. In newly converted countries such foundations served to attest the sincerity of princes in the profession of Christianity; † and they were indeed the buttresses which imparted solidity to the new-built temple of faith. They were twigs planted in the new soil by missionaries, who had left lands where Christian civilization, with all its concomitant blessings, had long blossomed and flourished; twigs which, under the favour and kindly protection of princes, were destined soon to bring forth the like fruits. Hence many of these filial establishments were often, in feelings of grateful recollection, dedicated to the memory of those foreign missionaries, who had founded the new communities. ‡ In all countries, princes and prelates emulated each other in the erection of monasteries, as well as in their liberal endowment, for the better security of their inmates. §

(Andersen, *Hist. of Trade*, vol. ii. p. 41.) From the year 1175 down to 1225 there were in Europe 150 Cistercian abbeys alone founded; whereof 23 belong to the year 1200. (*Jongelin Notitia abbatiarum*, O. Cist. per orbem univ. fol. Colon. 1640.) The single district of the Rheingau saw, in the thirteenth century, eight monastic foundations, which acquired, by means of donations, considerable property. (*Bär. Hist. of Mayence*, vol. ii. p. 147.) The many monastic establishments founded at this period by baronial families in Swabia, we may see in *Pfister's Hist. of Swabia*, vol. ii. p. 243.

* The doge Sebastian Ziani, who ruled in Venice from the year 1164 to 1178, founded the "Monastero delle Vergine," for the daughters of decayed noble families, and placed it under the special protection of his successors. (*Darn. vol. i. p. 206.*)

† So in Pomerania Duke Casimir founded Colbaz, Brou, and Ivinal; Casimir II. established Stargard; a nobleman, who had been converted, Darguin, near Demme. *Hist. Episc. Comin. Ludwig. SS. Bam.*

‡ Wolfger, Bishop of Passau, consecrated, in the year 1198, the monastery of the Scots in Vienna.—*Hund. Metropolis.* The Scotch monastery of Ratisbon was of a still earlier date.

§ *Guil. Nangis Chron. ad annum 1132.* *Præsules ecclesiarum ac principes sæculares promptissime annuebant religiosis, sponte offerentes*

“Manifold motives, external and internal, gave rise to the establishment of these communities. The Chartreuse of Belbari, in the diocese of Auxerre, was an expiatory offering of Hervée of Donzi, and his wife Matilda, heiress of Auxerre, for a marriage contracted under too near relations of affinity. On the spot where the bones of the royal couple repose, uninterrupted canticles of praise must atone for the guilt, or preserve the memory of the departed.* Here, it was a Bishop, who employed the savings of a frugal life in a manner the most acceptable to God; † there, a wealthy man, to meet the wishes of his kinsmen. The last scion of a noble race converted his hereditary castle into a monastery, and hoped to secure the perpetuity of the house in a spiritual progeny, when, on the spot whence earthly combatants had once issued forth with spear and shield, the heavenly combatants armed themselves with prayer and canticles; and a holy and divine peace reigned, where once worldly riot had prevailed. ‡ To the same purpose the childless widow consecrated her estate; and the noble maiden, who, despising an earthly union, sighed for a purer bridal-robe in the conventual garb, devoted her dowry. § The powerful prince, by such donations, attested his gratitude to the Most High for long-inherited blessings, and which, in a larger measure had been personally bestowed on him. || Even the wealthy citizen sought to secure a portion of his

terras, prata, nemora, et cætera, quæ monasteriis ædificandis erant necessaria.

* Philip, king of France, founded on the spot where he buried his Agnes, a convent for 120 nuns.—Albericus ad ann. 1201, vol. 5, p. 431.

† Maurice, Bishop of Paris, founded four monasteries.—Rigord. c. 40. Conrad, Bishop of Hildesheim, six.—Both. Chron. Brunsw. in Leibnitz, vol. iii., p. 357. Hugh, Bishop of Leige, St. Lambert's vale.—M. Chron. Belg., p. 235.

‡ The lords of Cappenberg, *Castrum Cappenbergense*, (in recent times the seat of the minister Von Stein,) in *claustrum convertentes et militiam sæcularem in militiam spiritualis exercitii commutantes*.—Record apud Jung. Hist. Comit. Benthem. Cod. dipl., No. xiii.

§ Cum Domicella Beatrix de Lens ex nobili stirpe claram ducens originem, mundi hujus gloriam fastidiret, atque secreta liberorum propagine, inter Sion adolescentulas aggregari animo æstuarit, quandam summam pecuniæ, quam pro suo matrimonio receperat assignatam, ad instaurationem hujus loci, qui dicitur Spini-locus, liberaliter delegavit. Jane of Flanders was afterwards its chief benefactress.—Miræi cep. dipl. Suppl., vol. ii., p. 95.

|| Such motives expressly induced Eberhard, Count of Nellenburg, to found the monastery of All Saints, at Schaffhausen.

treasures for the world to come. * And among married people, such a resolution was at once the effect and confirmation of Christian concord.

* * * *

“Powerful lords encouraged their kinsmen and aided their vassals in such donations. For, so soon as a family of respectability began a foundation of this kind, all the neighbours of rank and fortune emulated each other in the work of endowment, or in other acts of beneficence; and no house in the surrounding district wished to be behind the other in liberality. * * *

“On the ancestral grave,—on the spot where a nobleman had selected the place of rest for his family,—on the foundation of the modest church,—out of the wooden cell of the hermit,—there, where the waves had given back to the afflicted father the child they had snatched away, † arose the structure wherein daily were to ascend canticles of praise to the Eternal, and thanksgivings for redemption, or, which even sometimes were to expiate the murders and crimes of a former robbers’ cave, ‡ or convert the accursed place of execution into an abode of blessings. § That age considered it indeed as a glory and a happiness to put in force such pious resolutions; nay, vanity might often be tempted to purchase, by such donations, the praises of posterity. Yet the more pious sense of those times protested against any feelings of ostentation or ambition || attaching to works which sprang from Divine inspiration, out of a pure zeal for religion, from a regard to the perishableness of all earthly things, ¶

* A goldsmith of Rheims founded the abbey of Clarus Mariscus.—*Gallia Christ.*, vol. ix., p. 175. The monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, at Spiers, was founded in the time of Conrad III., by two citizens of that place.—*Lehman Chron.*, p. 503.

† Lütold of Regensberg, founded the monastery of Fahr, on the Limmat, on the very spot where the body of his son, who had been drowned, was picked up.—*Müller Hist. of Switzerland*, vol. i., page 521.

‡ The place where Marienborn was built, was once called the Valley of Murder.—*De orig. Monast. Mariæ fontis in Leibnitz. SS.* Vol. ii., p. 431.

§ The annals of Eisenach, in *Paulini Syntagma*, state, as a tradition at least, that the high altar of St. Catharine’s convent was erected on the spot where once the gallows stood, and that the Landgrave Hermann desired to be buried under the same.

|| *Caritatis intuitû, non transitoriaë laudis appetitû.*—Record for Strat markell, *Monasticum Anglicanum*, p. 895.

¶ *Transitoria; statui, aliquid facere, quod mihi in cœlesti Palacio in æternum proficiat.*—Record in *Monast. Anglic.*, p. 890.

from the wish of sowing a seed in time for eternity, and of there laying up a portion of one's treasure, and obtaining one day a hundred-fold reward.* The prince believed that out of the transitory goods of this world, he might procure for himself a mansion in heaven.† One who had been rescued from imminent danger, sought to attest by such foundations his gratitude to the Almighty in a manner the most acceptable.‡ A nobleman, who had wandered long amid the turmoils of a much agitated life, could better understand, in the evening of his days, the value of monastic quiet and seclusion.§ The service of her eternal Master offered to the noble lady greater charms than all the vanities of the world; and the baron sought, by means of such establishments, to reduce to subordination the rebellious spirit of his vassals.|| The sorrow of deeply afflicted parents at the death of the loved ones of their heart, induced them to offer up to the Almighty a sacrifice of thanksgiving, as soon as they were enabled to inter their bodies.¶

* Centuplam mercedem à Deo expectantes. Vogt. ined. Monum. Verdens. Vol. ii., p. 240.

† John and Otho, Margraves of Brandenburg, give to the priest Theodoric and his brethren, an estate, in order to build upon it a monastery to the honour of the Blessed Virgin: *necesse est, ut amicos nobis quæramus de mammonâ iniquitatis, ut secundum sententiam Domini, cum defecerimus, æterna nos cum eis recipiant tabernacula.*—Gerken Cod. dipl. Brandenburg. Vol. i., No. 215.

‡ In thanksgiving for his deliverance from the hands of assassins, Eskill, Archbishop of Lund, erects the Cistercian monastery Vitæ Schola, (Wias Rild,) in the diocese of Viborg.—Fundatio Monast. Vitæ Schola in Langebek SS. Vol. iv., p. 457.

§ Henry, Count of Rapperschwyl, known from his many pilgrimages by the name of the "Wanderer," founded the Cistercian abbey of Wettingen.

|| Ludolph of Regensberg founds the monastery of Rûti, in a country where the errors of the Patareni had endangered order in Church and State. John Von Müller's Hist. of Switzerland, vol. i., page 522.

¶ A more touching occasion for the foundation of a monastery cannot be pointed out than the following one. Two young sons, belonging to Hugh, Count of Montfort, bathed in the Lauchart, near the Swabian Alps. After their bath, the two brothers lay on a hay-rick, and fell asleep. Soon afterwards, new hay was brought in, and the boys were covered with it. To all appearance, they had entirely disappeared. The desolate parents vowed to build a monastery, so soon as their children were found, either dead or alive. In the spring, when the hay was fetched away, the dead

The aged man thought of the near approach of death ; * the sick man on his tedious bed, of God's visitation ; † the man in health, of God's blessing on the birth of a son. ‡ Such a religious foundation should serve to a betrothed one, as a pledge of fidelity ; § to a spouse, as a mark of true affection. In such a spirit was the nunnery of Burgos founded, which in wealth, in its structures and establishments—where at every hour of the day every stranger was refreshed, and every sick man was admitted, and attended until the period of his recovery—exceeded all the monastic institutes of Spain, in that age or in succeeding times. The very name of this convent, which soon afterwards became the place of sepulture for Castilian kings, denoted the external as well as inward charms of the abode." ||—p. 428-35.

The immense debt which education, literature, science, and art, owe to the monks, is proved in the following passages. They were not merely, by the transcription of the works of sacred and profane antiquity, the preservers of ancient learning, but by the compilation of their national annals, and the cultivation of the vernacular tongues, as well as by their original and valuable contributions to theology and philosophy, they were the founders of modern literature and science.

bodies of the two boys were discovered under it. To discharge the vow, the count built, in 1265, the convent of Mariaberg, not far from Trochtelfingen.—See the deed of confirmation in Newgart Cod. Dipl. Alem. vol. ii., p. 252.

* Richard de Luci founded, on that account, in his villa Illiesnes, an Augustinian convent, into which he himself entered.—*Monast. Anglic.*, p. 301.

† Factum est ut Heinricus de Laci ægrotaret diebus multis. Compunctus homo sub flagello Dei votum fecit Domino, quod abbatiam construeret. (Kirkstall, near York.)—*Monast. Anglic.*, p. 854.

‡ *Hist. of Styria*, by Cäsar., vol. iii., p. 461.

§ Pro salute Matildæ, sponsæ meæ.—*Monast. Anglic.*, p. 1034.

|| King Alphonsus IX. founded, at the request of his spouse, Eleonora, the splendid abbey, "Las Huelgas," (quies, animi relaxatio, domus deliciarum : *Not. ad Chron. S. Fernandi.*)

En Bourgos morava,
Eun hospital fazia,
El et sa moller lavrava
O monasteri des Olgas.

(*Vet. Cant. Rhythm. como santo garnacen Don Fernando*, in *Act. SS.*, 30 Mai.)

“There was, at this period,” says our author, “no school more excellent in itself, and better attended, and whence issued a greater number of distinguished scholars, churchmen, and men of business, than the school of St. Albans. Its able teachers had the advantage of a well-stored library. The abbot Guarin, his brother Matthew, and their nephew Guarin, surpassed all in the love of science. (Matt. Par. Vit. Abbat. S. Alb., p. 62.) In France, in the single city of Paris, there were, besides the university and the cathedral school, two monastic schools. (Mezeray, *Abrégé*, vol. ii., p. 347.) The school of St. Genevieve was so frequented, that the abbot Stephen, afterwards Bishop of Tournay, under an apprehension that the out-door scholars might disturb the order of the house, established a new school for those in the cloister. He rightly discerned that the education of a monk must take a different direction, and pursue a different aim from that of a man of the world, and instituted a distinction between a school for virtue and a school for science. (Stephen Tornac., Ep. 80.) A multitude of abbeys in France were distinguished for the same exertions in the cause of education.* The general history of learning in that country, exhibits men who issued from the monastic schools; for even in some monasteries, as in that of St. Denis, attention was paid to the science of medicine. † And more than one scholar could, like Raymond, Bishop of Uzés, attest in later life that he had in such a school been grounded in piety and learning. ‡ But in Germany, the brilliant lustre wherewith the schools of St. Gall, Fulda and Reichenau, had once shone, was nearly extinct. * * *

“Yet precisely from this period, when the universities rose in importance, influence, and the thronged attendance of students, and when the cities began to submit their schools to other inspection than to that of ecclesiastics, monastic schools were thrown in the back-ground. § At least, in despite of all the exertions of Pope Innocent, and the ordinances of the Lateran Council, they could not be maintained in their former importance, and were only preserved from extinction by the prohibition, interdicting monks receiving instruction elsewhere than in the monastery. ||

“The impartial observer cannot forbear giving it as his opinion, that without monasteries and the regular clergy, almost all learning, at certain periods of time, would have disappeared. (Niemeyer Journey to

* A long catalogue of them, with many literary details, may be seen in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. ix., p. 92-113.

† *Ibid*, p. 94.

‡ The school of Chaise-Dieu: in me eruditionis et religionis posuit fundamentum.—*Hist. lit. de la France*, vol. ix., p. 104.

§ *Hist. Nigræ Sylvæ*, vol. i., p. 488.

|| A Paris synod, of the year 1212, ordains, “ne quis exeat causâ eundi ad scholas, sed in claustro, si voluerit, addiscat.”

France, vol. ii., p. 339.) They did not merely preserve learning as a dead treasure, by transcribing the writers of Pagan and Christian antiquity, but there is scarcely a branch of human knowledge which did not find among them its patrons, collectors, and cultivators. By far the greater number of writers of this age, in every department of learning, belong to the Monastic Order. Not only were abbots a shining pattern of learning, at least of a love for it, to their inferiors, but even the abbesses of female convents obtained distinction in this respect. Such a number of works, whether original or transcribed, prove that more than *one* brother shared the conviction with the monk of Muri; to wit, that without knowledge the life of a Churchman had no importance.* And the almost proverbial saying, that 'a monastery without a library is like a castle without an armoury, † proves, at least, what an idea was entertained of such institutions. Hence it was, at a subsequent time, a subject of just regret, when, by the fault of an abbot, or of several succeeding ones, this generous pursuit of knowledge, or what was the cause or the consequence thereof, the gravity of the clerical character, was relaxed. ‡

"Industry compiled in Encyclopædias, whatever the reading and researches of the individual, in various departments of learning, had discovered. § Theology in all its branches, and Canon Law, found in these asylums of piety the most numerous writers. || * * *

"Without the monastic archives, we should have possessed but scanty notices of the condition of mankind during a long period of time. The historical records of more than one country have been preserved for

* *Libros autem oportet semper describere, et augere et meliorare, ornare et annotare, quia vita omnium spiritualium hominum sine literis nihil est.*—Actæ Fundat. Murens. Monast., p. 48.

† *Clastrum sine armario, quasi castrum sine armamentario.*

‡ In the year 1231, Eberhard, and after him Volpold, were abbots in the monastery of Hirschau. The chronicle of Hirschau, (vol. i., p. 362,) says of this period: *quia sicut in monachis fervor sanctæ conversationis illo in tempore omnino tepuerat, ita illis nullum Scripturarum studium sapiebat.*

§ A manuscript, that in the year 1768 was burnt, together with the convent of St. Blasius, contained extracts from fifty writers on the trivium and quadrivium, whereof twenty were on music alone.—Hist. Nig. Silv., vol. i., p. 488.

The mirror of Vincent of Beauvais, (Sub-prior of the Dominican monastery of that city,) was, in its four parts, a complete Encyclopædia of Science, and has hitherto, perhaps, not been turned to sufficient account. The reading displayed in this work excites amazement.

|| The reader may see the list of writers of the twelfth century at the end of the 15th volume of the Hist. Lit. de la France.

posterity solely by means of the monasteries.* The importance of title-deeds of estates had, from an early period, made their preservation a point of duty. Hence the office of a Record-keeper† was not one of the least considerable in a well-regulated convent; and a prudent abbot directed his attention to the archives, as well as to everything else, and watched over their preservation, as well as their due arrangement. It usually happened that the Chronicler of a monastery was the keeper of its archives. * * *

“In the hope that it would ever be an asylum for scholars, and an abode of science, the celebrated Archbishop of Lund, Absalon, founded the monastery of Soroe. ‡ Between particular convents an active literary intercourse subsisted. § They lent each other books, whether for the purpose of reading or copying, and the urgency || wherewith they made their demands, proves that the books required were intended for use. Individual inmates of the cloister were celebrated for the extent of their attainments, and their versatility of talents, which included even poetical effusions, in the Latin as well as vernacular tongue. ¶ In many of these poems, composed on some special occasion, or whereof only fragments have come down to us, the influence of the Roman

* This was the case in Portugal, for instance. The convents of that country possess many manuscripts; Alcobaca alone has more than five thousand MSS. See Portugal's Monasteries and Monuments, in the *Blätter für Literarische Unterhaltung*, 1835. All the printed books in eighteen monasteries of Portugal, are estimated at 349,000 volumes. By far the greater number of the Chronicles were composed in monasteries, and without these we should know little of the Middle Age.

† *Charta-phylacus*. Examples of such are to be found in the earliest times. Ziegelbauer (vol. i., p. 613.) cites the names of those holding the office.

‡ Holberg *Dänische Reichsgeschichte*, vol. i., p. 272. Mallet *Histoire du Danemarck*, vol. iii., p. 374. Saxo Grammaticus was induced by the Archbishop to write the history of his country.

§ A. desires of B. a Pliny, a Ptolemy, or other historical works, or Fathers of the Church. B. desires of W. a glossary to Macrobius, or to Virgil's *Georgics*.—Pez. *Cod. dipl.*, epist. v., vol. ii., p. 53-55.

|| *Obsecratione efflagito*.

¶ 1212, Helinandus Frigidus Montensis (Froidmont) monachus in divinis humanisque literis excellit, sed maxime in arte versificatoriâ, tam Latinâ, quam Gallicana. (Boulæus *Hist. Univ. Par.* vol. iii., p. 65.) There were many poets in the Latin language, and in every species of versification. Metellus, a monk of Tegernsee (1160) sang, for instance, the fortunes of St. Quirinus, after the style of the Horatian odes. Fabricii *Bibl. med. et infin. ætat. art. Metellus*.

poets, whether as regards thought or expression, is clearly manifest.* If in all countries the cultivation of the mother tongue has been commenced by poets, so the application of the vernacular language of Germany to purposes of business was attempted by monks, first by translation, then by composition of records and deeds in German. Thus we see in many of the Religious, evidences of true scientific exertion; although in others again, all literary exertion was confined to the mechanical transcription of books. †

“This was indeed the case with the greater number. The Carthusians especially, found, for a long time, in the copying of books, a compensation for preaching, that was interdicted to them. ‘Every one who copies a work,’ says their great prior, Guigo, ‘becomes thereby a herald of truth, and God will one day reward us for every one, whom in this way we have reclaimed from error, and confirmed in the Catholic truth.’ ‡

*The monk Jonas, of St. Victor, at Paris, became abbot at Cherburg. In this dreary abode, a home-sickness for his former monastery comes upon him, whereupon he expresses himself in the following strains :

“Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
 Ducit, et immemores non sinit esse sui.
 Sic fera, sic volucris, sic piscis nota requirit,
 In quibus ante locis pascua parvus habet.
 Hic terræ steriles et vinea nulla superstes ;
 Silva caret foliis, desunt sua pascua pratis.
 Est mare confine, sed mortis mille ruinae ;
 Dulcius hæc mihi est, quam mala posse pati.

* * * * *

Anxia cura domûs rerum possessio parva,
 Quam quærent multi, non dare crimen erit.”

(Gallia Christ. xi., p. 941.) The two first lines are from Ovid's *Pontus*, lib. i., p. 4.

† Very beautiful are the following observations made by Denina, in his work, “*Delle Rivoluzioni d'Italia*.” vol. iii., p. 265. “In the monks, this manual occupation of transcription engendered and augmented in course of time, the inclination and opportunity for study. To this end, I cannot forbear remarking, how, in those times which we term barbarous, and by those monks whom many philosophers of our age make a rule to despise and deride, without distinction, all was done by way of recreation, relief, and pleasure, which our sloth and effeminacy regard as occupations so serious, and so important, that we hesitate not to bestow praise on whoever employs in such pursuits the whole vigour of his health, and the greater part of the day, devoting the remainder to leisure and sleep.”

‡ Ut quod ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus prædicamus.—*Statuta Dom. Guigonis*, xxviii., 4.

More than one inmate of the cloister might return from the lessons out of the bible to Sallust and Livy, from the miracles of the Lord to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and from the psalmody of the choir to Horace's *Odes* and to Virgil's *Poems*. In most monasteries there were ever some brethren, who, by their dexterity and perseverance, were especially fitted for the task of transcription. But whatever was connected with Christianity,—whatever could nourish and strengthen the spiritual life, and which was more immediately akin to the calling of a monk, such as Holy Writ,—the works of the great Fathers of the Church,—the phenomena of Divine Grace in the lives of the most faithful servants of Christ; all this was made the subject of most especial attention. The most persevering industry, the most admirable artistic skill,* were devoted to such works as were consecrated to the public service of the Church, or were calculated to inspire private devotion. †

“Simon, abbot of St. Albans, had constantly about him some select copyists; the manner wherein he treated them, showed what value he attached to a well-assorted library, and how he laboured to restore what his predecessors had neglected or squandered away. In the larger monasteries there was a special writer, who had the superintendance over others, that worked under his direction. To the copyists was assigned a special and quiet chamber, accessible only to the superiors, and in which silence was imposed. They were provided with every possible requisite, for it was held of much importance that the writing should be fair, regular, and faultless. In many a cloister several monks might be seen together at their writing-desk, assiduously engaged in the work of transcription. And one may easily have sought his glory in enriching the monastic library with very many books. What was to be copied, was mostly determined by the Superior, commonly the Librarian, ‡ and even the time settled within which the transcript was to be completed. §.....To those Superiors who loved books, whole libraries were offered for sale. There were again monasteries that gloried in

* Even St. Boniface founded schools, wherein calligraphy and miniature painting were carried on by the religious brethren.

† In Missals, Breviaries, and different devotional books, which the individual compiled, the most elegant miniature pictures are found, usually bearing the impress of the most cheerful, heartfelt devotion, which such books are intended to awaken. Ellinger, abbot of Tegernsee, drew also, in Pliny's *Natural History*, figures of animals with a pen.

‡ *Nec quisquam eorum aliud scribere, quam ille præceperit. Liber Ord. S. Victoris Paris, apud Du Cange. V. Scriptor.*

§ *Feria VI. ante Judica portavit Prior hunc librum ad rescribendum, et dedit mihi terminum ad annum.—Hist. Nig. Silv., vol. ii., p. 91, from a MS.*

being able to furnish others with books, * and whose manuscripts, from their elegant calligraphy, had obtained a wide-spread reputation." †—P. 574-80.

We must apologize to the reader for the length of these citations, but the interest, as well as the importance of the matter, will, we trust, be accepted as a sufficient plea.

After his luminous account of the Monastic profession in general, our historian characterises, with much skill and learning, the peculiar genius, object, and services of each Religious Order. All the great monastic orders arose at the time they were most needed, and were admirably adapted to the wants and exigencies of the Church and of society, for the time being. Thus on the overthrow of the Roman empire, the Benedictine communities received and guarded the treasures of ancient knowledge, diffused far and wide the blessings of education, sent forth holy missionaries to evangelize the heathen, and bred up scholars and divines for the defence and edification of the Church. This order was, indeed, one of the chief instruments of Christian civilization. But in course of time, many of these Benedictine communities had, to a great degree, degenerated from their pristine fervour. And this was the case at the period described by our author, when Divine Providence raised up those two great luminaries of the Church—a Dominick and a Francis—one of whom, to speak in the language of Dante, was a resplendent cherub, and the other a burning seraph. ‡ The clergy, secular and regular, were, in many instances, relaxed in discipline; corruption of morals was widely spread among the laity, and heresies of the most malignant nature were spreading dismay and havoc in the fold of Christ. The two great

* The abbey of Liessies, in the diocese of Cambray, whose manuscripts were still to be seen in later times, at Citeaux.—*Hist. lit. de la France*, vol. ix., p. 96.

† It was doubtless, on this account, the abbot of Reichenau had, on his consecration, to send among other dues, an Epistolarium, a Sacramentarium, and an Evangeliarium, to Rome.—*Liber Censuum. Murat. Antiq.* vol. v, p. 875.

‡ L'un fu tutto serafico in ardore,
L'altro per sapienza in terra fue
Di cherubica luce uno splendore.

Paradiso, c. xi.

saints we have named then arose to stem the torrent of immorality, and confirm anew the foundations of faith. The "preaching brothers," by their missions, arrested the progress of the Albigenian heresies, while to the false pretensions of arrogant ostentatious poverty proclaimed by the "poor men of Lyons," the sons of St. Francis opposed the genuine, humble, and mortified spirit of evangelic poverty. An electric shock was imparted to society; and in every class and description of men a new spiritual life was manifest.

The more mystical and contemplative Religious, like the Carthusians and the bare-footed Carmelites, were also, by their prayers and example, and ascetic and theological writings, of eminent service to the Church. The spiritual orders of chivalry, such as the Knights of St. John, the Templars, the Teutonic Knights, and the Knights of Calatrava and St. James, are among the most striking phenomena that history presents. In none of her creations did the Catholic Church display such marvellous flexibility, such power of adaptation to the wants and circumstances of mankind at a given period, as in these institutions, where, to use the words of Frederick Schlegel, "she contrived to blend the most opposite feelings and propensities of our nature." What characters, in truth, more opposed than those of the monk and the soldier! What tastes and inclinations apparently more contrary and uncongenial than those needed and called forth in a life of boisterous agitation and martial strife on one hand, and of still seclusion and spiritual meditation on the other! Yet, under the inspiration of Christianity, the same individual was seen one day ministering bodily and spiritual succour to the sick and dying, and the next day foremost in the fight, and rushing where danger was most appalling. "They are like lambs in the cloister," says St. Bernard, speaking of the Templars, "but like lions on the battle-field." The spiritual chivalry served to sustain and animate the secular knighthood; to hold before the eyes of the latter the pure ideal of Christian honour, and to keep it awake to the great end of its institution,—the war with the Moslem, the mortal foe of Christendom. Few pages in the present work are more instructive and captivating than those describing the rise and progress of the Templars and the Knights of St. John.

In his account of external and purely historical occur-

rences, Dr. Hurter is usually more felicitous than in his description of the supernatural phenomena of the spiritual life. For the latter, a certain remnant of Protestant prejudices, as well as a temper of mind naturally unmythical, tended to disqualify him. This fault is particularly apparent in his sketch of the miracles of St. Francis; a sketch which, with his present Catholic feelings, would have been, of course, traced in a very different manner.

We can spare but one more extract from this valuable work. The following character of the mediæval chroniclers is particularly just.

“As far as regarded events of a remote date, historical knowledge in the Middle Age was as defective as the art of historical writing. Even the foundation for such knowledge,—an accurate chronology of the whole period preceding the birth of our Lord,—was wanting. If Eusebius had assigned five thousand two hundred years for the whole of this space of time, the tables of Alphonso estimated its duration at six thousand nine hundred and thirty-four years. Independently of the fact that a multitude of original records and auxiliaries to the study of history, were only at a far later period discovered, investigated, and illustrated, such documents as were even then accessible, were not used with care. Still the relation which the Incarnation of our Lord bore to the duration of the city of Rome, * was ascertained with tolerable accuracy; and those periods of chronology which were in current acceptance, were noted with the greater precision.

“Whenever a writer of this time handles ancient history, we are sure to find all events thrown together in motley confusion,—truth mingled with falsehood, and very little drawn from original sources. But the case is very different when the writers narrate events nearer their own time, or which have occurred therein, or whereof they have been eye-witnesses. Most of these historians were clergymen, and we can divide them into four classes. There were those whose writings might be termed Universal Histories, such as the Chronicles of Sigebert of Gembloux, and of Albericus of the ‘Three Fountains,’ who made use of the writings of their predecessors, and stated the authorities from which they derived their information. Then there were works of history treating of special countries or epochs, in which department, the period of time to which our researches refer, produced excellent specimens. In this respect, essential service was rendered in France by the great abbot of St. Denis, Suger, who ordered the earlier annals to be collected and

* Anno Urbis DCCII., Olymp. CXCIV., anno Augusti XLII., natus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus.—Albericus, p. 11.

united into one work, the uninterrupted continuance whereof he urgently pressed. Hereby he opened a rich mine of many unproved tales indeed, but withal of ancient traditions and historical records. Who doth not admire the extensive knowledge, coupled with a gentle tone of feeling, as exhibited in the historical books of Otho of Freysingen? And what writer so nearly related to a distinguished emperor, and receiving from him assistance for the narration of his feats, ever remained so free from base flattery? If Roderick, Archbishop of Toledo, did not describe with the same elegance as Cæsar, the memorable occurrences of his time, on which he exerted so powerful an influence, he is certainly not inferior to the Roman historian in point of credibility. The veracity of Arnold of Lübeck, in respect to the events of the North, is even more confirmed by research into the records of contemporaneous occurrences in other countries. William of Tyre's History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, will still interest the reader, who values fidelity and an unadorned narrative more than rhetorical ornament, or an often rash and presumptuous spirit of speculation. Hugh Falcand treats with much talent, and in an attractive style, the events of a contracted space of time, whereof he had been eye-witness in Sicily. The influence which Paris exerted over Denmark, in promoting a higher intellectual refinement, is undeniably manifest in the historian of the latter country. Matthew Paris, although he doth not occasionally disdain to give utterance to a fable, and cannot be acquitted of indulging in too bitter sallies against the centre of Christendom, from his hostility to the two new Religious Orders, will never forfeit the well-deserved meed of industry in the investigation of the histories of his time.

“The third class of Chronicles consists of the Annals of Churches and Monasteries, in which the most essential points affecting the latter are recorded. Most of these Chronicles had, in all probability, no particular author, but were from time to time continued by some one charged with the commission. If these annals be not peculiarly rich in matter, they cannot be termed worthless, and we must be thankful for such regulations as were passed by the abbey of Corvey, whereby all its filial establishments were bound to compile their annals. (Ann. Corbeq. ad annum, 1097.) Many such are to be found in the collections of all countries. More important service, on the other hand, is rendered by the compilers of those annals, who give us the original records of their monasteries, and who, when they come to their own times, furnish us with fuller details respecting all that nearly or remotely affected their convent, or contributed towards its weal or woe, its joy or its sorrows, or who, from their cells looked out upon the course of public events. Hereby we are supplied with a multitude of data for the knowledge of earlier and contemporaneous occurrences, which those who have made the past the object of their researches, will acknowledge with feelings of grateful joy. Such are the annals of the monastery of

Centulum,* those of Bernard Iterius, and many others which it would take us too long to enumerate.

“Whoever regards the historical writings of the Romans as the sole legitimate standard of style, will certainly find no attraction in the mediæval annals. Habituated to the energetic language, the clear and harmonious diction, the felicitous descriptions of the mature man, he will have no relish for the artless narrations of the untutored boy. And yet, in the simplicity, the heartiness, the utter artlessness which disdains all ornament, in the naïveté that never dares to raise a doubt as to things that severely task belief, there is something uncommonly attractive. But through all these works we find more or less clearly expressed, the firm belief in a higher government of the world, and in the two-fold visitation of God, whether by the dispensation of joys and blessings, or by the infliction of correction and chastisement. Where classical and modern historians trace the ultimate causes of events to the covert sentiments of influential men, or to the connexion of events one with the other, there the pious and simple faith of the mediæval chroniclers referred all things to Him whom they revered as the Supreme Dispenser of human destinies, in things great as well as small, in matters of a general as well as special kind.”—Vol. iv., p. 627-30.

In conclusion, we can assure our readers, that, for our personal satisfaction, we have, in not a few instances, traced Dr. Hurter to his authorities, and can testify to his exact fidelity.

ART. IV. *Sacerdos Sanctificatus ; or, Discourses on the Mass and Office, with a Preparation and Thanksgiving before and after Mass, for every Day in the Week, translated from the Italian of St. ALPHONSUS LIGUORI, by the REV. JAMES JONES. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.*

IT is, no doubt, a very trite remark, that each of us lives in a distinct world of his own, and knows in reality very little of what exists out of it. It is familiarly said, that one half the world does not know how the other half lives ; but we should be disposed to increase the division

* *Chronicon Centulens*, edited by D'Achery.

far more, into very small sections, each of which is totally ignorant, or nearly so, of the thoughts, habits, feelings, occupations, resources, enjoyments, and sufferings of all the rest. It is not merely that class is ignorant of class, but within one stratum, so to speak, of society, there are innumerable subdivisions, each so complete in itself, as to trouble itself but little of what goes on outside of it. We have observed sometimes, in a bookseller's shop, some serial or journal, which appears written for a considerable circulation, and evidently for a peculiar class or sect of readers, a member of which we could not remember ever to have met, and of which we knew literally nothing. Few people we should think are intimate and familiar with more than a hundred families beyond their own; and most of these they are connected with through profession, religion, or rank, so that they learn but little through them, beyond their own range of thoughts and principles. How many have met for years at church, or on 'change, or in any other place of public resort, without caring to know the least about one another! How many hours one may walk about the streets of a great city like London, and though elbowing, all the time, a crowd, not meeting a single person whose name one knows! Verily, this social world of ours is, after all, but a mighty wilderness.

But who is likely to feel it such, more than the Catholic priest, whose very office and duties cut him off from the enjoyments, as they are called and thought, of life? When he enters upon his public career, no one knows, and no one cares "whence he cometh nor whither he goeth;" he is like his prototype Melchisedec in this, that he has to the world no Father but God, and no Mother but his Church. He returns not, after his education is completed, to his earthly parents' home, as others do, there to begin his public course of duty; but he is at once banished among strangers, who only recognise in him one of a class, the type of a race, the representative of a high spiritual ministry, and ask no more. He is like an ambassador in a foreign country; the delegation which he holds, overmasters every other personal claim or title; and he, on his part, must beware that he attach not himself to those entrusted to him, by other bonds than those of his spiritual ministry. He is, therefore, through life an insulated, self-depending being; great part of whose real inward existence is unseen by men, known to God alone. Into his

ears are whispered miseries and woes such as no other man on earth ever hears, the wailings of widow and orphan, of oppressed and afflicted, tales of horror and of patience such as never a writer of fiction imagined; into his bosom are poured, not streams, but floods, of sin, the very overflowing of long lives of crime and vice, such as would startle one in the annals of justice. And all this and more must rest there, without issue for counsel or for comfort, must lie there, a heavy weight, a crushing load upon the heart, which none can help to bear. Truly then, there is, in the faithful and sin-hating, and God-loving priest, a hidden life of sorrow and suffering which only a strong, invisible grace, can enable him to support. "*Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?*"* are questions which describe the participation, by sympathy, in the sufferings and frailties of his flock, which form the inward lot of a Catholic priest. Nay, we know not to what better to compare it, than, with all reverence, to that fearful, heart-breaking anguish, which made One whose own heart was stainless, pray that the cup of others' guilt might be removed from His lips. Years of life thus pass on: all around him see his outward working, and avail themselves of his ministry. Perhaps he is cut off young and suddenly by pestilence, or typhus, or over-fatigue; another takes his place, like a soldier on the breach, and he has left no void, no family-sorrow, no cheerless home. He was not of this world, he was of God; from God he came, sent to men; and to God he is returned, little cared for by men.

But perhaps he lingers long, either in youth, or in age, in sickness, which has gradually withdrawn him from his spiritual children: and few have thought of him the while. None have asked how he is supported all this time; all take it for granted that "it is someone's place to see to it, and no doubt it is done," by that happy *Ουτις*, "somebody or other." It is true he has been a long and well tried servant of the Church, and he has worn himself out in that service, which consists in labouring for her children; but he is doing so no longer; another has taken his place, and must now be supported. It is well known that he has been ever, like his Master, poor, and kind to the poor, and for these two good reasons, has not laid any thing up for

* 2 Cor. xi. 59.

old age or sickness. Every one knows all this, but with noble exceptions, (which God reward, as He alone can!) seldom is enquiry made, even by the charitable, what has become of one, whom they had often admired in the pulpit, revered at the altar, and blessed in the confessional. It may happen, that, after some years of silence regarding him, they are shocked to hear that he has been lingering in an obscure lodging among strangers, upon the scanty pittance which a miserable "clergy-fund" could allow him, without the comforts which his age and illness demanded, and has just died, in almost destitution, and is going to be buried in a protestant church-yard. There is then a little self-reproach, and some compunctious enquiry, why the case was not mentioned sooner, and certainly something would have been done: but the next priest will just be sick, and die in the same manner; and no one will think, till it is too late, that this should not have been. There are few wants, we sincerely think, more to be deplored, in our body, than this of a proper provision for the sickness, and old age, and it grieves us to add, even the decent interment, of those who have spent their lives in the spiritual service of their fellow-catholics.

It is not our intention, however, at present, to enter into this part of the subject. The time is not yet come for it; though it may not be far distant. But we will rather content ourselves with remarking, that it may well require a strong sustaining grace, a vivid sense of duty, and a spirit of true sacrifice, to make one to toil and wear himself out, without worldly comfort, or certain prospect of even ordinary requital, in a life of perpetual, inward self-denial. That often, the anxiety of uncertain prospects, and the cares of temporal wants, must inwardly pain, and even rack the mind, there can be no doubt; but God alone can know, what, hidden patience, resignation, and confidence daily achieve, to secure that serenity and calm, without which the duties of the priesthood would be impossible.

While it is a wretched thought, calculated much to embitter existence, that beneath the glittering surface of society there lies a foul vein of villany and crime, it is consoling to us to discover, as from time to time we do, the existence of unseen and almost unknown virtues, sterling, and thoroughly Christian. But far more thankful must we be, when we find examples of true saintliness, of that lively faith and love, that deep inward humility, that close con-

verse with God, and that interior life in His Spirit, which constitute holiness peculiar to the Catholic Church, where and when she can fully exercise her purest influences. Where such instances spring up in a cold, faithless, soulless state of society and morality as exists in protestant countries, they surely deserve to be fully recorded; and the tradition of them should not be allowed easily to escape. One such hidden life of priestly sanctity, singular in its history, consoling in its results, beautiful in its lessons, short and transient as a meteor, unnoticed as a lowly flower by our daily path, we wish here to record, that its sweet memory may not perish.

During part of the year 1848, the frequenters of the Bavarian Chapel, in Warwick Street, London, will doubtless have noticed a priest who, though not attached to the chapel, frequently took part in the celebration of its offices, and sometimes preached. And those who, on these occasions, were near enough to catch his words, will bear testimony to the original thoughts, and beautiful sentiments which they conveyed. But a very feeble voice, a weakly frame, a general aspect of ill health, seemed to render him comparatively of little use in the public ecclesiastical ministry, and to forebode but a short career to his abilities. He was already pretty advanced in years, when he thus appeared in public as a priest; and he speedily ceased to be seen acting as such. He disappeared; and few probably cared to ask what had become of him; he retired into privacy but to die, known by only a few even of his brethren, and by fewer still among the lay members of our body. His name does not even occur in the Directory for the year. Faithful friends, however, and affectionate admirers, who had followed him through life, first while for many years he was striving to gain the truth, and afterwards when he had found it, have not failed to preserve a brief record of his thoughts and his singular course; and his own letters, journals, and notes, furnish additional materials, to assist us in constructing what we trust may be at least an edifying memoir, of an almost unknown priest.

The Rev. Thomas Harris, of whom we have been writing, was born at Warwick, Jan. 11th, 1799, in that lowly rank of life, from which God has chosen so many of his saints. From his birth he was weak and sickly, so that the family medical attendant remarked to his mother,

“this child will not trouble you long.” Years after, when repeating this observation, she added, “He did indeed speak truly; for he never caused me one half-hour’s anxiety throughout his life, but was ever my comfort, adviser and stay.”

In referring to the earliest period of consciousness, he used to say, that he could not remember a time when he did not entertain serious thoughts of God and of religion, and a gift almost of familiarity with the spiritual world. When very young at school, his master asked him, Who God was, and on his being unable to answer, told him: “God is a Spirit.” His tender mind seized at once the thought, with an affectionate apprehension that never left him. Those words were as the key to him of spiritual knowledge, and formed the principle of his latest contemplation of the Deity.

It may be necessary here to inform our readers, that the subject of our memoir was not then a Catholic, nor brought to the faith till a much later period. The peculiar interest of his biography, in fact, lies here, that from the very beginning, without exterior aid, an inward influence, a heavenly hand seemed to mould and fashion his heart and mind to Catholic principles, Catholic thoughts, and most Catholic affections. These seemed to be almost miraculously preserved pure in the very midst of a system of error in which he lived involved; till the hour, appointed for him in mercy, came, and gave them their natural life, and a rapid growth, that reached the maturity of saintly perfection in a most brief period. Although, for so many years of his life, in a most unnatural position, at variance, and in direct antagonism, with the inward bent, and very life of his soul, yet there seemed to be treasured in its inmost recesses, a sound, though fruitless kernel, that needed but an energizing, fecundating grace, to give it life. It was like to the grains of wheat, that have been found in the corpse-dust of Egypt’s mummies, apparently dry and dead as what enveloped them; but which have no sooner been sown in a congenial soil, than they have sprung forth green and tender, and have ripened into abundance. In treating of a mysterious guidance, such as appears in this case, we feel that a peculiar reserve and caution are necessary. We see how important it is, to lay down as a principle, that the dealings of God with one soul, can never form a rule for a man’s departing from the ordinary course of

duty. Because God converted St. Paul and St. Augustine by a miraculous voice from heaven, it would be impious in any one, conscious of error, to wait in hope that a similar call may be vouchsafed to himself. If, therefore, we speak in favourable, and even admiring terms, of one who was still at a distance from the truth, and its necessary profession, it is not as approving of this state of separation, but rather as showing by what wonderful ways a mysterious Providence will lead a soul to salvation, by bringing it into His holy Church.

Even at the early period of childhood of which we are writing, young Harris felt an instinctive veneration and love for the B. Virgin, and for every thing Catholic. He used to tell how he had himself lifted up to see an image of our Lady, which yet remains among the carvings of her chapel in Warwick church, and which the weakness of his sight prevented him from accurately distinguishing. And after this, it was his delight to run to the spot alone and gaze upon it.

St. Nicholas's church-yard was his usual resort, for he never liked playing with other boys. His favourite amusement was to clean the faces of the angels carved on the tombstones. One day when thus engaged, he spat towards one that had a very ugly face, but instantly recollecting the pure spirit it was to represent, he was filled with compunction, and for some days chastised himself for this act of irreverence. He chiefly passed the rest of his time with two old persons who used to lend him books, and could tell him legends and tales of former times. Some of their books were in black letter, which, though so young, he soon learned to read.

Before he was six years old he began to mortify his appetite by occasionally refraining from sweet things, of which he was very fond. In after life he carried his fasts to such a degree as very much to injure his health.

At the same time, every thing shows that he was a boy of generous dispositions. The only time that he was punished at school, was for another boy's fault, and he bore it without complaint, while the delinquent had not courage to acknowledge his guilt. On another occasion, he had finished a drawing, which one of his schoolfellows admired; and he immediately made him a present of it. Shortly after, at a school exhibition, this boy produced the drawing as his own performance, and received high commendations

for it. When this story was alluded to, at a later period, and he was asked if he allowed this impudent trick to pass unnoticed, he replied; "I was not likely, I should think, to purchase praise, at the expense of exposing the duplicity of another."

From his earliest years he was endowed with an intense love of books. His abilities were great, his memory most retentive, and he began early to amass that variety of knowledge, which his great modesty only prevented from becoming more generally known and admired. He was possessed of most extensive and varied information, not only on religious and sacred subjects, which formed his favourite pursuits, but also on history, biography, antiquities, and practical science. When at a later period, we came to know him, we found him acquainted with parts of literature with which few are familiar, not only in our own language, but in foreign ones. He had a great taste in bibliography, and knew well the value of a scarce work, or a rare edition. From his youth, if a question were asked him on a subject, on which he could not give a satisfactory answer, he would spare no pains or trouble to enquire and master it.

In 1808 he removed with his family to Stratford, and was sent to the Grammar school in that town.

In 1814 they came to live in London, where his father kept a public house. For some years with obedience and assiduity he continued to assist in the business, which was a source of the deepest distress to him. The moment, however, that he was at liberty, he would fly to his chamber, and throwing himself on his knees, with many tears, entreat God to pardon him for thus dealing forth "the poisonous waters of death."

By economizing his time, and running fast each way when he was sent on errands, he often gained sufficient time to assist at Mass in the nearest chapel. One of these was St. Thomas's (the German chapel,) where the Rev. Mr. Muth was then Chaplain, and whose devout appearance soon drew his heart towards him. Several times he left home with the intention of speaking to Mr. Muth on his desire to become a Catholic, but his timidity in addressing a stranger, and more especially a Priest, always proved a hindrance to his doing so. There was a Priest at the Sardinian chapel, with whom also he was much struck. Once he pointedly met him in the aisle, hoping to be ad-

dressed, and twice followed him from the chapel to his own door, but with equally little success. His confidence however in God's mercy, was so firm, that in after life he often said, "I quite believe that a third will be mercifully vouchsafed, to whom I shall be enabled to open my heart, but we must wait His time." Nor was he deceived in his hope. He used also frequently to attend morning and evening prayers at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's; and through interest with the sexton of St. Martin's-in-the-fields, he would go, at the close of the day, into a little corner he had found at the foot of the altar steps, where, unseen by any, he often remained kneeling for an hour at a time in prayer. He had made the model of a small altar of painted cardboard, with all its appropriate furniture cut in various coloured tissue paper according to the appropriate seasons, and before this he frequently spent much time in devotional exercises. He used now sometimes to repeat Latin prayers.

When he was about sixteen he was desired to take a relative to the theatre. With prayers and tears he begged to be released, but without avail, and he was obliged to submit. Having reached their places, he quietly seated himself with his back to the stage, and covered his ears with his hands. Once during the performance his companion said to him, "Oh do look, it is so pretty." Turning towards her with a severe look, he replied, "Tempt me not, Satan," and continued in the same position to the end. On reaching home he instantly went up to his room, and remained there for a considerable time in prayer.

He began now to think more seriously of becoming a Catholic, and made some enquiries about going abroad to study for the Priesthood: but he abandoned this design in obedience to the will of others.

Somewhere about this period, he felt the necessity of a fuller and more perfect surrender of his heart to God; and he began to withdraw still more resolutely from all that might prove an obstacle to his desires. In order to overcome some evil passion, he fasted for a considerable time on bread and water, much to the injury of his health. He was particularly fond of drawing and had much taste for it, but finding that it absorbed too much of his time and thoughts, he laid it entirely aside for two years, until he could resume it without danger.

We come now to an important crisis in Mr. Harris's

history. It is evident that, during all the early part of his life, the whole bent of his mind was towards catholicity; and to him evidently it seemed, as though a hand were interposed to prevent him from embracing it. In many ordinary cases, this idea would have led to a total estrangement from the Church and Faith. A man of what is termed a pious disposition, one the tendency of whose thoughts was to read God's will in outward occurrences, who found himself thus retained in a system against which his mind struggled, would have been tempted to conclude, that he must not look further, but must seek rest where he was placed. But with Harris it evidently was not so. What was the theory of his mind by which he justified his subsequent course to himself we do not fully know; though we shall see later in what manner he afterwards spoke on the subject. It seems, as far as we can glean it from the data before us, so have been founded upon the words of the prophet: "bonum est præstolari cum silentio salutare Dei."* He retained through life the strong feeling of reverence and affection for catholic doctrine, catholic practice, catholic devotion, catholic life; he never seems to have abandoned the thought, that one day he must and would be a Catholic; but having persuaded himself that to this great goal he must be guided passively by Providence, he abandoned himself to the course that came before him, till, to use his own expression, a door should be opened for him into the Church. That this reasoning was erroneous, and led him into a wrong path, there can be no doubt: but that his heart was guileless and his intentions upright and sincere, his subsequent conduct proved: God, who saw his heart, granted him in the end his desires, and brought him to the truth. The following extract from a narrative of one sincerely attached to him, and brought by him to the Catholic faith, will explain his feelings.

"In 1823 he went to the Independent Academy at Hoxton, to study there for the ministry. Dr. Harris (who, though of the same name, was not related) was then preceptor, and was always spoken of by him with great affection and respect. The Doctor also was much attached to him in return, and once remarked to a friend that, 'on entering the academy he was much more qualified to leave it than many who had been there their full time.' He

* Lament. iii. 26.

continued his studies until 1827, when he was appointed to the charge of a congregation at Alford in Lincolnshire.

“ Whilst he was living at Alford he had several severe attacks of illness, one of which was brought on by living a whole Lent upon bread and potato. The situation also was too bleak for his delicate constitution, and he was seldom free from rheumatism during the remainder of his life.

“ Even here, his love for Catholicity remained unshaken, and the works of S. Aug., S. Thomas of Aquin, S. Bernard, &c., were his companions and his delight. His ruling principle, however, was never to move *himself* out of any position wherein he had been placed. He had committed himself and all his ways to Almighty God, and however much it might be opposed to his natural inclinations or desires, he still continued to wait upon Him in prayer and supplication, nor was he ever disappointed in this confidence. Once in the earlier period of his life he took some step without this Divine guidance, and his remark upon it was, that long afterwards he was made to eat the bitter fruits of his selfwilledness. ‘Precipitation,’ he once said, ‘must ever be feared. Hastiness can never be justified, save in fleeing from sin; and even here we must beware, lest our very haste in fleeing *from* sin lead us *into* sin.’ When some friends were urging upon him the manifest inconsistency of his conduct, in always extolling the Church and upholding her discipline, yet still continuing in dissent, he freely admitted the truth of their remarks, acknowledging, that had he to be judged by man’s judgment, he should not be justified in so doing; but he felt that he had to answer at a higher tribunal, and was therefore willing to bear the condemnation of the many. ‘Besides,’ he afterwards added, ‘how could I forsake the souls that have been committed to me, and who are looking to me for guidance and instruction, until I see the Divine hand stretched forth to open the door? The Lord knows my desire to do His will alone in all things, and he will open the door in his own good pleasure; for however far I now seem to be from it, I often think that he will not suffer me to depart, out of the Holy Catholic Church.’ ”

Full fourteen years did he remain in this sad state of constraint. We have before us many of his letters, sketches of sermons, and thoughts, penned during this period, and they prove how deeply his soul was imbued with Catholic ideas, how his spirit loved to dwell in a Catholic sphere. His soul was deeply devotional; and seized at once upon that tenderness of piety which makes our Redeemer, in every stage of His life, an object of familiar and affectionate thought. It is hard to say, whether the Infancy, or the Passion, of our Lord dwelt more sweetly in his soul; but his language upon both is

ever glowing, earnest, and heart-deep. In fact, we have copies of nearly the same subjects as treated by him while yet in error, and after he became a Catholic, and the difference between the two is very slight. We will give but one extract of a letter written by him during this his captivity. It is dated Alford, July 10th. 1841.

“JESUS, THE WORD MADE FLESH AND DWELLING AMONG US.

.....

“Your kind letter did not reach me till this, Friday noon. I am glad to find that all are well; and I hope soon, very soon, to hear from you again. The celebration of High Mass, when duly performed by a well disciplined choir, is very imposing. You probably lost the thread of the service, by listening to the Sanctus intoned by the choir, during which the priest begins the Canon in a voice not audible. And afterwards some pious metre is usually sung during the Elevation which follows the Consecration. I do not at all wonder you were moved at the INCARNATUS EST in the ‘Credo;’ for the bare thought of that great MYSTERY OF LOVE is overpowering. The only begotten of the Father, MADE MAN; made man to save man; made man, that by His death He might bring life to man, how marvellous and mysterious! God, humbling Himself to the dust, that He might raise us up out of it, and clothe us with honour. God, stooping from His throne of glory, to come in the likeness of sinful flesh, that He might make us partakers of His Spirit. God, emptying Himself, taking upon Him the form of a servant, submitting to undergo the torments of the cross and die a shameful death, that He might bring life and immortality to us, who had lost both. Well may angels look from their lofty seats, with wonder and amazement, upon the Incarnation, Passion, and Crucifixion of the Son of God. And much does it become us, dwelling in these clay tabernacles, to bend in lowliest adoration of this most stupendous mystery of our religion, the Manifestation of God in the Flesh. He, the Most Highest, hath indeed done for us great and mighty and marvellous things. Bound with swaddling bands, He burst asunder and broke in pieces the chain of pride by His matchless humility. Laid in a manger, He shewed us how to become poor in spirit, by His willing surrender of all His untold wealth. Habiting a stable, He manifests in this the most perfect indifferency, and thereby reproveth our manifold selfish wishes and desires. Dependant upon the tender care of His Virgin Mother, and contented with the provision made for Him by the Eternal Father; He, by the sweetest confidence, rebukes our hard unbelief. As a little babe, borne in the arms of His mother, calm and peaceful and serene, how forcibly does He recommend the utter extinction of those passions, which quite unfit us for communion with God. Emulation, wrath, strife, pride, selfwill, and all the evil

tempers which lurk unseen beneath the garb of an angel of light, must be dragged forth and slain by the HOLY CHILD JESUS, ere He can rest in our heart. When He is made of God unto us 'Wisdom,' we see as in a flood of light, the 'deep heart,' and feeling our utter want of sanctity, cry out with the prophet, 'Undone! Undone!' But when the Seraph messenger hath laid a living coal of heavenly fire upon the lip, and Jesus hath shed abroad His love within the heart, then is He made unto us 'Righteousness.' O gracious hour, when the tears of them that mourn are turned into songs of joy. The seed which is sown weeping, shall spring up and bring forth a plentiful harvest of gladness and rejoicing. He, who weepeth and anointeth the feet of Jesus with Magdalene, shall, with her, hear Him say, 'Thy sins, which are many, are all forgiven thee.' May Jesus, full of grace and truth, teach thee His good and acceptable and perfect will, and may the Spirit of love and power write with his own finger, within thy heart, the law of charity; so that, taught and furnished from above, Christ may be abundantly magnified in thee, at all times, and all places, both now and evermore. Oh that we were more, much more, powerfully smitten with the glory of God, which shines forth in the face of Jesus Christ; then indeed should we run and make haste, and not at all delay to keep His 'Righteous Commandments.' And His commandments are none of them grievous, none of them painful to love; for what is the fulfilling of the law, but love?

"I remain as ever, in much tender affection,

"Friday Afternoon."

"Yours, T. H."

When, however, he wrote this, the day of his first liberation was not far distant. In the same year, for some reason or other, we believe because his doctrines were considered too Catholic, he was requested by a part of his congregation to resign, and he did so at once. On the feast of All Saints, he preached his farewell sermon.

But this was only, as we have called it, his first liberation. He had left Egypt, but he had still to wander for some time longer in the wilderness, before the land of promise was opened to him. At the close of that year he returned to London; and many friends eagerly sought to win him to the English establishment, in which they wished him to take orders. We are informed that application was made to several of its bishops; but that every attempt failed. The celebrated decision on the stone altar at Cambridge finally determined him, against joining a system which thereby rejected all idea of a sacrifice and a priesthood. It was not until 1845 that he finally triumphed over his bashfulness, and fear of acting for himself, by call-

ing on some of the priests in London. By one of these, he was introduced to the late pious Bishop Griffiths; and this interview led to his being received into the communion of the true Church, on Whitsunday 1846, by the Rev. E. Hearn.

Much as he had expected from Communion with the Church, he was not disappointed. In addressing a friend several months after his reception, he said: "I cannot express to you the increasing consolation I feel at our having been admitted where we now are, for I am so fully assured of the abundant supply within the sacred Enclosure to meet all our necessities; and according to our light, our capacity, and our state, we shall not fail to have all sorts of crosses to purify our souls, and fit them for His presence. It is God's laboratory wherein souls are placed in the hands of the Divine Physician; if they are faithful, by crosses and mortifications they are made whole; but if they are unfaithful to these heavenly favours, they become the medicaments for others." He considered that many converts were disappointed, because, having looked at the evil by which they had been previously surrounded, they expected, on becoming Catholics, to find a perfect Church on earth, and all her members holy. "But how then," he would say, "can the good be perfected without the bad to prove and to test them? In the Catholic Church will be found every class, from the very best to the very worst; but I believe that there is no other situation wherein a soul can arrive at the same height of perfection, and I have had the happiness of knowing intimately, perhaps some of the best specimens of piety and devotion, both in the English Church and among dissenters."

It may not, however, be uninteresting to our readers, to see what his feelings were respecting the Church, from his private correspondence with his former religious friends. To one, he writes as follows, Aug. 1846.

"You say: 'I am much surprised at the change which has taken place in your religious opinions.' The only change that has taken place in me, has been a change from infancy to manhood, from the thoughts of a child to the thoughts of a man, from the glimmering apprehensions of the dawn to the full brightness of the perfect day. You ask, 'how do you reconcile many parts of the Catholic belief with the word of God?' I answer, that the Catholic belief is identically one and the selfsame thing with the word of God; or that revelation which He has given to man: and that the reconciliation of its difficulties is not in any way to be attempt-

ed rashly, nor should their existence in any lessen our faith. For if every thing were made plain to our reason, where would there be any place for faith? You tell me: 'Surely *purgatory* is a place only to be met with in the imaginations of Catholics.' Indeed! then have you visited the world unseen in every part thereof, and found no such place any where in the whole universe? If you have not, then it may contain a *purgatory*, for all you know, or suppose, or imagine to the contrary: and that it does contain a *purgatory*, God Almighty assures me by the testimony of the Catholic Church, the pillar and ground of truth. You enquire of me: 'Can you really believe that the pains of the lost can be mitigated by anything we can do?' I answer in the name of every Catholic, NO. We do not believe, persons dying in a graceless state, can be helped by us in any way. There is no *purgatory*, into which a soul dying in mortal sin can go. Hence, to use your own words: 'As death finds us, so judgment takes us:' if we die in a state of estrangement from God, we are consigned by His just sentence, to have our part with them that hate Him. But if it should happen, we have not wisely made to ourselves friends while here to receive us hereafter, and that our works are not perfect, we cannot enter His presence who is purity itself, till every spot and stain and wrinkle is removed by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning. Again you enquire: 'Could a life of devotion and tears and prayer, procure any mitigation in the sentence of a condemned soul?' If by a condemned soul you mean a *lost soul*, the question is already answered. But if you mean a soul condemned to suffer for a time for its sins, of which it has truly repented here on earth, and yet has not in very deed been released from the chastisement they deserve: I answer Yes, assuredly: for are we not all members of the selfsame body, and have we not all been made to drink into the One Spirit? Which brings me to consider your question: 'Can you really believe there is any Mediator between God and man but Jesus?' If you mean by a Mediator, one who redeeming us from all evil, derives therefrom a right to ask for us all good things without any denial; I answer as a Catholic, and for Catholics, NO. But if you mean by a Mediator, one who prays or intercedes for us; I answer Yes, many, many thousands; all the Saints in Heaven, and all the faithful on earth are such Mediators; and you yourself, so often as you pray for others, undertake and fulfil this office without any scruple about interfering with the singular prerogative of Jesus. You tell me: 'If yours only is the Church, where am I?' The answer is, Out of the Church assuredly. There can be but one Church. This Church was planted by the Apostles. It is to continue to the end of time. It is Catholic, reaching over the whole world. You are not in this Church. You say: 'Do you consider me a heretic, or a believer in Him who died for sinners?' I look upon you as a *mistaken* person; but a heretic is one who obstinately persists in fighting against the known truth. You may, and I have no doubt do, believe in Jesus; so does a socinian, and that He died for sinners, and yet *his faith* is unprofitable, for it is not the *faith of God*, but fancy. Faith is the gift of God through the

sacraments of the Catholic Church. Hence, as you truly add: 'It is a matter of much importance, that we are right in the faith.' But a right faith must embrace all, neither more nor less, that God has been pleased to reveal to man. I have no more right to say, I will not believe this doctrine because I do not see the reason of it, than I have to say, I will not do this commandment because I am indisposed thereunto. The Catholic Church only, teaches all God has revealed, and in the sense God has revealed it; for to the custody of this Church alone the truth has been committed."

The following is an extract from a longer letter of the same period.

"You say, my dear child, in your last letter: '*We certainly differ now much in our opinions.*' A difference of opinion may exist among persons of eminent piety, but not a difference of faith. For faith is the gift of God to man, and is an assent of the mind to the whole Truth revealed by the Almighty, who cannot deceive any. Hence faith is a grace which in its exercise is most pleasing to God, and fruitful in good to man. But opinion is an offering of our own fancy, or reason, or inclination, and may be good or ill, false or true, as it happens. The faith is one and the same in all who have it; but opinions differ as much as countenances, and are as changeable as the wind. There can be no such thing as an uncertain faith, or a false faith; but opinions are always uncertain, and frequently false. Faith is built upon the infallible assurance given us by God through His Church, wherein He abideth all days; opinion is as fallible and uncertain as the mind of man, whence it takes its rise."

His own feelings naturally directed him towards a higher step. It was, and long had been, his ardent desire to be a priest, and to minister at that altar, which in early youth had possessed such powerful attractions for him, and towards the oblation on which he had long entertained a warm devotion. Still he determined not to say a word on the subject, but to leave himself to be guided entirely by obedience. He would say, in checking his feelings when awakened on the subject: "But perhaps it may not be for the greater glory of God, that I should serve at his altar." How this great object of his thoughts was brought about, he thus describes in his diary:

"The late much and deservedly lamented Vicar Apostolic of this district, Dr. Griffiths, some few months before his departure from this world, of his own accord, moved no doubt from above so to do, asked my confessor one day, whether I had any desire to enter into the ecclesiastical state, and be made a priest. My confessor told him he would make some enquiry into the matter, and

so the thing rested for a while. Upon the Bishop being made acquainted with my earnest desire to enter the priesthood, he was pleased to fix a day wherein an interview should take place. The result of my interview with the Bishop was, the appointment of a dignitary to make the necessary enquiries into my fitness for the due performance of every part of the sacerdotal function. In the interim, the kind and good Bishop is taken seriously ill, and at length sleeps in the Lord. This mournful event, and the delay attendant upon the appointment of a successor, caused the matter to remain quiet for a season. However, as soon as Dr. Wiseman was appointed Pro-vicar Apostolic of the district, my affairs were at once brought under his notice, and he very graciously signified a wish to see me. I then waited upon his Lordship, who intimated in the kindest manner, that he should have great pleasure in carrying out the intentions of the late Bishop in regard to my Ordination. After a short time he signified, that it would be proper I should enter into retreat, in order to prepare myself for receiving the grace of the Priesthood. Much to my consolation, the good priest, my confessor, undertook to conduct the retreat, and in his house I entered upon it, the day before Allhallows Even."

He received the Tonsure and Minor orders on All Saints' Day, 1847, at the Convent in Queen Square. His meditations during his retreat, as noted in his diary, are full of unction, and a truly devout spirit, Catholic in a most eminent degree. At its close, he received the order of subdeacon, later that of deacon, and on the Feast of St. Andrew, he was ordained priest. The following letter to a near relative will best describe his method of life after this period.

"9th Nov., 1848.

"JESUS, FULL OF GRACE AND TRUTH, IN WHOM IS ALL OUR HOPE FOR THIS WORLD AND THE NEXT.

"Very dear

"May every blessing from the God of all good be richly vouchsafed unto you, and in his favour may you live and be happy evermore. I did not, in my letter of yesterday, tell you of some little matters, which may not altogether prove uninteresting. A tree in the spring season, when full of blossom, has a different appearance from that which it bears in autumn, when laden with fruit. It has changed; but it is a change from immaturity to perfection, from what is incipient to what is mature. So the *change* which has taken place with me, is *not* a change of *principles*, but of *state*. I have always believed our Lord founded a Church, and that it was my duty to belong unto the same, and that through its teaching I should be made wise to salvation. But for many, many years, I knew not *where* this Church of our Lord's

planting was to be found. I even thought that I was a catholic, and called myself one. For assuredly, I never meant, I never intended for a moment, to set up my own *private opinion*, or follow it, in opposition to the judgment of the catholic Church. Hence, I was fully prepared to submit myself to the claims of that society, which could show that it was indeed the Church, whose foundations were laid by our Lord. The Church catholic in communion with the Chair of St. Peter, is then, I am sure, the One society of Christians founded by our Lord. And the instant I arrived at this conviction, I resolved to submit myself thereunto, since to hesitate in the matter, would have been to sin. Upon my entering upon the ecclesiastical state, and becoming a priest, I have been fully occupied day by day. The Chaplaincy of a religious community has been committed to me; and I also assist the clergy of the royal chapel of the Bavarian Embassy, on all Sundays and high Festivals. I rise at five every morning, and prepare to leave home at seven; Divine Service beginning at a quarter past that hour, when I am engaged to near half past eight. Then I take breakfast, which over by nine, I am ready for various labours, which fill up the time till noon. If I am disengaged, I return home about ten or eleven; when there, I have to repeat my Office, which, one day with another, takes up three hours. At seven in the evening, on all Sundays and many Festival days, I have to attend at the convent for the Even Song and Benediction. When I do not preach in the Bavarian chapel, I always do so in the convent chapel. The former invariably in the morning, at the solemnities of the holy Mass, the latter in the evening."

It would seem as if Almighty God had brought him to the consummation of his wishes upon earth, more for his own sanctification and perfection, than for the public service of the Church. *Consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa.** He seems to have entered the communion of the Church with a full-grown faith; he entered into the ecclesiastical state with a matured devotion. For the short time that he was allowed to remain amongst us after this, he laboured to the extent of his strength, to the great consolation and spiritual profit of the religious community to which he attached himself. He seemed to comprehend, almost intuitively, all the beauties of the catholic system, in its ritual and ceremonial, as well as in its morality and its dogma. He was scrupulously observant of the minutest points of rite or discipline; and his fertile mind easily found beautiful reasons for their adoption by the Church. Thus, once explaining the difference of offices, he said, "The divided anthem on a *semidouble* signifies, that our

* Wisd. iv. 17.

rejoicing is not perfect as on a *double*, that we have not yet arrived at a perfect state, but our rejoicing is mingled with sorrow. As we approach the end of our pilgrimage, so we draw nearer to this perfection, therefore the whole of the anthem is repeated at the end of the psalm."

His preaching was full of affectionateness and tenderness. We have before us the sketches of his discourses during a retreat for the renewal of vows by the nuns; they are upon the five Wounds of our Blessed Redeemer, as mystically designating the duties of the religious state: and yet they are most practical. Often his notes contain a most brief, but most happy expression, as for example this: "Purity—Angelical, Marylike."

In truth, on no point does he seem to have more thoroughly drunk in deep the Catholic spirit, than in devotion to the Blessed Mother of God. We cannot show this better than by giving the analysis or note prepared by him, for a sermon in her praise, which he preached in the Bavarian chapel.

"FIRST SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY, R. B. C.

"His Mother kept all these words in her heart."

Luke ii. 51.

"Filled with the spirit of prophecy; filled with more than the spirit of prophecy; filled with the God who inspired the Prophets, who dwelt in her for a season, taking flesh of her chaste flesh, a lowly Jewish maiden cried out in holy rapture: 'From this time all generations shall call me blessed.' And in very deed, *she is the most blessed of women*, since from the refulgent cloud of her spotless untouched body, arose the Son of Justice, Christ our God. She is the most blessed of women, while the whole Church of God, animated with the same spirit, takes up her song of melody and joy, and in the language of the angelic choirs, evermore sings, 'Hail Mary full of grace, our Lord is with thee.' She is the most blessed of women, and let those see to it who begrudge her that worship which is due, when her Son, in all the majesty of heaven, shall come forth to judge both quick and dead. Assuredly He will be ashamed of those who have not been ashamed to treat with disrespect His most blessed Mother.

"1. The PECULIAR DIGNITY of our Lord's Mother. Amongst all the titles and eulogiums of honour, wherewith the catholic Church from age to age has fed and fanned the flame of devout love toward our Blessed Lady, none can exceed in glory that of *Mater Dei*. And according to the testimony of a Martyr in will now on earth, a Saint indeed still in the body,* no title is so pleasing in the ear of this

* The Abbess Makrena.

glorious Virgin as *Mater Admirabilis*. And truly she is indeed the *admirable Mother*, both in reference to herself and her offspring. She, a pure, untouched, spotless maiden ; Her Child the mighty God, the Maker of heaven and earth. She a Mother and yet a Virgin ; Her Child the Eternal God and a mortal man. She the first and the fairest, the holiest and the most lovely of all creatures ; He the Creator of all things, the Fountain of all sanctity, who was pleased to be born of her, and become her Son.

“2. The SINGULAR DEVOTION of our Lord's Mother. ‘She kept all these words in her heart.’ Much did she wonder at all she heard come from His divine lips, for He spake as never man spake. His words were full of mysteries, and the opening of His lips told of things hid in secret from the foundation of the world. She might not understand all His words, but she kept all His words with a most earnest devotion, as His words which could never pass away. She reckoned each one of them as a most precious jewel, and in the secret place of her soul lodged them all with a religious care. She might not understand their deep import, their divine meaning, their unbounded reach, the length and breadth of their range ; but she felt her whole soul captivated by their sweetness, and softness, and melody, for they were the words of her Son, and her God ; of Him whose name is wonderful, and whose word passeth not away.

“Look at you poor widowed thing, divorced from all that makes life easy and comfortable ; miserably clad, miserably fed, and miserably lodged ; stealing forth in the early morn, and making her way through the cold wintry air, to some house where prayer is offered, with the one great oblation of the New Law. Does she understand ought of all the hallowed sounds which fall upon her ear ? Ah no ! And yet she keeps them all, for to her heart they are far more dear than its life. *They are* holy words, sacred words. They are the words of her God and Saviour, who is there present immolated, immolated for her sins. They are His words who loved her and gave Himself for her. Ay, and on some day of holy joy, when borne in solemn procession through crowds of worshippers, as the feet of the Priest pass her by, you may see the finger of faith put forth to touch the hem of His Vesture, that she may receive what He may be pleased to bestow. Proud reasoners, cavillers, and questioners ask : ‘How can this man give us his Flesh to eat ?’ The humble believer admires and adores the unsearchable wisdom of God.

“3. The ESPECIAL BLESSEDNESS of our Lord's Mother. ‘His Mother kept all these words *in her heart*.’ The true secret of being happy lies in our conformity to the mind which was in Christ Jesus. Our Blessed Lady having the words of her Son written and engraven within her heart, was fitted to be a Mansion for the whole Trinity to dwell within. It was not in her memory, or her understanding, but in her heart, her will, her affections, the words of Christ dwelt. Hence she was made great thereby, for to such her Son will manifest Himself. Let us then treasure up His words within our heart, dwelling with an earnestness of

affection, and an intensity of love, on each utterance coming from His blessed lips. Is it cold or hot, am I naked or well clad, have I a home or no home, is my body sick or in health, all comes from the word flowing from his lips, and all shall be equally dear to me. This is to keep His words in our heart. So did our Blessed Lady; so should we. And so doing we shall come in some measure to be like her in the ardour of her devotion. We shall burn with the flames of a pure and self-denying affection. We shall believe without hesitation; we shall do good without looking for reward; we shall strive to follow her footsteps in silence, in prayer, in tenderness, in affection..... ..

“Hence, we shall be brought at length to have Christ formed in us, the ‘Hope of Glory.’”

The outline of a sermon preached in the convent chapel on Candlemas day, will give a specimen of the happy way in which he could adapt his instructions to the mystery of the festival, and unfold its lessons.

“WEDNESDAY. CANDLEMAS. EVEN. BEN. OF THE M. B. S. CONVENT.

“Lumen ad revelationem gentium.”—Luke ii. 32.

“LIGHT IS SWEET; and it is a pleasant thing for the eyes to see the sun after a dark, black, tempestuous night of fear, and horror, and dismay. Light is sweet to the weary one suffering on a bed of pain, and anxiously looking out for the dawning of the day; and saying, Oh, when will the sun rise and the darkness fly?.....The light is sweet to the sea-tossed mariner, who, amidst the gloomy hours of the night, felt himself in deaths oft.....Light is sweet to the long confined prisoner, who, chained up in some dark solitary dungeon, has worn away his days and nights, in anguish and apprehensions and fear.....Such a LIGHT, and much, far much more, is our Lord to those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death.....

“1. OUR LORD A LIGHT: yea, the Light of the world: yea, the Light of Lights: the Sun: the Sun of Justice, Christ our God. In the world take away the sun, and all would be a ruin. The sea would become ice, the earth iron, all living things would die..... Our Lord a Light; a CLEAR LIGHT; in Him is no darkness at all, nothing gloomy, or dark, or malignant, can approach Him.....Our Lord a Light; a PURE Light, fed with the oil of that Charity which suffereth.....Our Lord a Light; a WARM Light, throwing out heat powerful to melt all hearts. Not cold as the light of a lamp which men kindle to guide themselves; not like the light of the moon..... CHERING, refreshing Light.....

“Our Blessed Lady, the Candlestick holding forth this Light, shadowed out in the old law by the seven branched candlestick of pure beaten gold, ornamented with globes and lilies, intimating her spotless purity and peerless majesty.....Seen by the Prophet in vision standing between two olive trees, dropping golden oil into

the oil Bowl, the spotless humanity of our Lord, and from that distilling it into the seven lamps on the head of the Candlestick..... Such an one is our Blessed Lady ; a most beautiful picture of the Church Catholic. Our Blessed Lady as Mother of God, holdeth Him forth as the Light of the world ; and the Catholic Church as our Mother holdeth Him forth to us.....

“ 2. Our Lord a Light SHINING FORTH : Shining forth amidst the darkness and gloom of this world : shining forth and banishing the fears and horror which prevailed by night : Shining forth, cheering and full of sweetness to all whose eyes are open to receive its friendly rays. Our Lord shines forth as the Sun in his might, driving the evil beasts to their dens, and the ghosts of departed sins back to their tombs....His coming forth is from the height of heaven, and His return even to its height, and the chariot wherein ‘The *King of day*’ is carried downward in His descent, and up again even to His throne, is the ever Blessed and glorious Virgin Mary. She is that Chariot made of gold and cedrine wood..... and carpeted with LOVE.....wherein He rides forth conquering to conquer.....from this chariot He shoots His arrows of Love, which are sharp in the hearts of His enemies, so that the people fall under Him subdued and made His willing subjects in the day of mighty power.....

“ 3. Our Lord a Light shining forth to the NATIONS. A Light to the unveiling of the Gentiles. A *dark black veil*, of the deepest ignorance, hung over the countenance of all nations. A veil of the thickest texture, hid from all men the knowledge of God and His Law ; a veil woven by the hand of self-will in the loom of sin. But now the Light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen, and the nations can no longer walk in darkness ; the covering is taken off from the face of all nations ; and the Son of the Virgin inviteth all to come to the brightness of His rising. The *Veil* is removed from all nations, but the *Veil* is *not* removed from all hearts.

“ This once highly favoured happy country ; once the abode of the Catholic Church, and the school of sanctity ; once the home of peace and every godlike virtue ; producing a race of princes and nobles, who thought it their highest honour to lay aside the purple of royalty, and take the mean and sordid garment of the cloister : now, heresy claims as its own most loved spot. Who shall hinder it remaining thus from age to age ? Who will come forward in the forefront of the battle, and make bare their breasts to the darts of the adversary ? Who are burning with an ardent desire to overthrow the enemy in fair fight ? The Catholic Church looks to children of Mercy ; and all in heavenly places wait for the demolition of the strongholds of pride and folly by their hands. Heresy is often fostered by the arguments which are brought to oppose it ; but it cannot stand against the self-denying work of MERCY. MERCY going forth with noiseless tread, to visit misery and wretchedness and woe. Mercy going forth to smooth the hard pillow of suffering

and pain, and anguish of spirit.....to instruct the ignorant, and teach the sinner her duty, and restrain the wanderer from going yet further astray.....binding herself by vow to continue in this work of toil most toilsome, with only the consciousness that she is treading in His path, whose footsteps she loves to copy."

We will conclude these extracts from his notes of sermons, by one more, which is highly characteristic of his style.

"FRID. IN SEXAGESIMA. EVEN. BENED.

"In illa die magnus erit planctus in Jerusalem."—Zach. xii. 11.

"When David the king was driven from his own city, from his palace, from his throne, by the wicked rebellion of an undutiful and disobedient son, he went forth not knowing whither he might go. Then there came to him a strange prince who had found an asylum in his court; a brave and noble-minded man; who, on David beseeching him to go back and claim from Absalom the protection due to a stranger, refused, saying: 'As God liveth,' &c. Then there came to him Sadoc the High Priest, and his Clergy, carrying the Ark of the Testimony; upon which the king much moved said: 'Take back the Ark.'.....After this, the king, barefooted and bare-headed, went up the Mount of Olives; and all the people in like manner with him going up and weeping; and there was a great lamentation.....But no lamentation however painful...afflictive, like the Lamentation made for the Only Begotten.....

"1. THE GREAT LAMENTATION. 'Magnus planctus:' such a lamentation, such a grief, such a sorrow; so deep, so pungent, so heart-rending, so overwhelming that the like cannot be found. The great Lamentation, is the Lamentation *made over sin*. And in truth and justice, and reason, SIN is the only thing in the whole world that calls for lamentation. When the universe and all it contains came from the hand of the Maker, He looked upon it with admiration, and His lips pronounced it to be good, very good. SIN broke in upon this order, harmony, beauty, grace, and loveliness: Hence, much cause for lamentation.....SIN, *our own sin*. Each individual heart knoweth its own bitterness, and has a secret grief which the nearest friend cannot enter into. *Our own sin*, which we have done, and by which we have offended that being, whom we ought most above all, to fear...venerate...and love. Our own sin; a fearful thing, fitted to make us full of terror and consternation...
.....*The fruits of our own sin*. Oh! let us draw near and take a leisurely survey of these as we may see them in the sufferings, agonies, pains, griefs, woes, abandonment of our Lord. It is only at the Cross of our Lord, we can learn the exceeding sinfulness of SIN. The fruits of our own sin; what are the bitter fruits of disobedience, self-will, &c.....The fruits of our own sin; how sorely God is displeased with us, while we continue in sin....The fruits

of our own sin ; what outrages, what miseries sin has wrought ! Sin formed the Cross.....sin platted the thorny crown.....sin sharpened the nails....sin pointed the spear.....

“2. THE TIME OF THE GREAT LAMENTATION. ‘In die illa.’ ‘In that day,’ when the eyes are opened to see the hideous deformity of the soul, when under the power of only one mortal sin, and led a captive by satan. Oh ! no tongue can tell its horrid look and ghastly appearance. As angels pass and repass it, they turn away their pure and gentle faces from so fearful a sight. The soul that was whiter far than driven snow, is made blacker than a coal. ‘In that day,’ when the fountains of the great deep within the heart are broken up, and made to flow through the eyes.....When our Lord turned and looked upon S. Peter.....he went out.....he wept bitterly..... S. Mary Magdalene wept rivers of tears over our Lord’s feet at the remembrance of her sins.....S. F. of Assisium wept so much that his eyesight was utterly destroyed thereby...‘In that day,’ when God Himself comes near to the spirit of a man and talks with it, in the cooling wind of the day, as with our first father. During the heat of our relish for what is forbidden, and while we are trying hard to cover our nakedness, He is afar off ; but in the cool of the day, when all is still, and eventide is drawing nigh, He comes.....Then we are brought to see and acknowledge our offences.....

“3. THE PLACE OF THE GREAT LAMENTATION. ‘In Jerusalem.’..... the Mother City : the City of the living God : the dwelling place of rest : the seat of Majesty, for there are set thrones.....In *Jerusalem* our Lord suffered.....and in *Jerusalem* is the Great Lamentation. And still the Church is the place wherein our Lord is most painfully and shamefully treated ; and wherein the true sorrow for sin is found.....Sin is nowhere so hideous, so fearful, so full of all malignity, as in the enclosure of God’s Church.....‘Because you only have I known and loved and adorned with my choicest favours ; therefore, I will in very deed punish you.’ And yet even herein, how much His mercy and loving kindness shine forth, since He taketh vengeance upon our inventions, while upon us he hath compassion. Thus the *body* is deeply and grievously afflicted, that the soul may be saved. The Angel of vengeance is sent forth to lay waste the fair fields, that he whose pride they have been, may be awakened to penitence. But all this Lamentation, bitter and afflictive though it be, is not spent in WEEPING over our faults, but in weeping with Him who wept that we might rejoice. Oh ! He did indeed stoop low when He took our nature into union with His own, and in that nature wept—wept much—wept bitterly. And have we no tears ?”

Out of his numerous letters we will here give two ; for really they resemble so much the style of some of the old saints, that they scarcely seem written in these cold days of mingled gossip and formality. The first is

addressed to a convert friend, who, while staying in a protestant house, was requested to shut up a crucifix which she had with her.

“*St. Vincent of Paul, 1848.*”

“JESUS, MORE THAN VICTOR OVER ALL BY HIS CROSS.

“My dear child, may the springs of divine mercy be opened abundantly for you at this time, and from the breasts of heavenly consolation, may you draw that support which you especially need. You did quite well in returning the crucifix to its enclosure on the intimation given, and will only by this, learn to love and admire and imitate its great Prototype more and more. He was unknown and misunderstood and ill thought of while here, and it would be passing strange, if His true followers should meet with any other treatment. He was looked upon as a deceiver, who went about to delude men; and his mighty works were attributed to an evil agency. It is then no marvel if we are thought to be deluded persons, and any little progress made by us in virtue, attributed to satanic influence. But let us hold fast our confidence firm unto the end; we shall be sure to reap in due season, if we faint not. Christians are ever on the gaining side. The Church Catholic may be sorely assaulted, but it cannot be overthrown. Yea, and it will prove in the issue, a fearful burden to all who may, in evil hour, have taken upon them to speak and act against it. Her Spouse will surely call to a strict account, all who, in any way, have devised or done her wrong. Nor will their ignorance be an excuse, since, if it were a sin against Him, there would be a ground to hope for pardon, according to His own word. But inasmuch as it is against the Holy Ghost in Her they have sinned, there is no room for pardoning love to be found. Oh! how great the power of earnest, fervent, importunate, continued prayer. The ear of our God is still inclined towards us. The arm of His might is even now waiting to snatch from the ranks of error, such as in blindness and simplicity have been mingled with them. Prayer, the prayers of multitudes, who in secret chastise themselves for a nation's sins, have, at present, availed to stay the overflowing scourge from reaching our land. But shall it alway be so, when misguided men do all they can to remove the bound, by crucifying our Lord afresh in His dear children?

“I commend you to the careful keeping of our adorable Lord God, His most blessed Mother Mary, your Angel Guardian, and all Saints; while I ever remain your own father,

“Thomas Harris.”

The second letter was written but a short time before his death, to one of his spiritual disciples, and gives us evidence of that detachment from the world, which, in all his conduct, he displayed.

“*S. Francis de Sales, 1849.*”

“JESUS ADORED BY THE ANGELS OF GOD.”

“Very dear child, beloved in our Lord,

“May your soul be fed with the finest of the wheat, and satisfied with honey from the rock, and anointed with the oil of gladness; for His name is oil poured forth, an oil most rich, and fragrant and delicious.....I am most thankful to our good and kind and gracious Lord, for the visits he is pleased to vouchsafe you from time to time. When His presence is felt in the soul, it becomes quite *unearthly*, and what served to entangle and hinder its ascent into the heavenly, is altogether removed. But we must not forget, that our being with Jesus on Mount Thabor, amidst all the glory and splendour of His transfiguration, is of set purpose, to fit us for going up into the mount Calvary, there to suffer pain, shame, dishonour, disgrace, contempt, mockery, cruelty, insult, affliction, woe, and death itself with Jesus. Nor do we rightly apprehend our Lord, till led up into the mount of Dolours, and fixed to the tree of shame, as outcasts not fit to live, and made to drink up the cup of wormwood and gall, we die to all which is *not God*. You tell me that I am in sad disrepute at ———. So much the better for me; His Divine Majesty be praised for all. Surely, He is most kind and indulgent to one so unworthy, when he vouchsafes to impart some little portion of His own suffering. Can I be otherwise than glad, when he is pleased to allow of excellent persons falling into great mistakes about me, and from those mistakes led to say things disreputable of me? I may say in truth, that my *sad disrepute* there, is far, far more pleasing to me, than any reputation I may have been in elsewhere. Let us then go onward with a firm unshaken foot; nor shrink back in the least, though the adversary roar against us, and come out with a purpose to drive us into his net. What can he do? proud and haughty scorner is his name, and the humble in heart are sure to foil him. His arrows cannot reach them, his snares are broken by them, his cruel wiles are utterly useless against them. The meek and lowly soul, is more than a conqueror over the king of pride, and all his children. He is utterly abashed, and put to a nonplus, before one clothed with humility. He is doomed to be trampled down, and trodden under the feet of the ‘poor and needy.’ The poor who are rich in faith, and who having nothing, yet possess all things. The *needy*, who ever feeling their own utter emptiness of all good, come to be filled at the fountain gushing up beneath the throne of God, and the Lamb. Happy are all those, who have entered into the mysterious life of our Lord, spent in the holy house at Nazareth. Such are in the high road to follow Him whither He is gone before. To take pleasure in poverty, want, infirmities, reproaches, disgraces, persecutions, and the like, is to tread in the steps of Him, who came to

His own, and His own knew him not, and received Him not. O why do we think it strange, the worldling should not know us? If we were of the world the world would know, and love, and praise us. But since, in the mercy of God, we are taken out of the world, the world is sure to hate and persecute us to the end. Let us take courage, and go forward. We fight with a beaten foe, and unless we yield he can do us no harm. He will make a great noise, and brag of doing great things; but his words are wind, till we quake at them. I commend you to our Lord God, and His merciful aid, and may He impart to you from his fulness whatsoever you need.

“I remain, in much tender affection,

“Ever your own father in our

“Lord God Jesus.”

It would be difficult to find even an old and long-trained Catholic, more completely imbued with the catholic spirit, than he showed himself. That perfect appreciation of religious obedience of every one to the Church, and to his particular director, which forms perhaps the most difficult lesson of the convert, he most thoroughly learnt, taught, and practised. He had, and ever showed, a most lively sense of the importance and weight of every ecclesiastical precept, not merely reaching the letter, but entering into the spirit of each, and most jealous of its exact observance. Hence, he was most scrupulous about dispensing any under his charge, in regard to any of them. But, at the same time, he was most tender to the poor and the sick, and would always be ready to take their claims to such indulgence into most merciful consideration. Every catholic taste seemed natural to him. He loved children with great affectionateness, and would amuse them and instruct them without wearying. Religious pictures and prints he highly valued, but exercised the rigid judgment of a good taste in rejecting such as degraded, by their low style of art, the sacred subject which they represented. Flowers, and all that is beautiful in nature, were to him means to awaken thoughts of God, and motives of love and gratitude.

His sense of the Divine Presence in the adorable Eucharist was most vivid, and his devotion, in consequence, towards It was most profound and tender. His love of our Saviour, in His passion, was not merely expressed in words, but exhibited in conformity. We are assured by those who knew him, that he was hardly ever out of

pain; and that often his various bodily sufferings were most severe; yet he always strove to conceal them, as well as his mental trials, bearing them all in silence and patience. "The chastisements of the Infant Jesus," he would say, "are sweeter than his caresses." Again he used to say, "The cross is black, sharp, and rugged; but we must go behind it, and we shall see the hand of Jesus supporting it, even that hand which was pierced for our sins...Our crosses are the shadows of His Cross resting upon us, and in bearing them, we are made one with Him.....Our throne of glory is formed of the crosses we bear on earth."

But the time soon approached when his patience and resignation were to be severely put to trial. At the beginning of March, 1849, he was seized with a most excruciating interior malady, which laid him, for the last time, on his bed of sickness. At first no danger was apprehended, but when he was told there was no hope of recovery, not a shadow of change passed over his countenance or manner. From that moment he turned his thoughts exclusively to God, and to the immediate preparation for his approaching end. When some one spoke to him of a worldly affair, he quietly replied: "Do not disturb me with these things; I have a great business on hand." When he was asked by an attendant how he would like something to be done for him, he replied, "Just as you please, I have no will now." One day he was told that his pulse was better, and a momentary expression of sorrow was visible in his countenance. The next he was informed that it was rapidly failing, when he turned his eyes towards the crucifix, beaming with joy and thankfulness, but without expressing in words any desire of his own. With the exception of the last day or two of his life, his sufferings were most distressing, but the only expressions that escaped him were such as these: "God is very good to me. It is quite right, thanks be to God." When a wish was expressed that he might get a little repose, he replied: "It is God's will that it should be thus; it is better as it is. May His blessed will be done in all."

He never lost consciousness to the last; and though, from the violence of his sufferings, he was not able to speak, except a few short sentences, he seemed, when awake, to be unceasingly employed in prayer. He had his crucifix placed where his eyes could ever rest upon it.

Occasionally his countenance seemed to express that some terrible interior conflict was going on within him, and he would exclaim: "Lord, have mercy on me." "Jesu—Maria." But these darker moments were invariably followed by words of praise and thanksgiving. At all other times he was most cheerful. A few hours before his death, when we saw him for the last time, though fearfully emaciated by his illness, his countenance was radiant with happiness, and he expressed himself to us most willing to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. Twice during his illness, when its more violent symptoms had somewhat abated, he was able to receive the holy Viaticum; and about a week before his death, the sacrament of Extreme Unction was administered to him. The Litany of Jesus was recited to him a few hours before his death, and he evinced the most sincere pleasure in listening to it. Then, at last, the recommendation of a departing soul was repeated, and as it closed, he stretched out his arms as if eager to be released, and with a look of triumphant joy exclaimed: "O the praises of the Lord! Alleluia;" and resigned his humble soul to its Redeemer.

Thus quietly, and unseen by men, expired, in the midst of mighty London, one whose virtues and holiness of life might elsewhere have shed a mild lustre on the Church of God, in this her darkened hour; not unlike that of the holy priest of Rome, Don Vincezo Pallotti, round whose bier the faithful have lately thronged, to touch his remains, or receive a relic; and who is described as having been, several days after death, "like an angel in sleep." Mr. Harris's remains have been consigned to their quiet grave in St. John's Wood; we know not if any memorial marks the spot. His memory might soon have faded from the thoughts of all save a faithful few, if we had not snatched these few fragments of his history from oblivion. "Justus perit, et non est qui recogitet in corde."* But really England cannot afford to lose the knowledge of any one who has of late walked in the path of higher perfection, of any one especially whom God seems to have led so marvellously on it, after bringing him on it by such strange ways.

Before concluding we will place before our readers snatches

* Is. lvii. 1.

of his conversation, taken down immediately after they were spoken, and then classified, by those who lived in daily familiarity with him. Whether it may be thought worth while to collect and publish his "Remains," must depend on the public judgment.

"ON FASTING.—We must fast from faith, love and obedience. When angels descend to men, they eat and drink as men; when men ascend on high, they live as angels. Moses when in the Mount, neither ate nor drank for forty days. In his sermon on the Mount, our Lord speaks of prayer, almsgiving and fasting. Prayer is devoted wholly to God. Almsgiving, or works of righteousness or mercy, comprehend any good done to our neighbour. Fasting refers exclusively to ourselves. St. Paul says, that we must live soberly, righteously and godly, which includes the same thing; soberly in our own living, righteously to our neighbour, and godly in obedience to God. One who in any measure sees that in fasting, or other acts of mortification, he enters into the sufferings of our Lord, can no more speak lightly of it, than one could approach with irreverence to kiss the dust at the foot of a Saint's tomb. Our Lord passed through the various states of life, that he might sanctify each; and inasmuch as we are brought into the same circumstances in which he was placed, so are we permitted to hold communion with Him, but we must have faith and a ready will. When we fast we touch the hem of his garment, and the ointment flows from the head even to the finger, but we must touch in faith. The crowd pressed around, but it was not until the finger of faith was stretched out, that virtue flowed forth to heal. Give no liberty to the flesh, for the more it has the more it will want; it will serve you like an ass, which is ever ready either to kick up or to lie down.

"He was very partial to the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius, and for many years had been in the habit of studying them. Once in speaking of the good he considered they had done, he said, 'St. Ignatius has embodied and systematized the interior practice of religion in his exercise, as St. Augustine and St. T. of Aquin have done the doctrine. Meditation was always known and practised in the Church, but its parts were as lights floating about and separated; he has collected them together and given them a body, so that the most ignorant can, by their aid, reach the greatest heights, if they are only willing and obedient.'

"HUMILITY.—Humility preserves grace; charity teaches us how to use it. We often err by trying to find good in ourselves; out of Christ it is impossible. We should be willing to be borne, like a little child, in the arms of the strong, who cannot be perfected without the weak..... We ought to be contented to be used as foil, which is placed at the back of diamonds, and though it is black in itself, yet adds greatly to the brilliancy of the stone. God may

lead an humble soul to the top of a pinnacle, for the perfecting of its graces and for the good of others ; but satan will lead the proud man there for his downfall.—An act of humility is not the habit of humility ; nor is the *habit* the *spirit* thereof. As we have by repeating acts of pride, gained first the habit, then the spirit of pride ; so as we have come out of ourselves, we can only return within ourselves, by repeating acts of humility, until we gain the habit ; which we must gain before we can possess the spirit. Why should we desire the praise of men, when we are told that it will be said to such hereafter, Ye have had your reward ? After a man has obtained the mastery of his appetites, a stronger warfare awaits him in the subjugation of his intellectual powers. But after he has acquired true humility, and is well grounded in it, he has yet the greatest difficulty of all to surmount ; for the moment that he becomes conscious of humility, that moment he falls. Satan then comes to him as an angel of light, and placing him on a high mountain, in a moment of time shows him, &c., and reminds him that our Lord says, ‘The *meek* shall inherit the earth.’ It is far safer to walk in the valley, than to climb the sharp pinnacles of spiritual highmindedness. An humble soul can never fall, for she sits at the feet of Jesus Christ, who always chooses the lowest place. In the eye of God we are only great in our own nothingness. God wants not givers but recipients. We have nothing good in ourselves ; if we discover anything worthy of our admiration, even to a thought, it proceeds from God. Therefore, the more we see in ourselves that is praiseworthy, the more are we indebted to him. Humility and charity walk hand in hand ; they are the two feet and wings by which we ascend to heaven. Charity is the daughter of humility.

“PRIDE, SELF-LOVE, VANITY.—We love the flattery, while we hate the flatterer ; we love the treason, while we hate the traitor. No person will receive flattery, but he who first flatters himself.—Pride adores itself, vanity seeks the adoration of others. Pride is the sin of a strong mind, vanity of a weak mind. It seems to me that pride is fearful, vanity despicable. It would be impossible to be vain if we walked in the light, as God is in the light.—The proud like not the lowliness of Jesus ; the self-willed like not the submission of Jesus. But if the sheep will not follow Jesus to the fold, it must follow the butcher to the slaughter.—There are three ways by which we may restrain and cast out the evil of our hearts. The first is the fear of punishment, which as a cord binds the strong man, and for a time we remain in peace ; but like Samson he breaks the cords, and we are again ensnared. The second is the hope of eternal life, which is as a strong chain ; but, as with the man among the tombs, even this is snapt asunder. What then is to be done ? Another and a stronger power must be brought against him, and this is the Love of God, which effectually destroys and casts him out, for when the Mightier than he comes, the goods are left in peace. I can easily

conceive God placing an humble man, like S. F. of Sales, upon the top of a high pinnacle for a light to others; but when I see a proud man thus exalted, I am sure that the devil has been at work; for God is love, and He would never thus jeopardize a soul."

It is time to end this sketch, to which we could have added much. And let our closing remarks meet with serious consideration. We have long, and anxiously, and earnestly watched each opening bud of hope for our country, and yearned for the hour when we could say, "*Prope est æstas*," "the summer is at hand." We have seen the successful controversial strife almost begin, and conquer: Puissant champions entered the lists, and challenged openly, for the first time almost in our own days; and their writings brought many to the faith. But *non in commotione Dominus*: we never could believe that our Blessed Lord would allow himself to be borne into men's souls on the car of an intellectual triumph. We have witnessed the breaking of political and social shackles from the body of Christ's Church in this country; and many said, "now that we shall have fair play, the truth must triumph; Catholic principles will be avowed in our senates, and made familiar to the world, and good sense will lead men to value them." But no sound principle could encourage us to hope, that through the wisdom of this world, which is the enemy of God, His wisdom could be introduced into any land, or that the Lord of glory would be welcome to the very power that crucified Him. We have since beheld, with unmingled joy, the multitudes who have flocked into the pale of the Church, and the many among them that have gradually ascended the steps of her sanctuary; men who have brought with them the spoils of Egypt, in solid learning, in splendid genius, in well-earned reputation, in justly-acquired influence: and what was more, they brought with them earnestness, zeal, piety, and virtue. Yet, although in this there was motive for hope, and the first promises of spring were given, there was too much in it of building upon the power of men, however highly qualified, too much of trusting in the efficacy of personal gifts and influence, to satisfy us that the time was yet come for which we longed. For what then do we wait? What further symptoms do we look for? When we see God "pour out upon the inhabitants" of this land,

“the spirit of grace and of prayers,” * when more stress is laid upon holiness of life than upon abilities or influence, when the catholic religion comes before the world as one of necessarily higher standard in practice, when the way of perfection is sought and followed by many, when our hidden multitudes of vicious and ignorant poor are brought to grace; when, in fine, God shall give us Saints once more, we shall believe, and fully trust, that His salvation is at hand. One man like him whom we have described in this article, though obscure, and even unknown, is to us a better precursor of the time of mercy, than a hundred men of brilliant genius. And so is the opening of wretched chapels in alleys and courts, filled with ragged poor, to us a better omen than the revival of old architecture, and the erection of turretted and pinnacled churches. And so is the crowding of hundreds round the altar where the Most Blessed Sacrament is exposed to adoration, a better note of coming conversion than the most dense packing in a controversial discussion. And so are the flocking of poor and rich, to wheresoever the fountains of grace are most open, and the spirit of prayer most abundantly imparted, and the seeking after warm and tender devotions, and increased frequency of communions, and growing love of God's holy Mother, and the diffusion of prayers for conversion, far more encouraging grounds of vivid hope than all the fuming, and fretting and big words, and bold menaces, elicited outside the Church by the Gorham case, or all the efforts which we can make to give its uncertain decision weight. All these motives of hope, thank God, we see beginning to appear more and more amongst us: and if one green olive branch sufficed to satisfy Noe that the deluge had passed away, we will accept, with thankfulness, these multiplied harbingers of reconciliation and peace, which the Dove, the Comforter, brings to the Ark of God.

* Zac. xii. 10.

ART. V.—*The History of the Papal States, from their Origin to the present Day.* By the REV. JOHN MILEY, D.D.; author of “Rome under Paganism and the Popes.” 3 vols. 8vo. London: T. C. Newby, 1850.

WE have perused this opportune and valuable work with feelings of unmingled satisfaction; and we take the earliest opportunity of laying before our readers an accurate idea of its object and its plan. We feel how difficult it is to convey, within our limited compass, a clear impression of the contents of three large volumes, but we prefer to encounter that difficulty rather than to evade it, by writing an essay upon the Papal States, in which we might, at the author's expense, exhibit some learning, and, at the same time, not do him, perchance, that justice to which he is fairly entitled. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to a few observations on the originality of Dr. Miley's plan, an enumeration of the sources from which his history is derived, and a general outline of its contents; illustrating our remarks by occasional extracts, as specimens of the admirable manner in which he has treated the subject.

It must, at first sight, appear to be a matter of the utmost difficulty to write any work, on such a subject, worthy of being regarded as original in its plan and its treatment. And yet this praise is justly due to Dr. Miley. He has written a perfectly original work: his plan is as novel as his treatment of his subject is judicious. His plan in dealing with the history of the Papacy, is as different from those of Baronius, Rainaldi, Bzovius, Rohrbacher, Artaud, or Gosselin, as it is in spirit and in principle opposed to the Centuriators of Magdeburg. He himself tells us, that “in the volumes now placed before the public, the reader will find *the attempt for the first time made, to give a history of the Papal States—to do that which hitherto has been left altogether undone;*” and it will be seen that his work interferes with no previous ecclesiastical history, even though every history of the Church, from the earliest period, must, as a matter of course, regard the see of St. Peter as the central point to which all religious transactions converge.

The grand distinction between this work, and other

works apparently bearing upon the same subject is, that this is a political history,—political in the broadest sense of the word,—of those States which constitute the kingdom of the Popes, tracing their rise, describing their progress, exposing their reverses, and demonstrating, as a mighty moral to the whole, that whenever the power of the Pontiffs was pre-eminent, and whenever the Papacy was able to resist the assaults of tyrants, and the rebellions of the factious, its supreme influence was always accompanied by the prosperity of the nation, and the happiness of the people.

The events of which we are ourselves witnesses, prove to us the necessity and importance of such a work as this. How imperfect must be any account of the pontificate of Pius IX., which should not give a narrative of the political transactions of his reign,—laying bare the machinations of his foes, whether domestic traitors, false allies, pretended friends, or avowed opponents; of tyrants who called themselves republicans, of infidels who assumed to themselves the designation of liberals, or of fanatics, who sought to shake the faith of his subjects by circulating amongst them spurious versions of the Scriptures. No history of the pontificate of Pius IX. could be perfect without a detail of all the political transactions in which he has been engaged, and all the political conspiracies directed against him, both as a prince and as a Pope. And so it is with the general history of the Papal States. We can have no perfect account of them, or of Christian Rome, which does not comprise their political history. Strange, however, as it may appear, not only has that political history remained unwritten, but, until the appearance of Dr. Miley's volumes, there was no work claiming to be, in any sense of the word, "a history of the Papal States."

"Histories," observes the author, "of the Roman Catholic Church there are, of all sorts, in every dialect, and in every form; and, though the same cannot be said of the history of the Popes, (there being, as yet, no work that properly deserves that name,) nevertheless, the series of Papal biography may be regarded as complete, and works of some merit, produced within the present century, to illustrate the lives and times of those amongst the Pontiffs, who make the greatest figure in history, have, on that subject also, left but comparatively little to be desired. A history, however, of that region of central Italy—of that realm over which the Popes have swayed the sceptre for more than a thousand years, one may search for in vain. In no language,

dead or living, in no shape—whether of a consecutive narrative, or as a digest of materials—under no title is any such work to be met with.

“From the importance and rare attractions of the subject, it may well be matter of surprise, it is true, that such a theme should have been so long overlooked, or so utterly neglected; nevertheless, let the question be put to the most eminent Biblioplists of London, Paris, Vienna, Rome,—their answer will be, There is no such book as a History of the Papal States. Make the round of the great libraries, from the British Museum to the Vatican, the answer will be still the same.

“It is not, therefore, as an improvement on any pre-existing work that these volumes are, with great respect and diffidence, and with a most oppressive sense of their faults and defects, presented to the public. Had the subject been pre-occupied in any form, it is all but certain this work should never have appeared. But, as it is, it meddles with no prescriptive title; it does not aspire to oust any one already in possession, or to supersede any other book, through assumption of superior excellence. The theme on which he has ventured to dilate, the author found not only untenanted, but unclaimed. Like a waif, or a *bonum direlictum*, to use the Roman phrase, it was found thrown by and unheeded beside the great thoroughfare of letters: the circumstances adverted to a little further on, attracted his attention to it, and prompted him to pick it up, conceiving that such neglect was not the fate it merited.” (Preface pp. iii, iv.)

It is surprising that such a blank as this should have been so long unfilled, especially when we consider that the materials out of which it could be constructed are not merely abundant, but superabundant. The Italian States are filled with local histories, pertaining exclusively to the particular districts into which they are divided. They calculate their County Camdens by hundreds, and their minute metropolitan Whittakers, and Dugdales, and Lelands, by tens of hundreds. Dr. Miley declares, that “no other region of the world is so rich as the Papal States in *local* histories,” and he quotes the statement of Sismondi to the same effect:

“‘In these states,’ says Sismondi, ‘no ancient city is to be found that has not had three or four historians at least, very frequently more; and the more voluminous he is, and the more the historian enters into details, the higher rises the interest of his book over those of his fellows. The Biographical History of the Pontifical States, contains, in a thick quarto volume, *the names only* of the local historians of seventy-one cities, still existing in the States of the Church, and of sixteen which have perished. *Many centuries of assiduous reading,*’ he adds, ‘*would not get through them all.*’”

It is to this superabundance of materials in its local histories the author is disposed to ascribe the strange fact, that "as a realm, as an aggregate of provinces united under the same sceptre," the Papal States have been, until the publication of the volumes before us, "unrepresented in history."

The want of such a work was painfully felt by the author, in 1833, when he was in Rome, and engaged in researches "as to the contrasts and reciprocal relations of Rome under Paganism and the Popes." From that time to the last year, every leisure moment at his disposal has been devoted, as he states, to investigating the sources of what he has ever regarded as a branch of the human annals as momentous as it is extraordinary; and with such success were his researches carried on, that when the recent events in Rome determined him upon writing these volumes, he discovered that the greatest difficulty he had to contend with, was to compress the vast materials he had collected within the ordinary limits assigned to a modern work on history. Upon this point, however, we prefer quoting his own words.

"As for the authorities from whence the narrative is derived, copious and numerous as are the local histories, there were many other sources to be resorted to. The papal biographies, (mostly by contemporary writers, and, with the exception of a *lacune* in the tenth century, forming an uninterrupted series from the Apostolic age to the seventeenth century,) have not only been consulted, but have been laid under contribution very largely, particularly for the Carlovingian epoch,—a period for which they are fortunately rather more graphic and comprehensive than for any preceding one, since they are not to say the richest but almost the only source. Another field of research, indispensable as it is immense, was found in the Ecclesiastical Annals, carried down to the twelfth century by Baronius, and by his successive continuators, to the eighteenth. When to these we add the works of Muratori,—his Annals of Italy, his Dissertations, his Antiquities, above all his majestic collection of the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, the works of Sigonius and the Thesaurus of Grævius; though, for what may be termed the rudimental and mediæval epochs, we have the chief sources of the history, we have not by any means embraced them all. For the history of the Papal city, for instance—which of necessity must occupy the centre foreground of the canvass in the *tableaux* of nearly every one of the successive cycles, into which the entire history divides itself,—a great deal of the materials must be sought after in various other quarters. Thus, the curious guide or

description of the Eternal City, in A. D. 800, which we give *in extenso*, is not to be met with in any of the works already mentioned. It was first brought to light by Mabillon, and is to be found only in his works. Indeed, as might easily be anticipated, the writers on the City of Rome, from the ancient Itineraries down to the late Professor Nibbi, form of themselves a goodly catalogue. Then the erudite disquisitions as to the origin, the limits, and the character of the Papal Sovereignty, from Cardinal Orsini's Dissertations to the very admirable work, *Pouvoir du Pape*, &c., form another important branch. For the *Codex Carolinus*, and the diplomas of all the dynasties, from the Carolingians to the House of Hapsburgh, the exceedingly scarce collection of the Abbate Cenui must be resorted to. In addition, there are several pieces appertaining to the subject in Duchesne, in the *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, and even in the old English monastic writers: and though in some instances, these have been transferred to his collection by Muratori, such is not the case with many others, and with certain important fragments in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists. Besides these there are some documents which may be called incidental, such as the Homilies and Epistles of St. Gregory and several of the succeeding Popes; the letters of Petrarch and Dante's poem. Moreover, we are carried no farther by these authorities, than the confines of modern times, or to the close of the fifteenth century,—where we have to look out for a new corps of guides, as the old ones drop off from us, one by one.

“The researches made by Ranke in the Viennese and Venetian Archives, and in those of the princely families at Rome, have brought to light some highly interesting records for this history, from the opening of the sixteenth, to a late period in the eighteenth, century. Besides these, rich gleanings are still left, which it is to be hoped will not be overlooked by the Chevalier Artaud de Mentor, in his anxiously looked-for history of the Popes. It has been in our power unfortunately to add but little—only four MSS. in all—to these hitherto unpublished sources. The first consists of extracts from a Vatican Codex, containing a family history of the Counts of Tusculum. It has enabled us to shed some additional rays of light on the murk of the tenth century. The second is a MS. from the Archives of Monte Casino—it is a terse and ably written report on the “lapse of Ferrara,”—drawn up by one who played a leading part in a transaction, highly interesting in itself, and of the greatest importance within the sphere of this history. It will be found in the fourth Appendix to this volume. The third MS. is a very curious and minute survey of the boundaries of Romagna, or Romaniola, as it was more commonly called. It is also from the same Archives of Monte Casino, and is given *in extenso* in the same Appendix. Both these hitherto unpublished documents are in the Italian language, as is also the Vatican Codex to which we have referred. The fourth MS. is in English, and of a much more

modern date. It is the diary of a personage who was resident at Rome, from the Autumn of 1828 to the Summer of 1832; we have quoted it largely for the reign of Gregory XVI., and regret greatly that our limits did not permit us to make a much more extensive use of it."

It may be asked, however, how it is possible, within the compass even of three large volumes, to give an accurate idea of the history of Rome and the Papal States, from the commencement of the temporal principedom of the Pontiffs to the reign of Pius IX.? The question will best be answered by an outline of the contents of the work, and of the plan on which it is constructed.

Dr. Miley has prefixed to his first volume, as an introduction to the entire work, a topographical description of the whole of the Papal States. He conducts the reader, step by step, over every portion of their surface; and whilst he directs attention to their present condition, he also tells what they had been in Pagan times, and what their condition in the Middle Ages. He thus connects Pagan Rome with Papal Rome, and makes the one illustrative of the other; acting practically upon the opinion of so many Catholic divines, that Rome was the city referred to in the prophecy of Isaias: "For he shall bring down them that dwell on high, *the high city he shall lay low*. He shall bring it down even to the ground, he shall pull it down even to the dust. The foot shall tread it down, the feet of the poor, the steps of the needy;"* a prophecy which, in the estimation of Bzovius, was at once fulfilled, from the moment that the poor and needy St. Peter established his bishopric at Rome. †

* c. xxvi., v. 5, 6.

† "In hac civitate, ut propter imperium sublimi, sic etiam propter idolomaniam inter omnes insigni, conculcandæ fuerant, ait Leo, Philosophiæ opiniones: hic dissolvendæ terrenæ sapientiæ vanitates, hic confutandi dæmonum cultus, hic omnium sacrilegiorum impietas destruenda, ubi diligentissima superstitione habebatur collectum, quicquid usquam fuerat vanis erroribus institutum. Ad quod opus, divina potius quam humana opera perficiendum, Petrus electus, pauper censu, dives vocatione: egenorum omnium indigentissimus, cæterum potestate et autoritate in orbem universum invictissimus *salutaris prædicationis Verbo, Primus* in hac urbe sublimi. *Evangelii sui clavibus januam Regni cælestis aperuit* ut Eusebius dixit," &c. ROMAN PONTIF. c. xl. p. 523.

By thus welding together the present with the past, and in showing how modern and how ancient history have their roots intertwined together, beneath the surface of the same soil, the author saves himself and his readers from many episodes, and from numberless illustrations to which he otherwise must have had recourse, without this preliminary explanation. His interesting and valuable Introduction, is a perfect topography of the Papal States. We know through its means their geology, their mines, their forests, their natural history; and marked off as they are into eleven different sections, we are, by means of a most accomplished guide, conducted through the Adriatic provinces, the district of Rieti and Terni, the district of lake Bolsena, over the right and then the left bank of the Tiber, to the Pontine Marshes, the Valley of the Sacco, the Valley of the Anio, across the Campagna de Roma, and, finally, to the great city itself.

The Introduction, in which the various parts of the Roman states are described, consists of 185 pages, and it would be difficult to discover in any modern work, so much learning and research, so much information upon a vast number of topics, combined with so solid a judgment, and so much true philosophy. It does that which Eutropius attempted but did not accomplish, detailing the "*res Romanas ab urbe condita ad nostram memoriam, quæ in negotiis, vel bellicis, vel civilibus eminebant brevi narratione.*" It exhibits to us Rome, so changed from what it was in Pagan times, and yet Rome to which would still be applicable the lines of a Christian Martial:

"Terrarum Dea Gentiumque Roma,
Cui par est nihil et nihil secundum."

It is to that material of every country—the land, that the history of the various races who may have tilled, or who may have conquered it, attaches. We remember, some years since, to have written that "every acre of land in Ireland *has a history* in its triple confiscation." * How much more justly can this be said of Rome and the Papal States, the soil of which is aptly and happily compared by Dr. Miley, to one of the palimpsests of the Vatican.

* See *Dublin Review*, No. xliii., p. 257. (April, 1847.)

“ ‘ From the Panaro,’ remarks our author, ‘ and the estuaries of the Po, to the mountains of Terracina, and the torrent of Fronto, in another ; from the Neapolitan to the Tuscan border, and from sea to sea, this territory is but one vast palimpsest—crowded over, and crossed, and interlined, and noted with the handwriting of time—that is, with the memorials of thirty centuries which have registered, on the most prominent and imperishable features of those counties, the events in which they abounded—inscribing them, not alone in monuments of art, and in the impressions they have left on society, as, in language, in laws, in customs, but even on the external aspect of the scenery—on the mountain, the lake, the economy of agricultural life : on the highway, the plain, the hill, the river. Nay, it is every day established by the researches of the spade and the plough ; whether in excavating the bowels of the earth, or in tilling its surface, that hardly is there a morsel of the soil to which these regions may not be indebted for some miracle of art : for medals, pictured vases, arms, inscriptions : in short, for all kinds of memorials of the past through all its epochs, up to the remotest antiquity.” (Introduction, pp. i. ii.)

This palimpsest is deciphered by the author, and in his Introduction we are conducted from a knowledge of the most ancient periods of Roman history, to the contemplation of what may be regarded the history of Rome as a Christian State,—as the *governing State* of Christendom. We thus obtain, it may be truly said, for the first time, in any modern author, an account of the primitive city of the Popes,—a city of which there are now fewer remains than are to be found of the Rome of the Pagans.

The author thus clears his path of the ruins which ages have accumulated before him ; he does not, like so many others, attempt to bound over them as if they were not connected with his subject. On the contrary, he assigns to them a marked and a conspicuous place, and shows how they are attached to the topics of which he treats ; but having arranged them in the position which they ought to occupy, he is then enabled freely and fully to discourse with the reader respecting the men that have been most famous, or most infamous, in moulding those events which constitute “ the History of the Papal States.” In pursuance of his object, Dr. Miley is as careful in supplying the defects, as he is anxious to avail himself of the complete labours of others ; so that the reader will find in these volumes, what he may in vain seek for in the works of modern authors, such as Sismondi, Gibbon, Giannone,

Botta, Voigt, Hock, Hurter, De Falloux, or Artaud; whilst on the other hand, he will find repeated, and even copied largely into "the History of the Papal States," those valued treatises respecting Boniface VIII. and Pius IX., which have already appeared in the pages of the *Dublin Review*.* That which is well done by others, Dr. Miley adopts, and by its aid facilitates his own labours; that which has been left undone he supplies; whilst that which has been distorted he sets straight, and that which has been said falsely, wrongfully, or calumniously, he refutes, and in a manner so clear, so plain, and so irrefragable, as to overwhelm the enemies of the Papacy with shame and confusion. He encounters them all from Luitprand to Mariotti; and armed as he is with facts, and defended as he is with authentic documents, we perceive, at the close of his labours,

"All the ground
With shiver'd armour strown."

How he has been able to do so much in the short space of three volumes, and to bring into a prominent light the most interesting circumstances, and the most important personages in the Papal States history, can be best explained in his own words:

"From the scenery," he says, "we pass to the drama itself; and of this it is sufficient to observe—that, disengaging ourselves at the outset, from a labyrinth of what we can only regard as technical legislation, with reference to the precise instant at which the Popes became temporal sovereigns, we trace the tide of this dominion at once to its fountain-head; and in viewing it in its after development, we have endeavoured to throw ourselves into the centre of each of the great epochs or cycles into which its career, on being fully considered, is found to divide itself; and then, by grouping the figures and transactions round that centre, endeavour thus to bring the reader acquainted not only with the annals of this realm from century to century, or from cycle to cycle, but also to picture each epoch as to its own characteristic identity, without losing sight of the unity and harmonious relations pervading the entire plot, and combining all the separate cycles like so many acts of the same drama.

* See *Dublin Review*, vol. xi., pp. 505-549. Vol. xxiv. pp. 449-487. As to the first,—the account of Boniface VIII., Dr. Miley, in copying, repeats, with respect to its author and in stronger language, the praise previously tendered by Gosselin: *Pouvoir du Pape au M'oyen Age*. Vol. ii. p. 268. (Louvain Ed. 1845.)

“In several instances an entire epoch will be found to group itself around one dominant figure, as in the instance of St. Gregory the Great, of Leo III., of Hildebrand ; but to this there are many and various exceptions. Thus, the epoch from Gregory the Great to Adrian I., that is during the Lombard devastations to the opening of the Carlovingian æra, there is no central figure : it was a cycle of anarchy, and in its history there is consequently but little appearance of order. Again, in the Carlovingian epoch, it is the general aspect of things rather than any stirring action or dominant character that attracts our notice ; because that was an epoch of singular tranquillity and happiness.

“The felicity of the States and of Italy in general, during this Carlovingian period, is treated of at some length, and in much greater detail than in any other work we are aware of ; the materials for the scenes being derived from the old monastic chronicles, richly tinted as they are with the hues of that period, in which were penned the statements, from which the later compilers of the 11th and 12th centuries derived them.

“This Carlovingian period has been usually left so much in the shade, that the author has not hesitated to bring it thus prominently into the light. In no other way can a correct idea be formed of the convulsions out of which emerged the modern nations. For it is not accurate to say, that they arose from the break-up of the world of the Pagan Cæsars. Between that catastrophe and another, perhaps, still more terrific, there is intercalated another empire complete in itself—an empire which, as if for ‘an hour,’ gathers up again, and combines the elements of the Romanze and Barbaric nations in a majestic and singularly picturesque form of society, and one altogether unique. The autumnal lustre of the first empire, under the Antonines, did not surpass the lustre of that second empire, during its more rapid decline.

“The concussions and scenes of terror, universal and unparalleled, in which that second Roman Empire, or Barbarico-Romanze world, was brought to the ground, dismembered, shattered,—and one may even add, broken to atoms,—comes next ; and being in itself a most perfect chaos, admits of but little grouping or system. This terrific revolution plunges us into the weltering brutality and wildest confusion of the tenth century—*par excellence*, the ‘dark,’ the ‘iron’ age. And here it is, and nowhere else, we are to look for the travail—an awful one—out of which emerged the modern nations ; and from this point also the history of the Papal sovereignty is presented to us under a totally new and singular aspect. During this century, the Popes are much oftener slaves than sovereigns. They pass by the most sudden and hideous reverses, at the beck of some tyrant, from the throne to the dungeon, there to be sometimes strangled or starved, but invariably tortured.

“The Tusculum tyrants, and the Cenci, or Crescensii, are the dominant figures in this age, which they fill and render for ever

infamous by their atrocities. Their tower of strength, and the great theatre of their cruelties and oppressive exactions on pilgrims, is the Fort of Sant' Angelo; but every high place among the Seven Hills, and all the strongest of the ruins of Rome are crowned with war towers, and every tower is a fortress of strong-handed robbers. A 'reign of terror' was at that time the normal condition of Rome and its States, as well as of all the countries of the West without exception.

"The bestowal of the Empire on the Germans, in the person of Otho the Great, by Pope John XII., is the opening of a new epoch, and in some degree prepares the way for Hildebrand.

"As the appearance on the scene of this extraordinary personage is the opening of a new era, not only for the Papal States, the Papacy and the Catholic Church, but for the civilized world at large, we have not hesitated to enter thoroughly into the investigation of his policy and character.

"The Papal system being singularly personified in Hildebrand, there seems to be a general impression with its opponents that to have it condemned, all that is necessary is to secure a verdict against this single but extraordinary representative of the whole dynasty. We have not shrunk from this issue; and the more fairly to test it—it is from one who seems to us to have more completely mastered the subject, as to research, than any other Protestant writer, and to be second to none in enforcing his views by a rhetoric the most versatile and dazzling,—it is from Sir James Stephen, we have taken the case as stated, *versus* Gregory VII., whilst we have left his vindication to what is said in letters allowed to contain the most hidden workings of his soul, and to his own immortal deeds, as recorded by his enemies. The new order of things originated by Hildebrand, so far as the Papacy itself is concerned, is generally allowed to have been carried to its culminating point in the Pontificate of Innocent III., a highly important one for our history.

"Previously, however, to this pontificate in the civil history of Italy, and in the aspect of affairs in that region of it, with which we are more immediately concerned, a change of the most startling character takes place. A train of events stirring and memorable begins and is played out through the first act—the Pope and the German Kaiser, Alexander III. and Frederic Barbarossa, being by turns the dominant figures in the scenes: we allude, of course, to the desperate protracted and chequered struggles, out of which the Italian Republics take their rise. Contrary to the generally received impression, that Sismondi has made this epoch his own, we have ventured to suggest some reasons to show that, as yet, the true history of The Italian Republics remains to be written. So far as one Pope is concerned, and the only English one that ever reigned, we have proved from Sismondi's treatment of an event of vital importance to the history of the Papal States, that he cannot be relied on as a trustworthy historian. On this epoch of Italian

liberty, greatness, and prosperity, we have dilated to some extent; but, in apology for having done so, we can refer to its close connection with the subject in hand, and the paramount interest with which it is so justly regarded.

“With the fourteenth century, a new and totally different era begins. The tiara so often seen to preponderate during a long series of ages is, with a few and not important exceptions, almost totally withdrawn from the canvas for a term of one hundred and fifty years. This entire period is full of reverses, feuds, disorders, and catastrophes of every kind. It is the epoch in which multifarious tyrannies usurp the place of liberty; in which internecine factions pave the way for petty despots; for ‘free companies;’ *Condottieri*; universal anarchy; indescribable misery; degeneracy of the Italian character; and demoralization, shameless, profound, and except amongst the humble classes, all but universal. To this period may be literally applied the words of Tacitus, when in sketching a corresponding cycle of the Pagan era, he says that it was, *opimum casibus, atroæ præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsâ etiam pace sævum.*”

“A new and remarkable epoch is dated from the accession of Nicholas V. The modern city of Rome is founded amongst the ruins of the primitive and mediæval cities of the Popes; the States acquire a unity of organisation in which they continue to progress, rising,—*pari passu*, with the new and wonderful city, their capital, and privileged to a singular degree with the enjoyment of peace and prosperity, during a succession of three hundred and fifty years. Then comes the great social earthquake, which not only shook all Europe to its lowest foundations, but was severely felt in parts of Africa and Asia,—and this, the French Revolution, gives rise to the series of events with which we are ourselves immediately connected.” (Preface pp. xix.—xxv.)

He has divided his history into eight books, which bear the following titles: I. The origin of the Papal Sovereignty: II. History of the Papal City: III. The Papacy, during the strength and decline of the Carolingian dynasty: IV. The Dark Ages: V. Hildebrand, and his age: VI. Mediæval Paganism in Rome: VII. Rome when deprived of the Popes: VIII. The Papacy and the French Republicans. These titles are, we conceive, sufficiently indicative of the various topics that are treated of. We have thus, in the first volume, not only an account of the ancient Pagan, but also of the ancient Papal Rome—Rome as it was under the Eastern and the Western emperors; in volume the second, Rome from the time that Charlemagne was consecrated as emperor, until the time that the spirit of Hildebrand triumphed in the liberty

of the Church, and the downfall of the Simoniacal heresy; in volume the third, Rome from the bright dawn of the Lombard League, to the dark doings of the Carbonari, and of the foes of Pius IX.

Spreading over a space of nearly two thousand years, a vast variety of subjects are necessarily discussed in these volumes, and yet wondrous it is to perceive, that there is throughout a perfect unity—unity in the beneficent intentions of the Papacy, and unity in the fell designs of its avowed pagan, or covert paganised foes.

From the first epoch to the last, we see the same principles in conflict, and the same characters at war—the only thing that is different is, the name or surname of the *actors*, by whom *the characters* are sustained. As *Iago* in the tragedy of “*Othello*,” has been represented at successive periods by Garrick, Kemble, the Keans, Young, or Macready, still the words set down for *Iago*, the villanies to be perpetrated by him, and the exposure, shame, and discomfiture that await him, are the same in the reign of Victoria, that they were when first fancied by the prince of dramatic poets—the same as they have been perpetuated through the reigns of the Jameses, the Charleses, and the Georges. And so it is shown by Dr. Miley, to be with the Popes in their own states, for in whatever other form they have to encounter error elsewhere, it is upon the footsteps of their throne they are still doomed to see, with dragon shape, basilisk eye, and forked tongue, that malignant pagan idolatry whose head they crushed, and whose body they mangled, when their tiara became for the first time a pileus and was made emblematic of the perfect liberty and complete independence of the Church.* Whether the executioners or persecutors of the Popes, be a tyrant Nero, an iconoclast Leo, a perjured Lothair, a brutal Barbarossa, an atheistical Ferdinand, a mad-cap Joseph, or a double-dealing Bonaparte, still there are to be found in all ages, worse than these, clustering round the Capitol—a paganised and foreign rabble, who gloat over the gory glories of unbelieving Rome, and who are ready to commit crimes for the purpose of re-establishing a reign of sensuality; who, like the Arnaldisti, the Capoccis, the Brancaleoni, the Carbonari, and the “young Italy faction,” struggle for the over-

* See Act. Sanct. Bolland. Vind. p. 646, § 5.

throw of the Pope, and to obtain that object, profess infidelity, and practise assassination.

The keen eye, and the untiring toil of the author, have detected and tracked *this faction*, following out its vile object, through the murky bye-paths of many ages. In his researches he has disintombed them from the obscurity in which they lay; and from the mouldering monuments of their impiety, he has again brought them up to receive the judgment, and to be again overwhelmed with the execrations of mankind.

In merely describing the contents of these three volumes, and indicating the spirit in which they are written, we pronounce their eulogy. They are entitled to the highest praise, for they are, in very deed, what they profess to be—*the history of the Papal States*. They possess also another merit, we cannot say a higher merit. They will be found to constitute a valuable supplement to the history of almost every country in Europe, especially during the dark and middle ages. To prove this it is not necessary to go beyond the history of England. Let any reader take and consult for himself, as the writer of this article has done, the monastic writers of this country, who give us the details of all the lamentable events that occurred between the reigns of Alfred and of William the Conqueror, and he will find, as he wades through each successive reign, his path encumbered with difficulties, and these growing upon him as he considers especially the reigns of St. Edgar, St. Edward the martyr, Ethelred, Canute, and Edward the confessor; but let him, from these, turn to Dr. Miley's History of the Papal States, and in that Book, entitled, "Hildebrand and his age," he will find the obscurities dispersed, and the causes which produced confusion removed. In this respect, the work of Dr. Miley will be found to be a lamp in many a dark and difficult passage in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

We have left to ourselves but little space for fulfilling the promise we have made to the reader, of giving extracts from the history itself, as hitherto we have only quoted from the Preface or Introduction, for the purpose of shewing what the Rev. author professed, or intended to do. An extract from the work itself can alone demonstrate how he has accomplished his task. We regret that we have but room for a single extract. We give it as a specimen of the author's style

and treatment of his subject. It is his description of the establishment of the new Dynasty of the Popes.

“By foes and friends it is agreed that, long before they were possessed of one rubbio of the territory within the boundaries of the States, the Popes had become invested with, and had admirably discharged the highest and most onerous functions of kings. Rome was saved by them, on many occasions, for centuries before they could call it their own. They garrisoned the towns, they rebuilt the walls, they either repulsed the invaders by their spiritual arms, or, failing in preventing them, they left nothing undone that, by the most princely charities, could alleviate the miseries their ravages had entailed on the people. Their legates went forth surrounded by all the majesty the Church could arm them with, and bearing her treasures in heaps, to seek the Lombard freebooter in his camp, and there ransom the captives. They resisted the invasions of famine when the earth closed up her bosom, or when the ravages of the Lombard had transformed its fields already whitening for the sickle, into scenes of waste and ruin. Like Joseph in the crisis of Egypt's distress, they threw open their granaries. They merited incessantly to have the eulogium of the holy Liturgy applied to them, ‘*Hic est ille fidelis servus et prudens quem constituit dominus super familiam suam, ut det illis in tempore tritici mensuram.*’* ”

“They established colleges, repaired and beautified the churches, opened asylums for orphanage, the aged, the sick, and the broken-hearted. They stood as a wall of brass against the assaults of barbarism, and under their steering hand, the Church like another ark, freighted with the hopes of a new society and a new history, bore up gallantly amidst tempests the most tremendous, of trials, lawless crime, ignorance, persecution, and infuriated brutality. Their works shine out gloriously in an age of disaster and gloom—at a time when every other governing authority lay prostrate or had disappeared altogether, their power rose amidst the weltering scene of wreck and confusion, serene and terrible even to the most ruthless tyrants and infuriated barbarians. It rose like a rock, immovable amidst the chaos of society. It was theegis of order, the protection of the weak from the mighty. Charity, light, were with it, and the peace of God, which, diffused in the heart, cured every pain, and healed even the wounds and bruises of memory. Such were the doings of this newly inaugurated dynasty of the Popes. By such arts as these, it was, and not by intrigue, or arms, or ambition, the Pontiffs at length became kings *de jure*, as they had been the kings, *de facto*, of Rome and its immediately dependant province, for centuries.

“So utterly is the power, and the people of Romulus and the Cæsars uprooted, that the ancient populations and the newly risen power of the Pontiffs, are left as it were in immediate historical and social contact. The empire by which both were persecuted, the one for their attach-

* Missale Romanum, in Misâ Pont. Conf.

ment to freedom, the other for their attachment to the Faith, being now destroyed utterly, and having disappeared like a phantom, the Pontiff and the people—the afflicted and the Father of the afflicted, the *servus* and ‘*SERVUS SERVORUM DEI*’ are found united, not so much in the same realm as in one family consisting of myriads, of which the supreme Vicar of the Redeemer is the Guide, the Father, the Priest, and the King. It is, in short, as if the Etruscan, Sabine, Latin peoples had risen up from the graves into which they had fallen under the swords of the Roman invaders, to be comforted, and to be crowned.

“Here was a resurrection for the long-buried Latium! Struck down, after many a struggle, by the elder consuls, dictators, and kings: ravaged and lacerated in the diabolical conflicts of the republican factions—lost in the blaze of imperial splendour, or discovered by the eye of the oppressor only when taxes were to be dragged from their vitals, or conscriptions made, that at the expense of their blood demented ambition might riot in carnage,—here on the old homes of the Sabines and the rest—the Volscian, the Etruscan, the Hernician, can at last rejoice to himself under the sceptre, not of a conqueror like Camillus—the destroyer of cities—not under a tiger like Sylla, or a matricide monster like Nero, but under His Vicar who came to save and to solace ‘that which was lost’—the victims of the mad and merciless passions of pride, sensuality, avarice, and ambition.

“That form of existence reappears in which we for the first time beheld them emerging from the twilight of antiquity—that form in which they grew into prosperity and power, each within its own restricted domain. The Marsi, the Hernicans, the Etrusci, the Latin towns with their little territories are discernible once more: again their municipal independence revives; their agricultural economy is the same, under the mild and parental tutelage, rather than the sway of the Pontiffs, as it was before their ancestors had lost their freedom, under the Romans.

“These nations had not, as of old, been dragged in fetters to the feet of their conquerors; they crowded thither as fugitives for protection and aid. In ‘bonds of love’ alone were they fettered to the throne of the Popes. They said, ‘it is good for us to be here’—they felt themselves so grateful and so happy—and thus the vicar of the Saviour became a king. He did not rob those nations—he enriched them—he fed them in famine time: ransomed them when they were captives—consoled them when they were afflicted.

“‘To the Popes alone,’ says the Count de Maistre, ‘is reserved the honour of not holding any territory to-day, which a thousand years ago, he was not possessed of.’

“To what ends do they turn their conquests? Like the Cæsars, perhaps, to exhibit a butchery of their fellowmen for the public amusement—to buy up in the market, and train a host of gladiators ‘to make a Roman holiday:’ to build villas on every pleasant spot—in the valleys, on the hills, the isles of the sea, along the shore, there to waste their days and the plunder of the nations in every species of sensuality?

The Popes also have villas, but they are what are called '*domus cultas*,' in the old biographies, immense agricultural establishments for the support of the poor. True they distribute donatives, but it is not to the pretorian cut-throats—ever rejoiced to sell their country to the highest bidder—but it is to the distressed—to 'our brethren the POOR OF CHRIST.' They use their power fearlessly, but it is to exalt the humble, to ransom that which was captive, to diffuse redeeming knowledge, to turn the weapon of the destroyer from the bosoms of his unoffending victims, against his own.

"Marcus Aurelius, whimpers or declaims some sentimentality—and Voltaire's world is filled with high sounding glorifications of philosophy in the purple! In the times of this Emperor, the humanizing influence of Christianity had commenced to make itself felt; nevertheless, he treated the Romans to a butchery of captives, on the arena. Can it be gainsaid, except by passion, that one pope has done more for oppressed, afflicted humanity, than all the kings, dictators, consuls, and emperors of pagan Rome put together did for it, from first to last? We should not fear to take up the cartel for St. Gregory the Great, or Adrian I., not to speak of a hundred others, against the whole of them.

"Neither Cæsar or Trajan achieved such wonders for social advancement, as did several of the Pontiffs of those early times, not to speak of all of what they effected for the Gospel. They interpreted the Christian law in every instance in favour of the slave—in favour of the afflicted—in the same spirit of mercy, in short, in which its Divine Author delivered it. It was mercy in action, administered by them. On the Sabbath all *servile* work was declared by them to be unlawful and sinful; that is, they secured one day, at least, of rest and freedom, out of every seven, for the millions of slaves with whose groans and sufferings all Europe was full in those ages. Punishment of the cross, that is the ancient Roman mode of putting SLAVES to death, was through their influence abolished; manumission was encouraged by every means—merciful and kind treatment of the people was preached—the poor were exalted—mendicants covered with rags and sores were invited as guests by Saint Gregory. He waited on them in person at table; and this was a practice of routine with the Popes who succeeded him. Christian clergy were ordained and anointed to be the humble, devoted, respectful servants of the afflicted of every class.

"The Popes saved the works of the ancients, hoarded them up, cultivated the field of the intellect, multiplied manuscripts. Whoever preserved the life of a citizen was entitled by the laws of the Roman Commonwealth, to an honorary crown—whoever added a province was honoured with a triumph—for the Popes who ransomed captives, saved myriads in famine, in plague, fire, war, and inundation—who not only added provinces to Rome, but saved and founded Rome itself—according to the tariff of guerdons in ancient Rome, how find wreaths enough for them?

"They were the first sovereigns to labour for the diffusion of knowledge. For 800 years of its existence, no public encouragement was

given by the pagan government of Rome to learning. Schools were encouraged, certainly, both by the ancient patricians of Rome, by its most renowned worthies, and by all the emperors; but they were schools of murder, in which the unfortunate gladiators were made perfect, by lecture and exercise, in their revolting profession. Vespasian was the first to found a college for the study of letters, and this at a period, after the policy introduced by the Popes had begun to make itself felt, in the diffusion of the Christian Religion. But all the arts—music, painting, architecture and literature, and the sciences (astronomy in particular), such of them as then flourished—were not less indebted to the Popes at this remote epoch, the eighth century, than they are on all hands allowed to have been in after ages. But of this we shall have a more appropriate opportunity to speak, when, in our next chapter, we are describing the city.

“The Popes were the first who ever reigned by opinion. Opinion was the force which carried them to the throne. Never did Cæsar, or Sylla, or Trajan, achieve by the sword such victories as the Popes won by opinion. By opinion, the eternal city was saved in the time of St. Gregory the Great, when all the rest of Italy lay prostrate, and was on all sides forsaken and ruined.

“The Popes were the first who ever reigned for the people. They were the *humanitarians* without pretension, and properly so called, making common cause with the oppressed, the refuge of the outcast, the shield of the weak, the solace of the afflicted, fathers to the orphan, friends to the broken-hearted, the stewards good and faithful, who in the season of distress meted out relief to the needy. In return, they found, on the part of those whom they had thus subsidized by the benefits of every description which they conferred upon society, a surer support and defence than was ever found by the Cæsars in their Prætorian cohorts.” (Vol. I. pp. 334--341.)

With this single extract we commend “the History of the Papal States” to the attention of our readers. Every page is worthy of perusal, because it is the history of the past, or a narrative of contemporary events, illustrated by profound learning, deep thought, refined taste, and great sagacity. It is the last of the many valuable proofs which those, who have combined together the qualities of zealous students, mature scholars, and pious clergymen, have given to the world to show, in the words of Irenæus, that with Rome, on account of her more powerful principality, it behoves every church to agree;* or, as our own William of Malmsbury asserts: “to all the faithful it must be plain and evident, that the head of the Roman Church

* Lib. iii. c. 3.

must be the vicar of this Apostle (Peter,) and the immediate inheritor of his power.”*

ART. VI.—1. *Cambrensis Eversus; seu potius Historica Fides in Rebus Hibernicis Giraldo Cambrensi Abrogata; in Quo plerasque Justi Historici Dotes Desiderari, Plerosque Nævos inesse Ostendit Gratianus Lucius Hibernus, qui etiam Aliquot Res Memorabiles Hibernicas, veteris et Novæ Memorix passim e Re Nata Huic Operi Inseruit.* Impress. An. MDCLXII. Edited, with Translation and Notes, by the Reverend MATTHEW KELLY, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, vol. i. Dublin: Printed for the Celtic Society, 1848.

2.—*Apologia pro Hibernia adversus Cambri Calumnias; sive Fabularum et Famosorum Libellorum Sylvestri Giraldu Cambrensis, sub Vocabulis “Topographiæ sive de Mirabilibus Hiberniæ,” et “Historiæ Vaticinalis sive Expugnationis Ejusdem Insulæ” Refutatio.* Auctore Stephano Vito, Soc. Jesu, Hiberno Clonmelliensi. Nunc Primum Edita, Cura MATTHEI KELLY, in Collegio S. Patricii apud Maynooth Professoris, &c. Dublinii: O'Daly. 1849.

THE historian of an invasion, in the interest of the invader, is, at the best, a suspicious authority. To the natural prejudices of a stranger, he seldom fails to join the antipathies of an enemy; and, if he have himself taken a part in the contest, it almost invariably happens that he superadds to both, the bitterness of his own private and personal animosities.

There are few transactions upon record, and few historians in the entire circle of historical literature, of which this should be more readily believed, than of the invasion of Ireland by Henry II., and its celebrated chronicler Giraldus Cambrensis. Destitute of every shadow of title to the sovereignty of Ireland according to the recognized principles of international law or custom, Henry's sole plea in justification of the invasion, was his self-assumed mission, as a reformer of the imputed barbarism of the inhabitants, and of the crimes against religion and morality, by which, as he alleged, they disgraced the Christianity

* Lib. ii. c. 8. Rev. J. Sharpe's translation.

which they professed in common with himself. It was upon this allegation that he sought and obtained the papal sanction for the enterprise; and, however men might smile at the frivolousness of the plea, and at the flagrant hypocrisy which, even though it were well founded, it bespoke in such a prince as Henry, nevertheless it was clearly his policy, and that of all whose interests coincided with his, to give a colour of truth to an allegation, which, however insufficient, was, nevertheless, the sole justification of the daring usurpation attempted by its projector. To justify the plea of reformation, it was necessary to make it plain that there had been something to reform; and it would have been strange, indeed, if Henry, or Henry's friends, had represented as immaculate and beyond reproach, the people against whom they had undertaken a crusade, as against barbarians sunk in every species of vice and immorality.

The equivocal task of justifying the English king's plea fell to the lot of the author so well known in the polemics of Irish antiquities, Sylvester Girald de Barry. This celebrated man was born in the first quarter of the twelfth century, of a Norman family settled in Wales, whence is derived the surname by which he is most familiarly known. His father, William de Barry, was one of a numerous family of brothers, two of whom, Robert Fitzstephen, and Maurice Fitzgerald, were among the first band of Welsh adventurers who joined with Strongbow in accepting the invitation of the fugitive king of Leinster, and landed at Waterford, in 1169. Giraldus's brother Robert, and others of his kinsmen, especially the celebrated Raymond le Gros, were also sharers in the expedition, which thus naturally engaged all his sympathies, as it involved the essential interests of his family. He himself, however, had, from his youth, selected a different career. Under the auspices of his father's brother, David, bishop of St. David's, he was destined for the church; and having completed his theological studies in the university of Paris, was named, some time after his return, to the archdeaconry of his uncle's diocese, in the exercise of which office he was involved in many difficulties and contentions. On the vacancy of the see, he was elected by the chapter bishop of St. David's; but his election not having been confirmed, his hopes were for the time disappointed, and he again visited Paris for the purpose of still further improving himself in the studies of the

age. His return to his native diocese was the signal for new contentions, political and ecclesiastical, into which it is beyond our purpose to enter. It will be enough, in illustration of his general trustworthiness, to state, that, although, in the commencement, Giraldus had been the most vigorous champion of Welsh interests, yet he eventually became a bitter and unsparing enemy of his country, and by the zeal with which he entered into the views of the king, in his Welsh policy, merited the appointment of chaplain and tutor to the youngest of Henry's sons, prince John, then in his twelfth year.

To this appointment, in all probability, we owe Giraldus's speculations upon Ireland and Irish affairs. He had visited the country, it is true, a few years previously, (1182) in the company of his brother; and his family had, from the commencement, held a prominent place among the adventurers who formed the vanguard of the invasion. But his second visit, (1185) in the train of the young prince, who had just been enfeoffed with the lordship of the island, was made in a new, and to some extent, an official capacity; and the "Topography," which was the fruit of his observation during this sojourn, may be regarded as the first in the long series of Blue Books, for which Ireland is indebted to her "English connexion." The young prince was recalled after a residence of about nine months; but his tutor outstaid him more than half a year, during which time, in addition to collecting the materials for his contemplated works, he laid up a large stock of feuds and animosities against the Irish clergy, with whom he became embroiled. As he tells us, in the dedication of his *Description of Wales*, (p. 880,) that he devoted three years' labour to the composition of the "Topography of Ireland," we may infer that it was completed in the year 1188; and although the "Conquest" was not finished for two years later, Lynch appears to think (p. 95,) that both works were made public in the same year. The former of these books was dedicated to Henry VI., the latter to his son Richard; but he afterwards inscribed a later edition of the "Conquest" to his pupil, John. The first public recitation of the "Topography" was, in many respects, characteristic of the author; and both in itself and in the account which he has left of it, is a curious illustration of his egotism and love of display. He assembled an audience in the halls of Oxford on three successive days, in

which he entertained, in rotation, the three sections into which they were divided. On the first day, the poor of the city; on the second, the doctors and leading scholars of the university; on the third, the remaining scholars, together with the military and municipality of the city. To these, in succession, were read the three distinctions into which the Topography is divided: on the first day, the distinction on the topography and natural history of Ireland; on the second, that upon its wonders; and on the third, that on its early inhabitants, successive colonies, manners, and customs; and it is amusing to observe the complacency with which the happy author dwells upon the entire scene, which appeared, he tells us, to recall the glories of the days of the olden poets, and was without any parallel in the present or past literary history of England.*

The Topography was followed by the Prophetic History of the Conquest of Ireland, which consisted of two distinctions, the first of two years' study. It would be easy to anticipate what must be the character of these books, written under such circumstances, and under such inspirations. Whatever their literary arrangement and design, it is impossible to doubt that the writer would keep a steady eye upon the interests of his royal master, and that, above all, in the delineation of Irish manners and customs, no opportunity should be overlooked, of placing in the strongest light, the crying necessity of those religious, moral, and social reforms which formed the ground-work of Henry's title of conquest. That Giraldus felt the extent and value of his services in this particular, is sufficiently evident from the fact already alluded to, of his dedicating his first work to the king, and his second, to the heir apparent. This circumstance in itself is significant enough, but for the honour of letters, it is melancholy to add, that there is a still more unequivocal evidence of the corrupt and interested motives by which he was influenced, in the complaint which he more than once prefers, that neither of the patrons whom he had served so well, had bestowed upon him the remuneration to which he was entitled. †

Although he himself states that his work was severely censured, yet we have no record of any formal attempt on

* See *Cambrensis Eversus*, p. 373.

† See preface to the *Itinerary of Wales*, p. 819, and again, the *Dedication of the Conquest to king John*, p. 811. Ed. 1602.

the part of his contemporaries, to reply to his injurious and defamatory statements in detail; nor does it appear that, beyond the sensation which the work produced when it was first made public, and the service which it rendered to the monarch under whose auspices it was composed, it attracted much notice, whether from friends or enemies. Giraldus himself complains of the neglect and indifference with which it was received, which he attributes to malice and jealousy, and to a general conspiracy against authors, and not to any demerit of his own, inasmuch as he was superior to most of his contemporaries.*

It was towards the close of thereign of Elizabeth, whose Irish policy these works were well calculated to justify and to subserve, that they first began to attract much notice. The History of the Conquest was translated by Hooker, and published in 1586; but the Topography did not appear for several years afterwards, until, "in an evil hour," as Lynch pathetically writes, it was printed at Frankfort, by Camden, in 1602; and it is no mean evidence of the literary activity of that period, that, notwithstanding the difficulties which surrounded the catholic party in Ireland, and the numberless sources of distraction and embarrassment which the time itself presented, the first half century after the publication of the Topography, produced no less than three replies from the pens of Irish Catholics. The first of these in the order of time, was by an Irish Jesuit, Father Stephen White; the second, by the celebrated Philip O'Sullivan, author of the *Historiæ Catholicæ*; the third by John Lynch, Archdeacon of Killala, and one of the most learned antiquaries of that eminently distinguished age. Of these, the only one which was published at the time was the last, that of Archdeacon Lynch, which has become familiar to every student of Irish history and antiquities, under its fanciful title of *Cambrensis Eversus*. It was published in 1662, without any printer's name or place of printing, under the assumed *nom de guerre* "Gratianus Lucius;" but, like all the works of that period upon Irish affairs, it has become so rare, as to be almost inaccessible to ordinary students. Hence, on the establishment of the Celtic Society, one of whose chief objects has been the elucidation of the post-reformation history of Ireland, it was selected as the second of the Society's publications. The task of translating and

* See the passages in *Cambrensis Eversus*, p. 94.

editing it was entrusted to the Rev. Matthew Kelly, to whose active zeal for the illustration and popularization of Irish history, the Celtic Society mainly owes its origin; and the volume now before us, containing nearly six hundred royal 8vo. pages, and comprising about one-third of the entire work, is the first instalment of his labour of love.

In the true spirit of editorship, Mr. Kelly, having ascertained that a copy of the MS. of Father White's reply to Cambrensis, was preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, procured, at his own expense, a transcript of the MS., with the view of availing himself, in the notes of Lynch's work, of any materials, for the purpose of illustration, which it might supply. But finding, upon examination, that the two works were entirely different and independent of each other, he resolved to publish White in a separate form; and, accordingly, he has since issued it in a shape similar to that of the Celtic Society's publications, as the first of a series of materials for modern Irish history, which he proposes to continue at regular intervals, until the standard authorities, especially those of which least is popularly known, and which are of the most fragmentary and perishable character, shall have been placed within the reach even of the humblest student of our literature.

To the learned editor of *Cambrensis Eversus* we are thus indebted for the preservation of two among the three replies to Giraldus, which were written in the seventeenth century. The third, it would seem, that of Philip O'Sullivan, is irrecoverably lost. Lynch himself would appear not to have seen it, or to have been acquainted with its contents. He does not give any account of its character or its plan; he appears, indeed, only to know of its existence, from its being referred to in a poetical enumeration of O'Sullivan's works, prefixed to the "*Decades of St. Patrick*;"* nor, as far as we are aware, has any later writer supplied further information regarding it. Mr. Kelly professes himself ignorant of all trace of its existence. †

In his edition of White's *Apologia*, Mr. Kelly has contented himself with simply acting as editor. It is not accompanied by any translation or annotations. Nor, indeed, considering the affinity of subject, can we much

* p. 97.

† p. 96.

regret, that after his very full and careful elucidation of the far more important and valuable work of Lynch, he has spared himself the comparatively needless labour of illustrating the Apology. We doubt even whether the trouble of translation would have been well repaid. Not that we are disposed to underrate the value of White's work, which, in some respects, is very considerable; but that we consider it one of a class which should rather be called materials for history than history itself; which never could be made suitable for popular reading, no matter in what language it were presented; and which, for the use for which, alone, or chiefly, it is available—the researches of the student—is just as available in the original Latin, as it would be made in the most elaborate translation.

But if he has been merely the publisher of White's Apology, the deficiency is well supplied by the care and research which he has bestowed upon the *Cambrensis Eversus*. The translation is executed with great elegance and fidelity; the annotations display the utmost familiarity with all the best sources of information, printed and manuscript, upon Irish history and antiquities; and when it is recollected that there is hardly a topic which, in his minute and elaborate reply, Lynch has not introduced—topography, genealogy, biography, divinity, ethnology, law, literature, hagiology, art, usages, even superstitions—some idea may be formed of the difficulty of the editor's task, and the qualifications necessary for its judicious and satisfactory execution.

We shall have occasion, before we close, to give some specimens of Mr. Kelly's illustrations; but it will not be uninteresting to premise a short account of the two replies to *Cambrensis*, and a brief notice of their authors.

Of the personal history of Father Stephen White but little is known. He was born in Clonmel, in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Like many of the most eminent men of his time, he entered the order of the Jesuits. Few particulars have been ascertained of his earlier studies. It is natural to suppose that he received his elementary instruction in Ireland. We are told by Stanihurst that there was a youth named White, afterwards a man of considerable mark, among his fellow-students, in Kilkenny, during the years 1564-7, at the school of the famous Peter White, who had been

deprived of the Deanery of Waterford, on his refusal to take the oath of supremacy. It is not impossible, supposing Stephen to have been very young at the time, that he may have been this individual; nor is it unworthy of note that Stanihurst is the only one of his predecessors in the study of Irish antiquities, to whom he refers in the Apology. On the other hand, in the list of the first students of Trinity College, Dublin, 1593, the name *Stephanus White* stands third, and that of James Ussher fifth.* It would appear from a passage in Peter Lombard's Commentary, † that the fact of being entered as a student in the new college, did not, in the first instance, necessarily imply the profession of protestantism; so that, on this score, at least, it is perfectly possible that the Stephen White here referred to, may have been our author. The friendly and intimate relation which subsisted between him and Ussher in after life, would go to confirm the supposition. Nor does this date appear irreconcilable with what is known of his after history. If we suppose him to have, at that period, reached his eighteenth or twentieth year, (a very likely hypothesis for a student in those times,) he will have been nearly thirty at the date of the publication of the Topography (1602), and be supposed to have reached his fortieth year before the date at which the "Apology" was written.

But whatever may be said of his earlier education, it is certain that his more advanced studies were made upon the continent, not improbably in Germany. He taught theology in the university of Dillingen, and his reputation, for various and profound erudition, was very high in his order. "The Bollandists," we learn from the editor's preface, "gratefully acknowledge the assistance which he gave to Father Rosweide, in preparing the materials for the lives of the Saints. He was among the first Irish writers who vindicated the honour of his country against the Scottish pretenders, who attributed to Scotland all the glories of ancient Scotia. The value of his labours in this department have been attested by the most competent authorities; Ussher, to whom

* Stuart's History of Armagh, p. 314.

† p. 288. Lombard clearly implies that several Catholics had been entered, and were withdrawn when the oath of supremacy was insisted on.

he supplied some manuscripts from the German libraries, not being less warm in his commendation than Lynch, Colgan, or O'Sullivan." The bishops of the Catholic confederation had resolved to print, at their own expense, his work, *De Sanctis et Antiquitate Hiberniæ*. The MS. was approved by several of the bishops, and F. Robert Nugent, provincial of the society in Ireland, states, in a letter dated January 10th, 1646, that he has laid it before four of the Fathers to be examined previous to publication. Nevertheless, the troubles which ensued in Ireland, prevented the project from being carried out, and neither this nor any other of White's works was printed during his lifetime.

White's "Apology" has been judged unfavourably in the comparison with the more finished and elaborate work of his successor in the controversy with Cambrensis. But there are many important circumstances, which it would be unfair to overlook in the comparison, and which the editor has suggested in his interesting preface.

"Whether the Apologia be worthy of the high name of the author the learned reader must decide. But it ought not to be forgotten, that it was composed very early in the seventeenth century, probably before the year 1615. It could not be expected, that a person writing in a foreign land, without access to native original documents, (few of which had yet been printed,) could avoid falling into several errors. He had no work of Ussher, Colgan, or Ware to guide him. He wrote several years even before Ward had commenced to collect materials for the ecclesiastical history of Ireland; yet, due abatement being made for these disadvantages, his work will be found as free from errors as most of those written on new subjects. To some of his arguments the research of subsequent writers has been able to add very little, especially where he refutes some of the errors of Giraldus on the ecclesiastical history of Ireland previous to the English invasion. It was deemed unnecessary to correct in detail the points in which he differs from his successors, as a reference to Dr. Lanigan would generally be sufficient for the purpose. On one important question regarding the Bull of Alexander III. to Henry II., he was led astray by the Frankfort edition of Giraldus Cambrensis, which suppresses that Bull, and confounds it with Adrian's.

"The reader may perhaps regret that our author has wasted so much learning and argument on the personal character of Giraldus. But Giraldus, whose works had been lately published, was in those days enlisted as a potent auxiliary for the solution of the old English difficulty, commonly called the 'settlement' of Ireland. It had been his lot to be the apologist of the spoliation of the Irish by the first Anglo-Norman invaders, and he was now, four hundred years after his death, em-

ployed in the same work, to complete the ruin of the old Irish, as well as of many of the Anglo-Irish. His well-stocked armory of calumny was as useful for the spoliation of the Irish by law under the Stuarts, as for their spoliation by the sword under the Plantagenets. The circumstances of the day imparted to his character, however contemptible, an importance which no writer undertaking to refute him could prudently overlook."

To the considerations here suggested, we would add, that the work evidently was left uncompleted by the author, or, at least, did not receive from his hand its final arrangement, much less its preparation for the press. The concluding chapters especially bear evident marks of incompleteness, and the faults which are most observable throughout, are precisely those which would have been corrected by a final revision.

Yet, with all its deficiencies, White's "Apology" must be admitted to be a work of much ability, and in some points of the *Cambrensis* controversy, of very considerable value. It consists of twenty-six chapters. Of these a large proportion, especially the first, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and from the twenty-first to the end, are directly intended to show the general untrustworthiness of *Cambrensis* as a historical authority, while, at the same time, they enter into many of the details of his history; the five chapters, from the sixteenth to the twenty-first, contain an examination of the famous bulls of Adrian IV., and Alexander III., the authenticity of which is warmly contested; and the second, third, fourth, and fifth, are addressed against certain specific calumnies of Giraldus on the history of the early Church of Ireland.

It would be difficult to find more overwhelming evidence of the faithlessness of any writer, than is heaped together in the chapters devoted to the personal character of Giraldus; of his credulity, his overweening vanity and presumption; his inacquaintance with the sources of Irish history; his numberless contradictions and inconsistencies; his unscrupulousness; his malignant and calumnious disposition; his alternate invectives and flatteries of his contemporaries, as the circumstances of the times had changed; and his inveterate hostility to Ireland, to the Irish nation, and to everything which concerns their interest or their fair fame. And although, in all this, there is frequently observable a want of order; though the tone is generally angry and declamatory; and the effect is much weakened by its

being, for the most part, addressed to Giraldus in the second person; nevertheless, as an argument against the authority of his adversary, we cannot help regarding it as eminently successful. On the subject of the genuineness of the bulls, which we shall have to consider again, White, as well as Lynch, was unquestionably mistaken. At that time the question was an open one. The evidence which the publication of the Records has since supplied, was then unknown; and, although there were some before White's day, as for example, Peter Lombard, who regarded them as genuine, yet the whole weight of authority was in the opposite direction; and, as the editor observes, the question was still more complicated for White, by the error of the Frankfort edition, which confounds the bull of Alexander III. with that of Adrian.

Abstracting, however, from the present controversy with Giraldus, the most valuable chapters in White's *Apology* are these (II.—V.) in which he enters into his adversaries' charges upon the early Irish Church; that the faith of Ireland, always dull and languid, had never "brought forth the fruit of martyrdom;" that there "had never been, from the days of Patrick, a good prelate in Ireland;" and that "for seven centuries, the Irish had been immersed in the darkest ignorance and vice." The extent and variety of the ecclesiastical erudition displayed in these chapters, is really very extraordinary; and when it is considered that the author was the first to enter upon this field of enquiry, it is impossible to refuse him the credit of rare ability, as well as of laborious and successful research. We can only find room for the summary with which he closes the third chapter.

"My volume would swell beyond all moderate bounds, were I to attempt to enter into particulars regarding the numberless other martyrs of Ireland; even though I should pass over everything which to the prudent reader might appear devoid of probability; although, as I have already observed, he has heard from St. Bernard, (a most unimpeachable authority,) that from the single monastery of Bangor in Ireland, 'there issued like a torrent many thousands of holy men, who filled with the gospel Scotland, England, and other foreign countries.' For the present I deem it sufficient to observe that I have reckoned up in ancient works of approved authority, one hundred and fifteen Saints sent as missionaries from Ireland into Germany, and there revered as peculiar patrons, thirty-six of whom were martyrs. Of holy Irish missionaries in France I have reckoned forty-five, six of whom

were martyrs. Of thirty-six whom I know (and many others have escaped me) to have been sent as missionaries to Belgium, nine were martyrs. Of forty-four sent to labour for the salvation of the Angles, I know thirteen martyrs. Of thirteen whom I find sent into Italy, two were martyrs. Of Irish Saints sent into Norway and Iceland, eight were martyrs. Of the one hundred and thirty ancient Irish Saints who went to sleep in peace in their native country, I find but two reckoned as martyrs; for, in more recent times, since the heresies of Luther and Calvin have begun to infest Europe, Ireland has produced native martyrs. The names of but ten of the more eminent ones occur to me at present. Lastly, I find that about twenty-five Irish Saints were sent as missionaries to Scotland, among whom we know that there is not a single martyr.

“I have elsewhere treated all these subjects with greater detail: nor do I think it necessary, by the repetition of them, to fatigue the patience of the reader, who will now be able to see how far Giraldus is from the truth, when he so often and earnestly reiterates that Ireland has never had a single martyr of Christ.”—*Apologia*, p. 24.

Lynch's reply to *Cambrensis* was written many years after that of *White's*. A copy of the latter had been in Lynch's possession, and he appears to indicate the intention, or at least the desire, of publishing it; * but it was, most probably, lost or mislaid by a friend to whom he lent it. It is plain, however, that he availed himself, in some points, of the ample materials which it contained.

The personal history of *Dr. Lynch* is better known than that of his predecessor. No regular life has ever been compiled, nor do his own remains furnish any satisfactory materials for a biography. But *Mr. Kelly* has collected, from a great variety of sources, a number of scattered details, which he has combined into a prefatory memoir so exceedingly interesting, that we shall make no apology for extracting, at some length, from its pages.

“*John Lynch*, the author, was one of those eminent men who rose with such promise about the close of *Elizabeth's* reign, and, within less than half a century, restored, both at home and in foreign universities, the literary honour of their country. He was contemporary of *Rothe*, *Ussher*, *Fleming*, *Colgan*, *Ward*, *Stephen White*, *Wadding*, and *Ware*,—names which nearly exhaust the catalogue of our standard authorities,—as well as of *O'Flaherty*, the *Four Masters*, *Keating*, and *McFirbis*, who are less familiar to foreign scholars, but justly prized by all who have studied those domestic records to which they applied their honest zeal and successful industry. When we consider how much was written, and what was contemplated in those times, and the cordial literary

* p. 95.

intercourse between men who were fiercely opposed in religion and politics, it would be difficult to find, in any country of equal resources, and under the same legal disadvantages, a greater love of learning, or a greater amount of good accomplished, than in the first half of the seventeenth century. That literary period stands alone in our history, and, in its own order, it may well bear a comparison with the contemporary literature of other countries.

“The personal history of Dr. Lynch, is unfortunately almost unknown, or known only from the dates of his works, though he maintained epistolary correspondence with some of his learned contemporaries, and has given us some finished sketches of the political events and characters of his time. Unlike his famous antagonist, who compiled, in his fiftieth year, an elaborate and highly eulogistic autobiography, he alludes but three times to himself in the *Cambrensis Eversus*. It was only in the evening of his days, broken down by age, the sorrows of exile, and the ruin of his country, that a pressing invitation to return to Ireland drew from him a touching letter, which, with some meagre notes collected from other sources, are the only materials for a sketch of his life.

“He was born in Galway, and descended from a family whose fame is written in all the monuments of that ancient town. The Lynches claimed descent from Hugh de Lacy, one of the most successful of the first race of Anglo-Norman invaders. With the exception, perhaps, of the Whites,—an exception admitted by Dr. Lynch himself,—no family gave a greater number of distinguished ecclesiastics to the Irish Church.

“There is no direct authority to fix the precise year of his birth; but, from some incidental sources, we may infer safely that he was born before the year 1600. He arrived in France a little after the completion of his seventeenth year, and was engaged in the study of humanity at Dieppe in 1618. He was near sixty years of age when composing the *Cambrensis Eversus*, which, though not published until 1662, must, from intrinsic evidence, have been composed before the Restoration in 1660. From these dates, and collateral evidence, it appears he was born before 1600,—probably in 1599.

“He was educated by the Jesuits, and, with that fidelity which has generally characterized their scholars, he omits no opportunity of defending them, especially for the part taken by them in the affairs of the Confederate Catholics, 1642. While persecution was at its height, the Jesuits lived in the houses of the Catholic nobles; but as soon as it began to relax, they rented houses in several towns, Galway among others, where Dr. Lynch received the first rudiments of learning. Galway was, at that period, and for many years, the second town in Ireland, and in some points, the rival of Dublin. So early as 1608, Alexander Lynch, who is traditionally said to have been father of our author, had no less than 1200 scholars from all parts of Ireland, even from the other towns, and the Pale. In 1615 the school was suppressed by Ussher, who has given a high character of the master; but the suppression was only temporary; for it is probable that, notwithstand-

ing the enactment of a penal Statute in 1634, Galway was never without a Catholic school down to the capture of the town by Cromwell's forces. It appears from Dr. Lynch's works, that Nicholas Skerrett, Archbishop of Tuam, and other dignitaries, had taught schools there in the worst times; thus combining, like many of their colleagues, whenever it was practicable, the two professions of school-master and priest.

“I have not been able to ascertain from any of his writings how many years our author remained in France, or in what colleges he graduated; but he was probably ordained priest about the year 1622, for he had laboured thirty years on the Irish mission before 1652. He had celebrated mass ‘in secret places and private houses’ before the opening of the Catholic churches in 1642. Like many of his predecessors in Galway, he taught school, and acquired a great reputation for classical learning.”—pp. iii.-v.

During the troubled years, from 1641 to 1650, he took no public part in political affairs. But he approved of the policy pursued by the Ormond party of the confederates, and condemned the extreme measures of the Nuncio, and those who acted with him. “On the surrender of Galway, in 1652, Dr. Lynch fled to France, one of those fugitives whom he describes so feelingly in this work, as scattered to the four winds of heaven by the English Puritans. The particulars of his life in exile are unknown. But as some of his works were printed at St. Malo's, we may infer that he had taken refuge on the borders of Brittany, where the States allotted public support to the Irish exiles. His kinsman, Andrew Lynch, Bishop of Kilfenora, resided at St. Malo's, and was visited there in 1661 by Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala, and uncle of Dr. Lynch. Some of these clerical exiles were engaged in professional duties, but our author's time must have been devoted to his books.”—p. vii.

We would gladly transcribe the editor's able and judicious account of the various works published by the subject of his memoir. But it would carry us far beyond our prescribed limits. It would be unjust, however, not to give him an opportunity of explaining his views upon the work to which he has devoted so much care and research, and on the subject of which few are competent to speak with so much authority.

“In 1662, his great work, ‘*Cambrensis Eversus*,’ was published under the name of ‘*Gratianus Lucius*.’ His motives in composing

it may be learned from the first chapter. Though they may appear now not to differ from those which suggest an ordinary literary project, it is certain that the want of some work of the kind had long been felt as a national calamity. From the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, the national antipathy of England to everything Irish was roused into aggressive acerbity, and soon found an exponent in the literature of the day. The publication of Giraldus Cambrensis imparted fresh vigour to this spirit, for, whatever Camden or Ussher might prove to the contrary, he was the popular oracle, especially with the small minority of new settlers in Ireland who profited by slander. To meet that fell temper which at last demanded, by the potent voice of Milton, nothing less than the extirpation of the Irish, the Catholic prelates, in their first breathing moment, resolved to publish, at the public expense, a defence of the history of Ireland. The resolution was not carried into effect, and it devolved on our author, alone and in exile, to execute the task. How he has acquitted himself the reader may judge from the present volume, though it is far less interesting than the remaining chapters of the work. Throughout the whole work, he proves himself superior to the fatal animosities and prejudices which had so long divided the two great branches of the Irish family. Taught, perhaps, by bitter experience, and beholding the Irish, old and new, involved in indiscriminate ruin, pining at home under the soldiers of Cromwell, or begging their bread abroad from foreigners, who must have despised them for their frantic discords, he holds the balance even between both races. He does fair justice to the old Irish, and even appears to bear heavily on his own Anglo-Irish family, by copying the political tracts of Sir John Davis, which, however valuable in general, have all the characteristic faults of government reports, ordered for special objects. He saw clearly enough that a new era was opening on his country, when landlords were to become tenants, and masters slaves, and victorious Puritan soldiers were to become the fathers of a new aristocracy, not less ferocious than Strongbowians in the field, and more unscrupulous in extorting the fruits of their victory.

“ However our author may have hoped to have buried the old domestic feuds, it was his lot to be involved in them very speedily. For, while he was putting the last hand to his work, and perhaps congratulating himself on that learned chapter, in which he proves, by such an imposing array of precedents, drawn from the history of every country in Europe, that the Anglo-Irish are really Irish, and ought to be called so, a work was presented to the Propaganda, in 1659, by one of the old Irish race. It was an elaborate impeachment of the whole Anglo-Irish family, a kind of supplement to the Remonstrance of Domhnall O'Neill, in the fourteenth century, but urging accusations far more momentous. There could be no peace, it declared, until the Anglo-Irish had been corrected or expelled.

They had supported heresy under Elizabeth, and by their half-measures in the late war had ruined Ireland. Dr. Lynch stood forward as the apologist of his race. In an exceedingly rare and valuable book, he reviews Anglo-Irish history, indignantly rejects the name of *Anglo-Irishman*, extols the superiority of his race; their greater wealth, power, and civilization; their stately cities and fertile lowlands; their fidelity to their faith, which so many of them had defended by their writings, or sealed by their blood; and, what accords badly with modern flimsy theories, their numerical superiority. It must be admitted that the ardour of controversy hurries him into some statements which his cooler judgment rejects in the '*Cambrensis Eversus*;' but, as a history of the Anglo-Irish race, especially of their anomalous position under Elizabeth, the *Alithonologia* has no rival. It is in that work that he gives his opinion on the history of the Irish Catholics, and sketches of most of their leading men, from 1641 to 1652. His loyalty, of course, is of true Anglo-Irish burgher stamp, but never descends to that erastian compliance which secularized the Church without serving the country in Catholic times, and which, in his own day, for a gleam of royal favour, was but too ready to sell ecclesiastical rights. In point of style, the work combines, with the good qualities of *Cambrensis Eversus*, the vigour and fire of animated controversy; while, in moderation, it presents a favourable contrast with most of the politico-religious literature of the age on both sides of the Irish sea."—pp. viii.—x.

Among the sources from which these hints for Dr. Lynch's biography are in part derived, is a short poem which he wrote in 1667.

"In the same year he wrote a pathetic poem, in answer to the question, 'Why do you not come home to Ireland?' It is a mirror of his feelings in exile, and peculiarly interesting, because it is the only work in which we see himself. He would not return, he says, because, broken down by age and infirmities, he would be a burden to himself and others; he could not bear to see reduced to beggary those whose opulence and public spirit had adorned his native town; he could not exchange the free altars and noble churches of France for the garret chapels and dingy hiding places in Ireland; nor behold the churches, where he had officiated for ten years, transferred to another worship: finally, his writings had given offence to the father of some person then in power; and, though many of the nobles were inclined to protect him, the son might sacrifice him to the vengeance of the father. This dreaded personage was probably the Governor of Galway, a son of Sir Charles Coote; for Dr. Lynch denounced, in no measured terms, the sanguinary deeds of Sir Charles and of his accomplices. From the chronological notices of his own labours in the exordium of the

poem, one might conclude, at first sight, that it was intended for publication (though it was only addressed to a friend); but when we remember that he studiously abstains from all allusion to himself in his published works, and published nearly all of them anonymously, we must rather regard the letter as the sincere apology of a noble-hearted and sensitive priest, for not encountering in his old age the perils of the Irish mission, on the grounds that he had laboured there during thirty years of his prime, and, moreover, that he had leisure in a foreign land to devote the remainder of his days to the literature of his country."—pp. xi.-xii.

Mr. Kelly has placed beyond all further question, the dispute as to whether Lynch was bishop of Killala.

"Most modern writers state, on the authority of Dr. Burke and Dr. Nicholson, that our author was Bishop of Killala. Dr. Burke certainly calls him Vicar Apostolic of Killala, a title, however, which does not imply that he was bishop, but the contrary, for, in the Catholic Church in Ireland, the vicar apostolic was only a priest. Dr. Nicholson mentions Dr. Lynch twice in the body of his work, once as a 'secular priest,' and again, as 'Archdeacon of Tuam;' in the preface only it is asserted that he was subsequently appointed Bishop of Killala. The authority of Dr. Burke is entitled to respect. Dr. Nicholson might easily have confounded our author with other Lynches. It is certain that Dr. Lynch was not bishop or vicar apostolic in 1665, the date of O'Flaherty's letter to him on Irish chronology; nor in 1669, when the Life of Kirwan was published, the title-page styling him merely Archdeacon of Tuam. It is also certain that he died in France; so that if he ever became vicar apostolic or bishop, it must have been in the seventieth year of his age. Now it is highly improbable that, in times so difficult, an old and infirm man, who had resolved not to return to Ireland, would be selected for the charge of a diocese; and it is more improbable that Dr. Lynch, if he accepted, would remain in France, for he had strict notions of the obligations of chief pastors to encounter all hazards in the discharge of their duty. A conclusive argument may be founded on the fact, that when a Spanish Dominican visited Galway in 1674, to inquire into the pedigree and family of the Lynches, Dr. Lynch's name does not appear as vicar apostolic or bishop, but as the late Archdeacon of Tuam; though, were it in the power of the Lynches to adorn the catalogue of their episcopal connexions by his name, they would not have omitted it, the precise object of the inquisition being to ascertain the respectability of their family in the Catholic Church. Had he been bishop or vicar apostolic, would Peter Walsh cite him repeatedly, in the History of the Remonstrance, as Father John Lynch, and in the preface to the Prospect of Ireland, written in 1682, describe his rank as 'sacerdotal,' the object of the passage

being to magnify *all* Dr. Lynch's claims to respect? Moreover, from Dr. Renchan's comprehensive manuscript History of the Irish Catholic Bishops after the Reformation, it appears that John Babbist de Burgo was Vicar Apostolic of Killala at the very time during which alone Dr. Lynch could have been vicar apostolic. The usual style of an Archdeacon, 'Reverendus admodum,' is prefixed to Dr. Lynch's epitaph, preserved in a copy of his translation of Keating, transcribed by Father John Donnelly, O. S. D., Drogheda, 1712, and now in the possession of Mr. O'Donovan."— pp. xii.-xiv.

The precise year of Lynch's death has not been ascertained. But Mr. Kelly makes it clear that it occurred before 1674, and probably very soon after 1667. From an epitaph composed by his friend and fellow labourer, O'Flaherty, it would appear that it occurred at St. Malo, where his works were published.

It remains that we give a brief account of his most celebrated work, the *Cambrensis Eversus*, which, independently altogether of its polemical value, has long been regarded as one of the chief repertoires of authentic information on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland. It is a much more comprehensive, more detailed, and more orderly reply to Giraldus, than that of White. Perhaps, indeed, the most striking defect of Lynch's work, and the worst obstacle to its popularity, is the very detail into which he has thought it necessary to pursue his adversary. Those who are acquainted with the discursive and episodal character of the original work, will easily form an idea of the tiresome prolixity which a detailed and minute reply will entail upon his antagonist. It is true that Lynch has endeavoured to obviate this by systematizing and classifying the statements of his opponent; but he acknowledges, in his introductory chapter, that "this order is not invariably observed," and that "into whatever wilds and thickets the rambling and repeated digressions of the original stray, there his pen turns and pursues him." (p. 111.) The main plan on which his work is arranged, comprises first, a general examination of Giraldus's character and capabilities as a historian; secondly, an enquiry into the justice of his description of the soil and climate of Ireland; thirdly, a refutation of his calumnies upon the Irish people, kings, and princes; fourthly, a reply to his charges against the Irish prelates and clergy; and lastly, a refutation of his false statements regarding the Irish saints. It will be

seen that this complete and comprehensive plan embraces the entire range of Irish history and antiquities, civil and ecclesiastical; and although the arguments are sometimes more ingenious than solid, and the authorities are occasionally not beyond the reach of cavil, nevertheless, when it is recollected how few of the sources of information in either department were at that time printed, and how rare and difficult of access almost all must have been, it is not easy to repress a feeling of astonishment at the variety and extent of learning, which have been brought to bear upon the controversy. Nor is it merely in the immediate subject of his enquiry, that the author's various and extensive erudition is displayed. Few writers of his time have exhibited such familiarity with classical and miscellaneous literature, though sometimes, it is true, disfigured by a tinge of pedantry and puerility. The Greek and Latin historians, the ancient poets and philosophers, appear to have been completely at his command for the purpose of argument or illustration: and it will generally be found that, on every subject which he treats, he has made himself master of the best and most popular modern authorities received in his day.

Of the thirty-two chapters into which the reply to Cambrensis is divided, Mr. Kelly's first volume comprises only eight; but as the first volume contains a great deal of extra matter—the editor's introduction and appendix, and Lynch's original Dedicatory Letter to Charles II.,* (which occupies nearly a hundred pages,)—the remainder of the work will be comprised in two volumes of the same size as the present. We shall proceed to give an account of the chapters now before us, which are, for the most part, occupied with the general discussion of Giraldus's credibility as a historian, reserving for a future notice, the consi-

* An exceedingly vigorous and powerful, though most temperate appeal to the king, on the condition of the Irish Catholics at that period. It is a historical document of great interest and importance; and the Editor has greatly enhanced its interest by appending to it, a nearly contemporary report on the state and condition of the Catholics of Ireland, from 1652 to 1656, written by Father Quin, the Superior of the Irish Jesuits. This important paper is one of many exceedingly valuable unpublished documents of the same period, which the Editor has collected, and which it is hoped will form an early volume of his projected series, of which White's Apology is the first specimen.

deration of many interesting points, and especially of the celebrated bulls of Adrian IV. and Alexander III.

On the first chapter we shall not dwell. It is a brief introduction, containing an account of the "Topography" and the "Conquest," and of the controversies which they had occasioned. The second and third, however, though professing nothing more than a stricture on the titles which Giraldus had selected, "*Topography of Ireland*," and "*Conquest of Ireland*," are, in reality, full of most valuable and instructive information. Both are well deserving of an attentive study, and the editor's copious and erudite annotations have rendered this an easy and agreeable task. We could hardly hope, by a specimen, to give a satisfactory idea of the second chapter, which is topographical; but the third, which discusses the propriety of the title "Conquest," is, in the highest degree, interesting and popular in its character. Applying to Ireland the ordinary test of conquest, viz., that the inhabitants of the country "should be either extirpated, or compelled to adopt the language, dress, and laws of their conquerors," the author enters in a most minute and learned survey of the condition of Ireland in these particulars, during the four centuries after the English invasion; and however idle and unprofitable the discussion may appear for its own sake, the historical materials which are brought to bear upon it are, in themselves, extremely interesting and pleasingly arranged. We can give but a few specimens. No apology, however, will be necessary for the length of the following passage on the Irish language.

"The Irish language, certainly, has no peculiar aptitude for treasonable machinations, nor is it devoid of characteristic excellencies: surpassing in gravity the Spanish, in elegance the Italian, in colloquial charm the French, it equals, if it does not surpass, the German itself in inspiring terror. From the lips of the Irish preacher it is a bolt to arrest the evil-doer in the career of guilt, and to allure, by its soft and insinuating tones, to the paths of virtue. It is one of the original languages of Europe. Scaliger mentions eleven: Latin, Greek, Teutonic, Slavonian, Epirote, Tartar, Hungarian, Finnish, Irish, Basque, and Welsh. But can there be any doubt of the excellencies of the Irish, when Stanihurst himself admits that it is sententious and expressive, and a good vehicle for the keen apophthegm and the delicate allusion? 'I have been long convinced,' he says in his Latin work, 'by the authority of the most competent judges, that the Irish abounds in sonorous and expressive words, in pointed and exquisite diction,

and is, in fine, connected with the Hebrew language by a common bond of affinity.' The witticism, the jest, and the epigram, it expresses briefly; and in the hands of the poet, it is so pliant and flexible, that the *Uraiceacht* lays down rules for more than a hundred different kinds of metre; so that, in the opinion of men who are well acquainted with several languages, Irish poetry does not yield, either in variety, construction, or polish of its metres, to the poetry of any nation in Europe. Spenser himself corroborates this opinion, when he says: 'I have caused divers of Irish poems to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, and surely they savoured of sweet wit and good invention; they were sprinkled with some pretty flowers of natural device, which gave good grace and comeliness unto them.'

"Stanihurst, however, strains every nerve to depreciate its merits, and declares it to be so excessively difficult, that no stranger can ever acquire a knowledge of it; though, within my own memory, Sir Matthew de Rienzi, a native of Cologne, was so profoundly versed in it, that he compiled an Irish Grammar. He then tells a story of a certain person in Rome, who was possessed by the devil, and who, although she could speak all other languages, either could not or would not speak Irish; because, as Stanihurst jocularly observes, a language so sacred should not be profaned by so unhallowed lips; or rather, as he insinuates, because it was so uncouth and barbarous, that the devil himself could not master it. This unfavourable judgment on the Irish must be attributed to Stanihurst's ignorance; like the Spaniard, who thought the German was so rough and harsh, that it must have been the language spoken by God, when he wished to prove and strike greater terror into Adam. But a German retorted, by declaring his belief that the Spanish language was so insinuating and pompous, that it must have been the one spoken by the serpent, when he lured Eve to her ruin, by the captious snares of fraud and crafty suggestions..

"A proof of the sweetness, rather than of the harshness of the Irish language, may be deduced from Stanihurst's complaint, that the Irish was a greater favourite with the colonists of the English Pale, than the English ever was with the Irish. For while he admits that the Irish disdained to strain their jaws by speaking English, he complains bitterly that his own countrymen were not so averse to the Irish, and that they quivered their tongues speaking it; but it appears he forgot what Barnabas Rich assures us was a common saying in Ireland: 'that ten Englishmen would adopt Irish, for the one Irishman who would adopt English habits.' Stanihurst adds, that the inhabitants of the cities, Fingall, Meath, Louth and Wexford counties, spoke English; but that the unadulterated and national language of all other parts of Ireland was that Irish language which all of us, to this day, drink in on our mother's breasts. Except the inhabitants of Dublin, Drogheda, and Wexford, and their immediate vicinities, the only knowledge we have of

English is what we learn in schools. Thus, as Quintilian says, 'he wished the pupil to commence with the Greek tongue, because the Latin was so generally known, that whether one wished or not he could not but learn it,' and as Livy also declares, 'he knew, on the authority of Roman writers, that the boys were formerly instructed in Etruscan, as they were in his days in Greek;' so the first language we learn in schools is a foreign language, because our own is so familiar to us. We all speak Irish, and many of us can read and write English; but some persons, in their riper years, fascinated by the sweetness of their native tongue, turn to read and write Irish."—pp. 183-191.

A special chapter,—the thirteenth,—(not yet translated,) is devoted to a description and defence of the Irish press. In the passage before us, Lynch confines himself to a simple statement with reference to the point at issue.

"The adoption of the English dress supplies no better proof of the conquest of Ireland by the English. It is only within my own days that English dress has been commonly worn. We never were victims of such fickleness that, like Proteus, we should be constantly changing our dress, according to the fleeting fashions daily imported from England. Barnabas Rich very properly declared 'that he was not such an enemy to the prosperity of Irishmen as to advise them to conform to all English fashions. Hardly can you find a single carrier going from Chester to Dublin who does not import different fashions of dress, both for men and for women, from England. The Irish are proud and enthusiastic, but they are not fickle enough to accommodate themselves rashly to every whim of fashion.'"—pp. 193-195.

On the third test, the adoption of English law, he is more diffuse.

"But, suppose for a moment, that the adoption of the invader's laws, by the invaded nation, were an unquestionable proof of subjugation, still it is perfectly evident that for full four hundred years after the descent of the invaders on the Irish shores, Ireland could not be said to be conquered: for, during that whole interval, the Irish paid no obedience to English laws. 'Henry II., it is true, held that assembly at Lismore, in which,' as Matthew Paris tells us, 'the laws of England were gratefully accepted, and confirmed by the sanction of an oath.' John, in the twelfth year of his reign, A. D. 1211, introduced English laws and customs into Ireland, and appointed magistrates to administer them: 'He brought with him discreet men and learned in the law, by whose common counsel he ordered and enacted the establishment of English laws in Ireland.' Henry III., in the eleventh year of his reign, A. D. 1227, confirmed to his subjects in Ireland the enjoyment of those privileges which

he and his father had granted, 'ordering that all the laws and customs in force in England should be established and obeyed in the land of Ireland.' But those laws were confined to the narrow limits of the English provinces, and did not extend to the other districts of Ireland. Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Louth, formed the English province, beyond which, English laws were not observed; so that, in the year 1522, the thirteenth of Henry VIII., a complaint was made that beyond those counties English laws were not in force, and that Irish laws reigned supreme and without a rival; and even in considerable districts of these four counties, namely, half of Dublin and Meath, and one-third of Louth and Kildare, Irish laws were predominant. Such were the confined limits from which Parliaments were summoned; beyond them the king's writ was powerless; so that the English never had full possession of even one-third part of Ireland. 'King John, it is true, in the year already mentioned, divided all the territories of his Irish lordship into twelve counties in Leinster and Munster, namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Tipperary. In these only were the English laws published and put in execution, and in these only did the itinerant judges make their circuits and visitation of justice, and not in the counties possessed by the Irish, which contained two-third parts of the kingdom at least; even the four last-named counties, after a short time, embraced Irish law, which, being thus excluded only from that little corner, the English Pale, ruled supreme over every other part of Ireland.'—pp. 199-201.

And on the famous "Black Mail," levied by the Irish chiefs.

"The Irish chiefs, moreover, levied on the inhabitants of the English Pale the tribute known by the name of the 'black rent,'—a tribute which no parliament disputed before the year 1537, the 28 Henry VIII. But in that same parliament it was ordained, that homicides committed within the dominions of Irish princes should be punished with a fine of forty pounds, half of which went to the King of England, the other half to the Irish chieftain. At the same time it was ordered, that all thefts of sums below fourteen pence should be punished with fines of five marks, of which twenty-six shillings and eight-pence went to the Irish chieftain, and twenty shillings to his tanist, or appointed successor; the English themselves thus expressly recognising the right of the Irish prince to have his own laws and tributes within his own territories. The relations between the two races were regulated by formal treaties of peace; thus we find the English sometimes coming to the aid of Irish princes. 'Ralph Ufford, the Justiciary of Ireland, entered Ulster, deposed Henry King of Ulster, and placed Aedh O'Neill on the throne.' Again: 'After the savage murder of Conall

O'Mordha, lord and chieftain of his land, the English, with the consent of the natives, elected his eldest son, Rory, and brought an army to his support, against his uncle, David, a wealthy man and the most powerful in the country, who had treacherously seized on the principality.'—pp. 203-205.

The origin of this singular tribute is uncertain. It is certain that Mac Murrough received eighty marks from the Exchequer, from the reign of Edward III; and the various amounts, paid in the year 1515, are stated in a note, on the authority of the State Papers, (ii. part iii., p. 9.) Thus O'Connor received £300 from Meath and £20 from Kildare; O'Neill of Clannaboy, £40 from the Barony of Lecale, in Down; O'Neill, of Tyrone, £40 from Louth; O'Carroll, £40 from Kilkenny; the great O'Brien, £40 from Limerick, which paid the same amount also to O'Brien of Arragh; and Mac Murrough, £40 from Wexford, and eighty marks from the Exchequer.

It is in this chapter, in applying that test of conquest, which consists in the disappearance or extirpation of the original inhabitants of the invaded country, that Lynch introduces the well-known topographical poem of O'Dugan. In the illustration of this portion of the work, Mr. Kelly has availed himself of the invaluable services of Mr. O'Donovan; and thus the topographical notes of the third chapter form, in many particulars, a valuable supplement to the topography of O'Donovan's great work, "the Annals of the Four Masters."

But it is in the fourth and following chapters that Lynch addresses himself directly to the question, how far, upon the recognized principles of criticism, the credibility of Giraldus as a historian can be reasonably admitted. There is no part of the *Cambrensis Eversus* which displays so much miscellaneous reading, nor is there any that places in a more favourable light the purely literary capabilities of the author. Through three chapters of vigorous and elaborate invective, illustrated by frequent and apposite illustrations from ancient and modern historical literature, he demonstrates the utter untrustworthiness of the Welsh historian. He was ignorant of the Irish language, and unacquainted with and regardless of the sources of authentic information on Irish history and antiquities;—he had never visited more than one-third of the country which he undertook to describe; his residence there was short, and his time, brief as it was, otherwise

occupied during his stay;—his statements rested on the authority of his own countrymen, interested witnesses, like himself;—he was a bitter enemy of Ireland and of the Irish;—so bitter as to have deliberately counselled the extirpation of the entire race, if their opposition could not be otherwise broken down;—he was of a turbulent, litigious, malignant disposition;—he was vain, egotistical, credulous in all save what was creditable to Ireland;—he was inconsistent and self-refuted; his pen was prostituted to the service of his friendships and his enmities; none more fulsome in the praises of his friends, none more malignant and unrelenting in the vituperation of his enemies. Even of the same individual his judgments varied as his interests or his prejudices would appear to suggest. Thus of his first patron, Henry II.

“Besides those lavish panegyrics on his friends, and calumnies against his enemies, he was guilty of other faults inconsistent with the duty of an historian. King Henry the Second was, by turns, the object of his most loathsome adulation, and bitter sarcasms. At one time he was the ‘most invincible King,’ ‘the Alexander of the West, whose victories were known in the whole world, from the Pyrenees on the south, to the extreme verge of the Frozen Ocean on the north.’ He insinuates that ‘the King had gained victories in Eastern Asia, and in Spain; nay, he was ‘a second Solomon’ for mercy, and clemency, and learning, and wisdom; ‘and his very name, though fame had not done it full justice, had curbed the riotous fury of the Gentiles of Asia as well as of Europe.’ Afterwards he calls him ‘a most pious King,’ and ‘a great gift of God to the Irish,’ whose Church and State owed to him alone whatever progress had been made in peace and religion. The oracles themselves are pressed into the panegyric. The prophecies of Ambrosius, Merlin, Giraldus assures us, in a thousand places, were all to be fulfilled in King Henry the Second, while alive.

“But when this King died, the picture is reversed. He is then discovered to have been fickle, and to have disgracefully broken through public covenants, and treaties solemnly guaranteed; he was as liberal and hollow in making promises as he was faithless and treacherous in keeping them; nay, this ‘most pious King’ was the very reverse of piety, and whenever he assisted at mass, would hardly go on his knees even at the elevation of the Host, but spent the whole time in profane conversation. He enriched his dependants with the plunder of the Church, whose property he alienated from its sacred purposes, and perpetrated ‘many other’ enormous crimes. What more? David Powell writes: ‘Giraldus acted a very unfair part towards King Henry: and, in his book on the ‘Education of a Prince,’ launches out into the most scathing in-

vectives ; but the envenomed tone of the attack betrays unmistakable evidence of the rancorous malignity of the writer.'"—pp. 399-401.

It is no wonder that, from all this, he considers himself warranted in concluding (p. 405) that Giraldus stands convicted, even by anticipation, of having indulged his own personal prejudices, and pandered ignominiously to the interests of others.

It is time, however, to have done. But we cannot close without urging the example of Lynch and White, and their illustrious contemporaries, as a motive for combined and zealous exertion for the purpose of securing against the possibility of destruction, and of rendering available for the uses of the student, all that still remains of the scanty materials of our history. It is plain, that whatever may be the historical value of such materials, they never can be expected to possess any interest for the general reader ; nor is there the slightest chance that, as books for popular use, their success could ever repay the enterprise of a publisher. It is only by the combined efforts of literary associations, that the object can be attained ; nor in times such as these, can it be attained, even through them, except at a considerable amount of sacrifice on the part of individual members. Two societies for the publication of the remains of our national literature, —the Irish Archæological and the Celtic—have been in existence for some years in Ireland, and a considerable amount of good has been effected through their instrumentality. But it would be a false sensitiveness to the national honour, to represent either of them, (especially the latter, which, though founded in 1846, did not commence its labours until the unpropitious season of 1847,) as successful ; or rather, to conceal the fact, that neither has received from the Irish public the support to which they are both entitled. A great effort has recently been made to extend the organization of both ; we commend it with all our power to every lover of Irish literature. Most favourable evidences of activity and zeal are observable in them. The Archæological Society, through the munificent liberality of two of its members, has been rescued from most of its difficulties. We will hope the same for the kindred association ; and, indeed, with the unfinished reprint of Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus* upon our shelves,

we cannot bring ourselves to doubt that the Celtic Society will be enabled, by the unabated zeal of its existing members, as well as by the accession of new ones, not only to complete its reprint of this invaluable work, but to realize all the other more sanguine projects for the preservation and popularization of our literature, which, in better and more auspicious times, were the motives of its first foundation.

ART. VII.—*Ballads, Poems, and Lyrics*, by D. F. M'Carthy. Dublin: M'Glashan, 1850.

THE reproach of being *incuriosa suorum* has been often, and with too much justice, affixed to Ireland. Her antiquarians, and men of letters, and benefactors generally, in any noiseless path, have, hitherto at least, had a thankless, and almost preposterous office. It is not that both the taste and the demand for literature do not exist in Ireland in considerable measure, as her book trade may testify; neither is it that we are not vain, even importunately vain, of such celebrities as we have produced. On the contrary, we are everlastingly and loudly insisting on our contributions to English literature; that of the last century, for example. We fight for our part in men whose connection with Ireland was mainly the accidental one of birth, who never loved, and never dreamed of serving, and with scarcely an exception, disliked and despised her. For ourselves, individually, we have but small sympathy with this; nor would we give ourselves any material trouble to make out a score of Congreves and Parnells to have been Irishmen. So it is, however; we claim pertinaciously the Irish talent whose works (like other Irish fabrics of which we have heard) come back to us sealed with the seal of English approbation; but of the talent that stays and works at home we make small account. Of that feeling which the Scotch have manifested, not for Burns and Scott alone, but for their Motherwells, and Hoggs, and Aytouns; which the

Americans, with all their materialism, have even more strikingly exhibited in the case of their own literature,—the joyful recognition of their men of letters, the reception of them with natural partiality and indulgent pride, altogether independent of what strangers might or might not think of them;—of this we, in Ireland, are lamentably destitute. Like Bobus Higgins, we are ready enough to recognize such merit as has got itself recognized in spite of us, and hardly any other. The effect of this in driving Irish intellect to provide for itself in London, and by the ways that London likes, is plain and proved; and the wonder is, that there are found, as, to their eternal honour, there are, men of fine genius and culture, whose love of things Irish is so strong, that they are content to pitch their tents at home, and amid all discouragements address themselves either solely or chiefly to an audience of their countrymen.

Who in Ireland, until very lately, when Mr. Duffy's collection, and the admirable school-books of the Christian Brothers have somewhat diffused them, knew of the poems of Banim or Callanan? Yet one might have expected that Banim's "Soggarth aroon" would have become a household song in every cottage in Ireland, and that every boy would know by heart that most beautiful of ballads,

"There is a green island in lone Gongane Barra
Where Allua of Song rushes forth like an arrow."

There too is Samuel Ferguson. Eighteen years ago he wrote a poem ("the Forging of the Anchor") which was published in Blackwood's Magazine, and was received with universal admiration in Scotland and England, and has been since, over and over again, applauded and transcribed. Beyond question a high literary career was then open to Mr. Ferguson in England, if he had chosen to avail himself of it. He did not so choose; he withdrew himself almost altogether from the field of purely English composition; and with what aim? That he might devote himself to objects exclusively Irish,—that he might imbue himself thoroughly with the spirit of Irish antiquity, and be a pioneer in prose and verse, of a peculiar literature for his country. In this he has entirely succeeded. Some of his later compositions, far transcending in literary merit "the Forging of the Anchor," or any of his earlier poems, are

yet so completely Irish in tone and spirit, that it is probable they will never be thoroughly relished elsewhere. The services which Mr. Ferguson has rendered to Irish literature, if there is to be ever anything worthy of the name, are nearly inappreciable. Yet how limited is the circle of his fame compared with what it would have been, under similar circumstances, in almost any other country one can think of!

Poor Clarence Mangan sleeps in his unhonoured grave, unknown, or nearly so; yet who in these later days surpassed him in poetical endowment, in flexibility, in command of winged words, in the power of rendering the thoughts and feelings of many lands? Above all, who has equalled him in capacity to pourtray the broken-hearted spirit of Ireland, such as it was after the fatal wars of the revolution? He gives us the very soul of the poets of that sad time, fitful and desolate as the wailings of an Eolian harp. Such strains harmonized but too well with his own unhappy life, and, now that he is dead, who is there to do justice to his memory?

All this may seem rather a disheartening preface to a notice of so hopeful a volume as that which lies before us; one of the most hopeful and charming that has crossed our path for years. But it is, in truth, because we have been so much delighted with Mr. M'Carthy's verses, because on every account we are so interested in his success, that these feelings of vexation at the past annals of literature in Ireland have been aroused in us. Sure we are, judging not partially, but from a just comparison, that a volume of half the merit, emanating from an English pen and a London publisher, would secure for its author a wide and speedy fame. And though we feel confident, that notwithstanding any discouragement arising from the causes we have mentioned, Mr. M'Carthy will hold a high position in the world of letters, it is natural that the existence of the discouragement should be most painful to us as Irishmen.

This volume consists of Ballads, Lyrics, and miscellaneous Poems, and of translations from all the great European languages;—from the French, Italian, Spanish and German. These latter show, what indeed to any experienced ear is sufficiently attested by his own verses, that Mr. M'Carthy is a cultivated scholar as well as a poet. To this, the perfect *taste* that reigns in every line bears witness. And highly endowed as Mr. M'Carthy is with

other and higher gifts—fancy, tenderness, spirit, deep feeling of beauty, and singular sweetness of metrical rhythm—we could not help being almost chiefly attracted by this tastefulness, which, as it were, gives grace and completeness to them all.

The longer poems are all founded upon Irish traditions, though the first of them, and the one likely to be the greatest favourite, is more an Italian story than an Irish one. Some of our readers may have probably heard the legend of the Bells of Limerick, which the Florentine who cast them found there by accident, in his old age, and died of joy and wonder. Upon this theme Mr. M'Carthy has constructed his poem, of which the scene, until the end, is laid in Italy, and is full of the sunny beauty of the South, but which with admirable art still draws the mind to dwell on Ireland and her miseries. The opening verses, descriptive of the present condition of our country, are beautiful and striking.

“O Erin! thou desolate mother, the heart in thy bosom is sore,
 And wringing thy hands in despair, thou dost roam round the
 plague-stricken shore ;
 Thy children are dying or flying, thy great ones are laid in the
 dust,
 And those who survive are divided, and those who control are
 unjust.
 Wilt thou blame me, dear mother, if, turning my eyes from such
 horrors away,
 I look, through the night of our wretchedness, back to some bright
 vanished day,
 When, though sorrow, which ever is with us, was heavy and dark
 on the land,
 Hope twinkled and shone like a planet, and Faith like a sword in
 the hand ?

“Oft has poverty gnawed at thy bosom, and furrowed thy matronly
 brow,
 But a famine of wisdom and courage thou never hast known until
 now ;
 No blight like to this ever came, though the Spring-tide and
 Summer were cold,
 For the hands of thy young men are empty, and barren the heads
 of the old.
 No fruit from the past has been gathered, no seeds for the future
 are sown,
 But like children or idiots we live on the crumbs of the present
 alone.

Then, mournfulest mother, forgive me, if it be—as it may be—a
 crime
 To fly from the ruin around me, and dream of a happier time.

“Not now rings the song like a bugle 'mid the clashing and splin-
 tering of spears,
 Or the heart-piercing keen of the mourner o'er the graves of green
 Erin of tears ;
 Not to strengthen the young arm of freedom, nor to melt off old
 slavery's chain,
 But to flow through the soul in its calmness, like a stream o'er the
 breast of a plain.
 Changing, though calm be its current, from its source to its haven
 of rest,
 Flowing on through fair Italy's vineyards to the emerald fields of
 the west—
 A picture of life and its pleasures, its troubles, its cradle and
 shroud,
 Now bright with the glow of the sunshine, now dark with the gloom
 of the cloud.”—p. 5.

There is a strong temptation upon us to quote the verses descriptive of the love and the blessed labours, and at last the peaceful old age of Paolo the Bell-founder, before the darkness of misfortune fell upon him ; but limited as we are, we can only give the last scene, briefly, yet fully told.

“A bark bound for Erin lay waiting, he entered like one in a
 dream ;
 Fair winds in the full purple sails led him soon to the Shannon's
 broad stream.
 'Twas an evening that Florence might envy, so rich was the lemon-
 hue'd air,
 As it lay on lone Scatterry's island, or lit the green mountains of
 Clare ;
 The wide-spreading old giant river rolled its waters as smooth and
 as still
 As if Oonagh, with all her bright nymphs, had come down from
 the far fairy hill,
 To fling her enchantments around on the mountain, the air, and
 the tide,
 And to soothe the worn heart of the old man who looked from the
 dark vessel's side.

“Borne on the current, the vessel glides smoothly but swiftly
 away,
 By Carrigaholt, and by many a green sloping headland and bay,

'Twi'xt Cratloe's blue hills and green woods, and the soft sunny
 shores of Tervoe,
 And now the fair city of Limerick spreads out on the broad bank
 below ;
 Still nearer and nearer approaching, the mariners look o'er the
 town,
 The old man sees nought but St. Mary's square tower, with its
 battlements brown.
 He listens—as yet all is silent, but now, with a sudden surprise,
 A rich peal of melody rings from that tower through the clear
 evening skies !

“ One note is enough—his eye moistens, his heart, long so wither'd
 outswells,
 He has found them—the sons of his labour—his musical, magical
 bells !
 At each stroke all the bright past returneth, around him the sweet
 Arno shines,
 His children—his darling Francesca—his purple-clad trellis of
 vines !
 Leaning forward, he listens—he gazes—he hears in that wonderful
 strain
 The long-silent voices that murmur, ‘ Oh, leave us not father,
 again !’
 'Tis granted—he smiles—his eye closes—the breath from his white
 lips hath fled—
 The father has gone to his children—the old Campanaro is dead !”
 p. 25-27.

“ The Foray of Con O'Donnell” is a story of a very different kind—a picture of the wild stirring life of the Irish chiefs and clans in the fifteenth century. It is founded upon a passage in the annals of the Four Masters, relating how Con, the son of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, made an onslaught on Mac John of the Glynnnes, (descendant of the Scottish islesmen), upon this ground of quarrel—that he had heard that Mac John possessed the finest wife, steed, and hound in that part of the country, which seemed to Con an intolerable insult to himself. “ He had,” says the annalist very naively, “ sent a messenger for the steed before that time, and was refused, *although Con had at the same time promised it to one of his own people.*” For this most unreasonable refusal O'Donnell attacked the Scotsman's castle with a “ small powerful force,” plundered it, and robbed him of wife, horse, and hound, but had the grace afterwards to restore the first.

Any one with half an eye to the capabilities of Ballad materials, must see what an admirable theme this affords; and Mr. M'Carthy has certainly done it every justice. He is however, as he admits, rather too tender to the memory of Con, for he makes him restore, not merely the lady, but (with a chivalry perhaps befitting a Frankish knight, but hardly a Gaelic chieftain any more than a Homeric Hero) send back all the plunder, and moreover load Mac John with voluntary gifts, and strike a league of perpetual amity with him. In the ballad the envy of Con is supposed to have been excited by a bard, who, when asked to praise the dames and steeds of Tirhugh, broke out instead into successive songs containing impassioned eulogies of those which John Mac Donnell possessed. These songs of the bard seem to us the best portion of the poem—most spirited and most musical. The first of them is, as is meet, in praise of Mac John's wife.

“ O Con, benevolent hand of peace !
 O tower of valour firm and true !
 Like mountain fawns, like snowy fleece,
 Move the sweet maidens of Tirhugh.
 Yet though through all thy realm I've strayed,
 Where green hills rise and white waves fall,
 I have not seen so fair a maid
 As once I saw by Cushendall.

“ O Con, thou hospitable Prince !
 Thou, of the open heart and hand,
 Full oft I've seen the crimson tints
 Of evening on the western land.
 I've wandered north, I've wandered south,
 Throughout Tirhugh in hut and hall,
 But never saw so sweet a mouth
 As whispered love by Cushendall.

“ O Con, munificent in gifts !
 I've seen the full round harvest moon
 Gleam through the shadowy autumn drifts
 Upon the royal rock of Doune.
 I've seen the stars that glittering lie
 O'er all the night's dark mourning pall,
 But never saw so bright an eye
 As lit the glens of Cushendall.

“ ‘I’ve wandered with a pleasant toil,
 And still I wander in my dreams ;
 Even from thy white-stoned beach, Loch Foyle,
 To Desmond of the flowing streams.
 I’ve crossed the fair green plains of Meath,
 To Dublin held in Saxon thrall ;
 But never saw such pearly teeth,
 As her’s that smiled by Cushendall.

“ ‘O Con ! thou’rt rich in yellow gold,
 Thy fields are filled with lowing kine,
 Within thy castles wealth untold,
 Within thy harbours fleets of wine ;
 But yield not, Con, to worldly pride,
 Thou may’st be rich, but hast not all ;
 Far richer he who for his bride
 Has won fair Anne of Cushendall.

“ ‘She leans upon a husband’s arm,
 Surrounded by a valiant clan,
 In Antrim’s Glynnnes, by fair Glenarm,
 Beyond the pearly-paven Bann ;
 Mid hazel woods no stately tree
 Looks up to heaven more graceful-tall,
 When summer clothes its boughs, than she,
 Mac Donnell’s wife of Cushendall !’ ”—p. 49-51.

It will be observed with what art Mr. M'Carthy renders and blends into his lines modes of expression peculiarly Irish. The use of Irish phrases in the original language itself has been not uncommon in our poetry of late years, but we think with very questionable taste. Such things, except the words used, are so familiar as to have become almost naturalized, have a piebald and very artificial appearance. Far more natural and far more effective is it to give us the Irish *idiom* in the English tongue ; and thus, without the incongruity of a composition written *canusini more bilinguis* give us not merely the feelings, but the very words of the Celtic minstrels.

“The Voyage of St. Brendan” is the longest, the most laboured, and in our judgment the most successful of all these poems. It is based upon the legend of St. Brendan sailing in the sixth century westward from Ireland, in quest of that “island of the Blest” which tradition had placed there ; and at length meeting with a vision of

Paradise, far across the Atlantic waters. There is a wonderfully even, melodious, and stately flow in this poem. We quote the very opening—the beautiful address of St. Brendan to his foster-mother and teacher, St. Ita.

- “ O Ita ! Mother of my heart and mind—
 My nourisher—my fosterer—my friend,
 Who taught me first, to God's great will resigned,
 Before his shining altar-steps to bend.
 Who poured his word upon my soul like balm,
 And on mine eyes, what pious fancy paints—
 And on mine ear the sweetly-swelling psalm,
 And all the sacred knowledge of the saints.
- “ Who but to thee, my mother, should be told,
 Of all the wonders I have seen afar ?—
 Islands more green, and suns of brighter gold
 Than this dear land, or yonder blazing star ;
 Of hills that bear the fruit-trees on their tops,
 And seas that dimple with eternal smiles ;
 Of airs from heaven that fan the golden crops,
 O'er the great ocean, 'mid the blessed isles !
- “ Thou knowest, O my mother ! how to thee,
 The blessed Ercus led me when a boy,
 And how within thine arms and at thy knee,
 I learned the lore that death cannot destroy ;
 And how I parted hence with bitter tears,
 And felt when turning from thy friendly door,
 In the reality of ripening years,
 My paradise of childhood was no more.
- “ I wept—but not with sin such tear-drops flow,
 I sighed—for earthly things with heaven entwine ;
 Tears make the harvest of the heart to grow,
 And love, though human, is almost divine.
 The heart that loves not knows not how to pray ;
 The eye can never smile that never weeps ;
 'Tis through our sighs Hope's kindling sunbeams play,
 And through our tears the bow of Promise peeps.
- “ I grew to manhood by the western wave,
 Among the mighty mountains on the shore ;
 My bed the rock within some natural cave,
 My food, whate'er the seas or seasons bore ;

My occupation, morn and noon and night :
 The only dream my hasty slumbers gave,
 Was Time's unheeding, unreturning flight,
 And the great world that lies beyond the grave.

“ And thus, where'er I went, all things to me
 Assumed the one deep colour of my mind ;
 Great nature's prayer rose from the murmuring sea,
 And sinful man sighed in the wintry wind.
 The thick-veiled clouds by shedding many a tear,
 Like penitents, grew purified and bright,
 And, bravely struggling through earth's atmosphere,
 Passed to the regions of eternal light.

“ I loved to watch the clouds now dark and dun,
 In long procession and funereal line,
 Pass with slow pace across the glorious sun,
 Like hooded monks before a dazzling shrine.
 And now with gentler beauty as they rolled
 Along the azure vault in gladsome May,
 Gleaming pure white, and edged with brodered gold,
 Like snowy vestments on the Virgin's day.

“ And then I saw the mighty sea expand
 Like Time's unmeasured and unfathomed waves,
 One with its tide-marks on the ridgy sand,
 The other with its line of weedy graves ;
 And as beyond the outstretched wave of time,
 The eye of faith a brighter land may meet,
 So did I dream of some more sunny clime
 Beyond the waste of waters at my feet.

“ Some clime where man, unknowing and unknown,
 For God's refreshing word still gasps and faints :
 Or happier rather some Elysian zone,
 Made for the habitation of his saints ;
 Where nature's love the sweat of labour spares,
 Nor turns to usury the wealth it lends,
 Where the rich soil spontaneous harvest bears,
 And the tall tree with milk-filled clusters bends.

“ The thought grew stronger with my growing days,
 Even like to manhood's strengthening mind and limb,
 And often now amid the purple haze
 That evening breathed upon the horizon's rim—

Methought as there I sought my wished-for home,
 I could descry amid the waters green,
 Full many a diamond shrine and golden dome,
 And crystal palaces of dazzling sheen.

“ And then I longed with impotent desire,
 Even for the bow whereby the Python bled,
 That I might send one dart of living fire
 Into that land, before the vision fled ;
 And thus at length fix thy enchanted shore,
 Hy-Brasail—Eden of the western wave !
 That thou again wouldst fade away no more,
 Buried and lost within thy azure grave.

“ But angels came and whispered as I dreamt,
 ‘ This is no phantom of a frenzied brain—
 God shows this land from time to time to tempt
 Some daring mariner across the main :
 By thee the mighty venture must be made,
 By thee shall myriad souls to Christ be won !
 Arise, depart, and trust to God for aid !’
 I woke, and kneeling cried, ‘ His will be done !’ ”

pp. 73-77.

Of the lyrics and lesser poems, too, a great many are on national themes—the greater part of these inspired by that fervour of patriotic feeling which burst forth so strongly among the young men of Ireland half-a-dozen years ago. The grandest and proudest of them is an historical ballad on the clan with which he himself claims kindred.

“ Oh ! bright are the names of the chieftains and sages,
 That shine like the stars through the darkness of ages,
 Whose deeds are inscribed on the pages of story,
 There for ever to live in the sunshine of glory,
 Heroes of history, phantoms of fable,
 Charlemagne's champions, and Arthur's Round Table ;
 Oh ! but they all a new lustre could borrow
 From the glory that hangs round the name of Mac Caura !

“ Thy waves, Manzanares, wash many a shrine,
 And proud are the castles that frown o'er the Rhine,
 And stately the mansions whose pinnacles glance
 Through the elms of Old England and vineyards of France ;
 Many have fallen, and many will fall,
 Good men and brave men have dwelt in them all,
 But as good and as brave men in gladness and sorrow,
 Have dwelt in the halls of the princely Mac Caura !

“Montmorency, Medina, unheard was thy rank
 By the dark-eyed Iberian and light-hearted Frank,
 And your ancestors wandered, obscure and unknown,
 By the smooth Guadalquiver and sunny Garonne.
 Ere Venice had wedded the sea, or enrolled
 The name of a Doge in her proud ‘Book of Gold ;’
 When her glory was all to come on like the morrow,
 There were chieftains and kings of the clan of Mac Caura !

“Proud should thy heart beat, descendant of Heber,
 Lofty thy head as the shrines of the Guebre,
 Like them are the halls of thy forefathers shattered,
 Like their’s is the wealth of thy palaces scattered.
 Their fire is extinguished—your flag long unfurled—
 But how proud were ye both in the dawn of the world !
 And should both fade away, oh ! what heart would not sorrow
 O’er the towers of the Guebre—the name of Mac Caura !”

pp. 154-55.

Of the other poems we have read with great delight the Bridal of the Year, and Summer Longings, and other lyrics, showing with what a true yet delicate pencil Mr. M'Carthy can paint the beauty of external nature. But we pass over all those for one poem conversant with beauty of another and a better kind—the very soul, as it seems to us, of deep and tender, yet pure and reverential and almost devout affection.

“First loved, last loved, best loved of all I’ve loved !—
 Ethna, my boyhood’s dream, my manhood’s light,—
 Pure angel spirit, in whose light I’ve moved,
 Full many a year, along life’s darksome night !
 Thou wert my star, serenely shining bright
 Beyond youth’s passing clouds and mists obscure ;
 Thou wert the power that kept my spirit white,
 My soul unsoiled, my heart untouched and pure.
 This was the light from Heaven that ever must endure.

“Purest, and best, and brightest, no mishap,
 No chance, or change can break our mutual ties ;
 My heart lies spread before thee like a map,
 Here roll the tides, and there the mountains rise ;
 Here dangers frown and there hope’s streamlet flies,
 And golden promontories cleave the main :
 And I have looked into thy lustrous eyes,
 And saw the thought thou couldst not all restrain,
 A sweet soft sympathetic pity for my pain !

"Dearest and best, I dedicate to thee,
 From this hour forth, my hopes, my dreams, my cares,
 All that I am, and all I e'er may be,—
 Youth's clustering locks, and age's thin white hairs ;
 Thou by my side, fair vision, unawares—
 Sweet saint—shalt guard me as with angel's wings ;
 To thee shall rise the morning's hopeful prayers,
 The evening hymns, the thoughts that midnight brings,
 The worship that like fire out of the warm heart springs.

"Thou wilt be with me through the struggling day,
 Thou wilt be with me through the pensive night,
 Thou wilt be with me, though far, far away
 Some sad mischance may snatch you from my sight.
 In grief, in pain, in gladness, in delight,
 In every thought thy form shall bear a part—
 In every dream thy memory shall unite,
 Bride of my soul! and partner of my heart!
 Till from the dreadful bow flieth the fatal dart!

"Am I deceived? and do I pine and faint
 For worth that only dwells in Heaven above?
 Ah! if thou'rt not the Ethna that I paint,
 Then thou art not the Ethna that I love ;
 If thou art not as gentle as the dove,
 And good as thou art beautiful, the tooth
 Of venom'd serpents will not deadlier prove
 Than that dark revelation ; but, in sooth,
 Ethna, I wrong thee, dearest, for thy name is TRUTH."

pp. 216-17.

The translations, as we said, manifest extensive and varied scholarship: they are also most excellent in their kind, free, faithful, and unconstrained. Among them our preference would be for the Spanish ballads, and the French Pastorals of Audré Chenier, the young poet, our readers remember, who was guillotined during the French Revolution in the very prime of his youth and promise. What is there in pastoral poetry more simple and natural, breathing more of the fragrance of the woods and fields than the following lines?

"Ye know from earliest youth my spirit yields
 To all the rustic charms of hills and fields,
 And how my heart has fed on memories old,
 The rural legends of the age of gold.

Those streams and orchards, Eden's sacred place,—
 The sweet first cradle of the human race ;
 And gentle Ruth, so fair and so forlorn,
 Following the reapers through the prostrate corn ;
 And Joseph seeking upon Sichein's plains
 His shepherd brethren ; and Jacob's pains
 For Rachael suffered,—she the prize and spoil
 Of fifteen years of servitude and toil.
 Ah ! yes, I hope in some sequestered scene,
 Circled with woods and hills and meadows green,
 To have an humble roof,—a limpid spring,
 Whose water, murmuring like a living thing,
 Refreshes in its fruitful plaintive flight
 My orchard trees, my flocks so snowy white ;
 There all forgetting, rich alone in health,
 Far from the proud ennui that waits on wealth,
 To live as they did live long since, we're told,
 Whose names embalmed the sacred pages hold,
 In Babylon's rich plains, the patriarchs of old !—
 There to have friends and children, and a spouse
 Both wise and beautiful. Beneath the boughs
 Of shady woods to wander book in hand,
 To feel within my breast my heart expand
 With peace to which no pleasure can compare !
 O gentle Melancholy ! Goddess fair,
 Of silent caverns and all forest glooms,
 Whose languid charm insensibly consumes
 The heart of him who takes his pensive way
 Along the silent vales at close of day,
 And sees the last of daylight's dying fire,
 And on the distant hills the rosy lights expire :
 In wise enjoyment, silent, thought-possessed,
 Sits down, lets fall his head upon his breast,
 Sees at his feet, within the azure tide,
 Which, like his thoughts, so calm and pure doth glide,
 The sweet reflection of the leafy crowds,
 And hills, and cottage roofs, and purple-fringed clouds."

p. 248-49.

We take our leave of Mr. M'Carthy with the sincere hope of meeting him in these literary paths again. We are greatly mistaken if he be not destined to accomplish something even higher and more creditable to himself and for Irish literature than he has given us here. It is manifest how much his powers have matured since his earliest efforts ; and we know nothing more promising in an author, whether of prose or verse, than that it should be

said of him, as it can be truly said of Mr. M'Carthy, that he has gone on progressively improving, acquiring completeness and finish, while retaining all the fervour of early inspiration. On this account we regard the volume before us not merely as a valuable possession in itself, but as an earnest of better things to come.

ART. VIII. *Discourses addressed to Mixed Congregations.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London: Longman, 1849.

IT is the advantage of the quarterly reviewer in noticing this volume, that he is neither called upon to form an augury as to the success it is likely to meet with, nor to direct his observations towards the main purpose of promoting such success, by recommendations and extracts. He is in a position to treat its signal and almost unprecedented popularity, as an admitted and accomplished fact; and confine himself to such comment on the general contents of the volume, as may, in one way or other, assist readers in their appreciation of it. This task then we shall set ourselves, however briefly and inadequately, to attempt; though in its execution the writer is literally cowed by the feeling, that, incapable as he is rightly to estimate or to sympathise with the deeper and choicer thoughts herein contained, he must altogether confine himself to the more superficial and common-place aspect of the volume; that it is impossible to express naturally his feelings of admiration, without the appearance of lavish and indiscriminate eulogy;—and that a suitable selection of topics is difficult in the extreme, in considering so suggestive a work, a work which so sets the mind a-thinking, and leads it into so inexhaustible a variety of contemplation.

It is difficult to refer these discourses to any common or recognized class. They are not, as one may say, *nakedly* dogmatical; they are not, except in very small part, controversial; they are not, much less, rhetorical. Perhaps, if one were to use one word, one would rather say they are

poetical; they consist in the main, not in the simple and accurate *enunciation* of doctrine, but in the *contemplation* of it; nor is it revealed and supernatural doctrine which alone is contemplated, but fully as much the every-day facts and phenomena around us, as illustrating and bearing upon doctrine. They may be characterized, as containing the *thoughtful Catholic's musings, both on the visible and the invisible world*. Not, of course, that anything like the whole cycle of Catholic doctrine, or anything like the whole cycle of visible facts bearing on that doctrine, is professed to be here; but that such parts as are handled, are handled in such connection with each other as is implied in the above statement.

For it must never be forgotten, that the Catholic Church extends her claims over the visible, no less than the invisible, world. Truth must ever be consistent with itself. That which we see with our natural eyes, and prove by our natural reason, can never be really at variance, (to say the least,) with that which we learn by faith, and see with the spiritually enlightened soul. This is, of course, the basis of what are commonly called the Evidences; the proof of our religion's divine origin, derived from the working of miracles and the fulfilment of prophecy: facts, namely, are adduced under both these heads, which we maintain to be irreconcilable with any other hypothesis than the divine authority of the Church. It is not, however, such facts as these which are treated in the present volume, but matters of a deeper and more recondite nature: the phenomena of the moral world; man's habits and affections; the admeasurement of the conduct of individuals and of society, whether by the true, or by any imaginable, moral standard. And it is involved in the very idea of Catholicism being true, both that such moral phenomena are fully reconcilable with its doctrines, and, moreover, that they cannot possibly be seen in their true colours except under the light of those doctrines. Much more than this, indeed, may be truly maintained; viz.: that the Catholic religion is that hypothesis which alone harmonizes with these phenomena; nay, which alone so much as elicits them in any high perfection. But we will, at present, confine ourselves to the more obvious and undeniable proposition: and it follows at once from that proposition, that there is no one lesson more important for Catholics to learn, than the habit of so regarding the moral world; of habitually

and unceasingly measuring all such phenomena by the standard of the Cross ; of establishing ; so far as their own mind is concerned, the Catholic religion in its just supremacy, by giving it authority to measure by its own laws, and adjust in subordination to its own views, and contemplate in harmony with its own doctrines, all the infinite varieties of human life and conduct. This, then, we say, is one thing which Father Newman has eminently helped them to do.

In illustration of our remarks take such passages as the following :

“ Man must, by the necessity of his nature, look up to something ; and he creates, if he cannot discover, an object for his veneration. He teaches himself, or is taught by his neighbour, falsehoods, if he is not taught truth from above ; he makes to himself idols, if he knows not of the Eternal God and His Saints. Now which of the two, think you, my brethren, have our countrymen? have they possession of the true object of worship, or have they a false one? have they created what is not, or discovered what is? do they walk by the luminaries of heaven, or are they as those who are born and live in caverns, and who strike their light as best they may, by means of the stones and metals of the earth ?

“ Look around, my brethren, and answer for yourselves. Contemplate the objects of this people's praise, survey their standards, ponder their ideas and judgments, and then tell me whether it is not most evident, from their very notion of the desirable and the excellent, that greatness, and goodness, and sanctity, and sublimity, and truth are unknown to them ; and that they do not only not pursue, but do not even admire, those high attributes of the Divine Nature. *This* is what I am insisting on, not what they actually do or what they are, but what they revere, what they adore, what their gods are. Their god is mammon ; I do not mean to say that all seek to be wealthy, but that all bow down before wealth. Wealth is that to which the multitude of men pay an instinctive homage. They measure happiness by wealth ; and by wealth they measure respectability. Numbers, I say, there are, who never dream that they shall be rich themselves, but who still at the sight of wealth feel an involuntary reverence and awe, just as if a rich man must be a good man. They like to be noticed by some particular rich man ; they like on some occasions to have spoken with him, they like to know those who know him, to be intimate with his dependants, to have entered his house, nay, to know him by sight. Not, I repeat, that it ever comes into their mind that such wealth will one day be theirs ; not that they *see* the wealth, for the man who has it may dress, and live, and look like other men ; not that they expect to gain some benefit from it : no, their's is a disinterested homage, it is a homage resulting from an honest, genuine, hearty admiration of wealth

for its own sake, such as that pure love which holy men feel for the Maker of all ; it is a homage resulting from a profound faith in wealth, from the intimate sentiment of their hearts, that, however a man may look,—poor, mean, starved, decrepit, vulgar,—yet, if he be rich, he differs from all others ; if he be rich, he has a gift, a spell, an omnipotence,—that with wealth he may do all things.” (Page 94-96.)

“A great contrast indeed, [with the serious and solemn question, ‘Why am I sent into the world?’] does this vain, unprofitable, yet overbearing world, present with such a question as that. It seems out of place to ask such a question in so magnificent, so imposing a presence as that of the great Babylon. The world professes to supply all that we need, as if we were sent into it for the sake of being sent, and for nothing beyond the sending. It is a great favour to have an introduction to this august world. This is to be our exposition, forsooth, of the mystery of life. Every man is doing his own will here, seeking his own pleasure, pursuing his own ends, and that is why he was brought into existence. Go abroad into the streets of the populous city, contemplate the continuous outpouring there of human energy, and the countless varieties of human character, and be satisfied. The ways are thronged, carriage-way and pavement ; multitudes are hurrying to and fro, each on his own errand, or are loitering about from listlessness or from want of work, or have come forth into the public concourse, to see and to be seen, for amusement, or for display, or on the excuse of business. The carriages of the wealthy mingle with the slow wains laden with provisions or merchandise, the productions of art or the demands of luxury. The streets are lined with shops, open and gay, inviting customers, and widen now and then into some spacious square or place, with lofty masses of brickwork or of stone, gleaming in the fitful sun-beam, and surrounded or fronted with what simulates a garden’s foliage. Follow them in another direction, and you find the whole groundstead covered with the large buildings, planted thickly up and down, the homes of the mechanical arts. The air is filled, below, with a ceaseless, importunate, monotonous din, which penetrates even to your innermost chamber, and rings in your ear, even when you are not conscious of it ; and overhead, with a canopy of smoke, shrouding God’s day from the realms of obstinate sullen toil. This is the end of man ! Or stay at home, and take up one of those daily prints, which are so true a picture of the world ; look down the columns of advertisements, and you will see the catalogue of pursuits, projects, aims, amusements, indulgences which occupy the mind of man. He plays many parts : here he has goods to sell, there he wants employment ; there again he seeks to borrow money, here he offers you houses, great seats or small tenements ; he has food for the million, and luxuries for the wealthy, and sovereign medicines for the credulous, and books, new and cheap, for the inquisitive. Pass on to the news of the day, and you will learn what great men are doing at home and abroad : you will read of wars and rumours of wars ; of debates in the Legislature ; of rising men, and old statesmen going off the scene ; of political contests in this city or that county ;

of the collision of rival interests. You will read of the money market, and the provision market, and the markets for metals; of the state of trade, the call of manufactures, news of ships arrived in port, of accidents at sea, of exports and imports, of gains and losses, of frauds and their detection. Go forward, and you arrive at discoveries in art and science, discoveries (so called) in religion, the court and royalty, the entertainments of the great, places of amusement, strange trials, offences, accidents, escapes, exploits, experiments, contests, ventures. O this curious, restless, clamorous, panting, being, which we call life!—and is there to be no end to all this? is there no object in it? It never has an end, it is its own object!—And now, once more, my brethren, put aside what you see and what you read of the world, and try to penetrate into the hearts, and to reach the ideas and the feelings of those who constitute it; look into them as nearly as you can; enter into their houses and private rooms; strike at random through the streets and lanes, take as they come, palace and hovel, office or factory, and what will you find? Listen to their words, witness, alas! their deeds; you will find in the main the same lawless thoughts, the same unrestrained desires, the same ungoverned passions, the same earthly opinions, the same wilful deeds, in high and low, learned and unlearned; you will find them all to be living for the sake of living; they one and all seem to tell you, ‘We are our own centre, our own end.’ Why are they toiling? why are they scheming? for what are they living? We live to please ourselves; life is worthless except we have our own way; we are not *sent* here at all, but we find ourselves here, and we are but slaves unless we can think what we will, believe what we will, love what we will, hate what we will, do what we will. We detest interference on the part of God or man. We do not bargain to be rich or to be great; but we do bargain, whether rich or poor, high or low, to live for ourselves, to live for the lust of the moment, or according to the doctrine of the hour, thinking of the future and the unseen just as much or as little as we please.”—pp. 112-115.

These passages are, of course, worded under an assumption that Catholicism is true. But we may, for a moment, if we will, remove all doctrinal assumption, even so much as the existence of God; and their chief moral will still remain. For this vast body of Englishmen profess to believe in God, nay, to believe in Christ; and not merely profess, but really *imagine* themselves to believe in Him: and we have thus brought before us the plain undeniable fact, not that the vast majority of men are enslaved to *false* principles, but that they act on no principle whatever; that their whole motives and habits of action are in direct contradiction to doctrines which they actually fancy themselves to hold; in fact, that they never for one moment look steadily in the face their very daily and

hourly habits of life ; never, for one moment, pause to consider what they are doing and what they ought to do ; but are simply drifted along the stream of the world, except on those most frequent occasions when they are carried off their habitual course by each momentary gale of passion or inclination. This is that astonishing fact, which so overwhelms one in looking on the great scene of life, and which leads honest, straightforward atheists, like M. Comte, to believe, (apparently in the most perfect good faith,) that the great majority of men are real atheists, who profess a belief in God, merely as a respectable piece of conventional hypocrisy. If there be a God, one would think it followed immediately from first principles, that He ought to be the main and engrossing Object of our thoughts and affections.

Nor is this all which is brought home to our minds by such passages as the above. It is not merely men's intellectual inconsistency and cowardice, but their restlessness and vanity, which comes before us. All calm, all peace of mind, all self-control, swept away by an eager pursuit after some object of attainment, and yet one such object after another, when attained, so bitterly, and (as one may say,) insultingly unsatisfying. But here is one special and rarely approached excellence of Father Newman's writing. He does not deal in ethical generalities, such as we have just been using, and which have little power either to convince or to persuade ; rather he brings a picture before the mind, wrought out in full detail, in light and shadow, and with living figures, as it were, to illustrate it ; and the whole, all the while, in such perfect keeping, that it is impossible even for an enemy to accuse him of misstatement or exaggeration. His powers of description, of satire, of discernment of character, all offer their contributions to the sacred cause ; and we see powers of mind, which would have constituted a novelist of the very highest class, uniting in subordination to far higher gifts, and in an infinitely holier service. One cannot express this praise without being reminded of another exquisite passage, in which, by the way, we can hardly help fancying, (considering the locality,) that the proverbial word "Brummagem," was unconsciously in his thoughts. Yet no one can accuse the writer of undue levity ; on the contrary, quite solemn effect pervades the whole.

“Look at that poor profligate in the Gospel, look at Dives; do you think he understood that his wealth was to be spent, not on himself, but for the glory of God?—yet, for forgetting this, he was lost for ever and ever. I will tell you what he thought, and how he viewed things:—he was a young man, and had succeeded to a good estate, and he determined to enjoy himself. It did not strike him that his wealth had any other use than that of enabling him to take his pleasure. Lazarus lay at his gate; he might have relieved Lazarus; *that* was God's will: but he managed to put conscience aside, and he persuaded himself he should be a fool, if he did not make the most of this world, while he had the means. So he resolved to have his fill of pleasure; and feasting was to his mind a principal part of it. ‘He fared sumptuously every day;’ every thing belonging to him was in the best style, as men speak: his house, his furniture, his plate of silver and gold, his attendants, his establishments. Every thing was for enjoyment, and for show too; to attract the eyes of the world, and to gain the applause and admiration of his equals, who were the companions of his sins. These companions were doubtless such as became a young man of such pretensions; they were fashionable men; a collection of refined, high-bred, haughty youths, eating, not gluttonously, but what was rare and costly; delicate, exact, fastidious in their taste, from their very habits of indulgence; not eating for the sake of eating, or drinking for the sake of drinking, but making a sort of science of their sensuality; sensual, carnal, as flesh and blood can be, with eyes, ears, tongue, steeped in impurity, every thought, look, and sense, witnessing or ministering to the evil one who ruled them; yet, with exquisite correctness of idea and judgment, laying down rules for sinning;—heartless and selfish, high, punctilious, and disdainful in their outward deportment, and shrinking from Lazarus, who lay at the gate as an eye-sore, who ought for the sake of decency, to be put out of the way. Dives was one of them, and so he lived his short span, thinking of nothing, loving nothing, but himself, till one day he got into a fatal quarrel with one of his godless associates, or he caught some bad illness; and then he lay helpless on his bed of pain, cursing fortune and his physician, that he was no better, and impatient that he was thus kept from enjoying his youth, trying to fancy himself mending when he was getting worse, and disgusted at those who would not throw him some word of comfort in his suspense, and turning more resolutely from his Creator in proportion to his sufferings:—and then at last his day came, and he died, and (O miserable!) was buried in hell. And so ended he and his mission.

“This was the fate of your pattern and idol, O ye, if any of you be present, young men, who, though not possessed of wealth and rank, yet affect the fashions of those who have them. You, my brethren, have not been born splendidly or nobly; you have not been brought up in the seats of liberal education; you have no high connexions;

you have not learned the manners nor caught the tone of good society, you have no share of the largeness of mind, the candour, the romantic sense of honour, the correctness of taste, the consideration for others, and the gentleness, which the world puts forth as its highest type of excellence; you have not come near the courts or the mansions of the great; yet you ape the sin of Dives, while you are strangers to his refinement. You think it the sign of a gentleman to set yourselves above religion, to criticize the religious and professors of religion, to look at Catholic and Methodist with impartial contempt, to gain a smattering of knowledge on a number of subjects, to dip into a number of frivolous publications, if they are popular, to have read the latest novel, to have heard the singer and seen the actor of the day, to be up to the news, to know the names, and if so be, the persons of public men, to be able to bow to them, to walk up and down the streets with your heads on high, and to stare at whatever meets you;—and to say and do worse things, of which these outward extravagancies are but the symbol. And this is what you conceive you have come upon earth for! The Creator made you, it seems, O my children, for this work and office, to be a bad imitation of polished ungodliness, to be a piece of tawdry and faded finery, or a scent which has lost its freshness, and does but offend the sense! O that you could see how absurd and base are such pretences in the eyes of any but yourselves! No calling of life but is honourable; no one is ridiculous who acts suitably to his estate and calling; no one who has good sense and humility, but may in any station of life, be truly well-bred and refined; but ostentation, affectation, and ambitious efforts are in every station of life, high or low, nothing but vulgarities. Put them aside, despise them yourselves, O my very dear sons, whom I love, and whom I would fain serve; O that you could feel that you have souls! O that you would have mercy on your souls! O that, before it is too late, you would betake yourselves to Him who is the Source of all that is truly high and magnificent and beautiful, all that is bright and pleasant, and secure what you ignorantly seek, in Him whom you so wilfully, so awfully despise!”—pp. 120-123.

Another illustration, in a different shape, of this, as it were, open and shameless intellectual inconsistency of men, is the theme of the 13th Discourse,—“the mysteries of nature and of grace.” It is obvious enough indeed, when once brought out, but it seems never remembered, that the doctrines of simple Deism are involved in mysteries, to the full as incomprehensible and as staggering to the reason, as those of the Catholic Church. And yet Englishmen, believing in God almost as a matter of course, never turn their attention to the positive doctrines they hold; the last thing they think of is, to contemplate, meditate on,

and pray to, this Divine Being, Whose existence they so glibly acknowledge. They dream not of the difficulties which surround this belief, to superficial eyes so simple; and hold up the Catholic creed as a very by-word for scorn and derision, because it is made up of mysteries precisely similar in character to those to which they are already pledged. Who could have believed this *possible*, who did not see it to be *true*?

And now, introduce *doctrine* upon the stage; bring in the consideration that there is a God, that He made us to love Him, that He took our nature and died to save us, and that the mass of men have full means of knowing these blessed truths;—in what colour then do all these miserable facts appear, but as an overpowering exhibition of human wickedness and corruption?

But it is not only the harsher side of the picture, to which earnest attention is drawn in these pages. Father Newman dwells, it is true, on the miserable and contemptible hollowness and unreality which characterise human nature as seen in the mass; but he dwells with no less earnestness, and far more as a labour of love, on the unspeakable marvels wrought in and through that nature by Divine grace. And surely, if such miserable phenomena as we have been describing, are indeed almost overwhelming when we contemplate them, and the more we contemplate them the more overwhelming;—the depth, reality, and completeness, of the saintly character, is not one whit less marvellous, and appears the more so the more intimately we become acquainted with each particular of a Saint's life. "No man is a hero to his valet-de-chambre," is a great truth as applied to great men of the world; but it is quite specially and singularly the foulest of libels, when spoken of the Catholic Saint. You will see some man of the world, professing to have his whole soul enkindled and ruled by feelings of the purest patriotism, or again evolving, as from the natural dictates of his own mind, the purest and most disinterested code of moral truth; so pure and disinterested, that, perhaps, he will censure Catholic morality as "relaxed" and "formal," and when you come to know him, you will find him a prey to the most degrading tendencies; unable, most probably, to refrain from unwholesome indulgence in the article of food, painfully solicitous about the cooking of his dishes, quite incapacitated from bearing ordinary sickness with

cheerfulness, or commanding his temper under the little minor miseries of life. You will find him, quite certainly, greedy of present praise, or of posthumous renown, or of station and influence; those childish toys, erected by worldly philosophy into so many idols, and gravely represented as fitting and worthy motives of action.

“It often happens,” says Father Newman, “that those who seem so amiable and good, and so trustworthy, when we only know them from their writings, disappoint us so painfully, if at length we come to have a personal acquaintance with them. We do not recognize in the living being the eloquence or the wisdom which so much enchanted us. He is rude perhaps and unfeeling; he is selfish; he is dictatorial; he is sensual; he is empty-minded and frivolous; while we in our simplicity had antecedently thought him the very embodiment of purity and tenderness, or an oracle of heavenly truth.”—p. 168.

Will it be replied that such failings as these are not found in anti-Catholic teachers alone; but that we ordinary Catholics, who are yet in humble hope of being in the way of salvation, are in our various measures miserably enthralled to them? We admit this fully as a fact, but deny its force as an argument. For we do *not* profess to evolve, as from the natural dictates of our own mind, high and disinterested morality; much less do we profess to be unselfishly patriotic and public-spirited: it is our very boast that we do not *originate* high morality, but learn it at the feet of our infallible Mother; it is our very boast that when we draw bright and glowing pictures of perfection we look out of ourselves for a model; that we look up to that high and glorious catalogue of Saints, who are the very exemplars held up to our veneration by the Church herself. This is the very safeguard of our humility, when, even oppressively conscious of our own unworthiness, we yet venture to take Christian morality as our theme, and extol it, and triumphantly contrast it with the specious and wordy emptiness of human systems; this, that we do *not* preach up ourselves, but the Saints of God: and these, that we may come back to our point, are indeed not exempted only from these weaknesses, but endued also with the opposite virtues, in a degree which worldly men cannot bring themselves even steadily to contemplate, much less to believe. In them we see, for instance, an active devotion and self-immolation for the benefit of their fellow men, incomparably greater in *act*, than worldly

philanthropists so much as dream of in *idea*; and yet, so far from making profession of philanthropy, these supernatural beings look on themselves as the lowest and meanest of mankind. This is that refreshing sight, on which the Christian's eye loves to dwell, when wearied and sickened with the empty pretentious hollowness of the world, and with the ever-continuing, ever-flowing, sinfulness of his own heart. This is that great fact in the visible order of things, which deserves to be placed over against that opposite fact of the world's wickedness, on which we were lately dwelling; and which to many minds is a far more deeply convincing proof of the divinity of Catholicism, than is the great chain of historical and controversial evidence, most powerful and irrefragable though the latter be. And Father Newman has shown no less minute and delicate touches of art in his depicting of this supernatural side of humanity, than of that other natural side: while, in addition to his power of description, another faculty is here called into play; his keen and earnest appreciation of sanctity in every shape. The third sermon on "purity and love" is wholly occupied with a most interesting and (we believe) originally conceived comparison between two great classes, into which the Saints of all ages may be divided, "those two chief classes of saints, whose emblems are the lily and the rose, who are bright with angelic purity, or who burn with divine love." (p. 68.) This whole sermon is of course too long to insert, and it hardly admits of extract; we may here, however, transcribe a passage from another sermon, which will give our readers some notion of the author's deep, and at the same time intelligent devotion to the Blessed Saints.

"Men of this world, carnal men, unbelieving men, do not believe that the temptations which they themselves experience, and to which they yield, can be overcome. They reason themselves into the notion that to sin is their nature, and therefore no fault of theirs, that is, that it is not sin. And accordingly, when they read about the Saints or about holy men generally, they conclude either that these have not had the temptations which they experience themselves, or have not overcome them. They either consider them to be hypocrites, who practise in private the sins which they denounce in public; or, if they have decency enough to abstain from these calumnies, then they consider that they never felt the temptation, and they view them as cold and simple persons, who have never outgrown their childhood, who have contracted minds, who do not know the world and life, who are despicable while they are with-

out influence, and dangerous and detestable from their ignorance when they are in power. But no, my brethren ; read the lives of the Saints, you will see how false and narrow a view this is ; these men, who think, forsooth, they know the world so well, and the nature of man so deeply, they know nothing of one great far-spreading phenomenon in man,—and that is his nature under the operation of grace ; they know nothing of the second nature, of the supernatural gift, induced by the Almighty Spirit upon our first and fallen nature ; they have never met, they have never read of, and they have formed no conception of a Saint.

“ He has, I say, the same temptations as another ; perhaps greater, because he is to be tried as in a furnace, because he is to become rich in merits, because there is a bright crown reserved for him in Heaven ; still temptation he has, and he differs from others, not in being shielded from it, but in being armed against it. Grace overcomes nature ; it overcomes indeed in all who shall be saved, none will see God's face hereafter who do not, while here, put away from them mortal sin of every kind ; but the Saints overcome with a determination and a vigour, a promptitude and a success beyond any one else. You read, my brethren, in the lives of the Saints the wonderful account of their conflicts, and their triumphs over the enemy. They are, as I was saying, like heroes of romance, so gracefully, so nobly, so royally do they bear themselves. Their actions are as beautiful as fiction, yet as real as fact. There was St. Benedict, who, when a boy, left Rome, and betook himself to the Apennines in the neighbourhood. Three years did he live in prayer, fasting, and solitude, while the Evil one assaulted him with temptation. One day, when it grew so fierce that he feared for his perseverance, he suddenly flung himself, in his scanty hermit's garb, among the thorns and nettles near him, thus turning the current of his thoughts, and chastising the waywardness of the flesh, by sensible stings and smarts. There was St. Thomas too, the angelical Doctor, as he is called, as holy as he was profound, or rather the more profound in theological science, because he was so holy. ‘Even from a youth’ he had ‘sought wisdom ; he had stretched out his hands on high, and directed his soul to her, and possessed his heart with her from the beginning ;’ and so when the minister of Satan came into his very room, and no other defence was at hand, he seized a burning brand from the hearth, and drove that wicked one, scared and baffled, out of his presence. And there was that poor youth in the early persecutions, whom the impious heathen bound down with cords, and then brought in upon him a vision of evil ; and he in his agony bit off his tongue, and spit it off in the tempter's face, that so the intenseness of the pain might preserve him from the seduction.

“ Such acts as these, my brethren, are an opening in the heavens, a sudden gleam of supernatural brightness across a dark sky. They enlarge the mind with ideas it had not before, and they show to the multitude what God can do, and what man can be. Though, doubtless, all Saints have not been such in youth ; there are those, who not till after a youth of sin have been brought by the sovereign grace of God

to repentance, yet who, when converted, differed in nothing from those who have ever served Him, not in gifts, not in acceptableness, not in detachment from the world, or union with Christ, or exactness of obedience, in naught save in the severity of their penance. Others have been called, not from vice and ungodliness, but from a life of mere ordinary blamelessness, or from a state of lukewarmness, or from thoughtlessness, to heroic greatness; and these have often given up lands, and property, and honours, and station, and repute, for Christ's sake. Kings have descended from their thrones, bishops have given up their rank and influence, the learned have given up the pride of intellect, to become poor monks, to live on coarse fare, to be clad in humble weeds, to rise and pray while others slept, to mortify the tongue with silence and the limbs with toil, and to avow an unconditional obedience to another. In early times were the Martyrs, many of them children and girls, who bore the most cruel, the most prolonged, the most diversified tortures, rather than deny the faith of Christ. Then came the Missionaries among the heathen, who, for the love of souls, threw themselves into the midst of savages, risking and perhaps losing their lives in the attempt to extend the empire of their Lord and Saviour, and who, whether living or dying, have by their lives or by their deaths succeeded in bringing over whole nations into the Church. Others have devoted themselves, in time of war, to the redemption of Christian captives from pagan or Mahometan conquerors; others to the care of the sick in pestilences, or in hospitals; others to the instruction of the poor; others to the education of children; others to incessant preaching and the duties of the confessional; others to devout study and meditation; others to a life of intercession and prayer. Very various are the Saints, their very variety is a token of God's workmanship; but however various, and whatever their special line of duty, they have been heroes in it; they have attained such noble self-command, they have so crucified the flesh, they have so renounced the world; they are so meek, so gentle, so tender-hearted, so merciful, so sweet, so full of prayer, so diligent, so forgetful of injuries; they have sustained such great and continued pains, they have persevered in such vast labours, they have made such valiant confessions, they have wrought such abundant miracles, they have been blessed with such strange successes, that they have set up a standard before us of truth, of holiness, of love. They are not always our examples, we are not always bound to follow them; not more than we are bound to obey literally some of our Lord's precepts, such as turning the cheek or giving away the coat; not more than we can follow the course of the sun, moon, or stars in the heavens; but though not always our examples, they are always our standard of right and truth; they are raised up to be monuments and lessons, they remind us of God, they introduce us into the unseen world, they teach us what Christ loves, they track out for us the way which leads heavenward. They are to us who see them, what wealth, notoriety, rank, and name are to the multitude of men who live in darkness,—objects of veneration and of worship."—pp. 104-109.

These are what may be called the two *extremes* of visible phenomena, in their bearing on Christian doctrine—the worldliness of the world, the saintliness of the Saints; and these phenomena are of so plain and undeniable a character, that a person before whom the facts are brought must be utterly wanting in candour to call them in question. There is a third series of a more difficult and debatable kind; one moreover in which, here in England and at the present time, it is a matter of the very utmost importance, and at the same time of great delicacy and difficulty, to steer precisely the true course; neither turning to the right hand nor to the left, neither yielding to the seductions of a spurious charity, nor yet shutting ourselves up in mere *à priori* formulæ. It will be anticipated that we are alluding to such phenomena, as the apparent holiness of many external to the visible Church; and again, the generosity, justice, and other excellencies which may be found in men who have no pretensions to holiness. On this momentous subject we consider Father Newman's line to be eminently wise and true, and will proceed to give one or two specimens of his dealing with it.

“Certainly, it is a most mournful, often quite a piercing thought, to contemplate the conduct and the character of those who have never received the elementary grace of God in the Sacrament of Baptism. They are sometimes so benevolent, so active and untiring in their benevolence; they may be so wise and so considerate; they may have so much in them to engage the affections of those who see them! Well, let us leave them to God; His grace is over all the earth; if it comes to good effect and bears fruit in the hearts of the unbaptized, He will reward it; but, where grace is not, there doubtless what looks so fair has its reward in this world, for such good as is in it, but has no better claim on a heavenly reward than skill in any art or science, than eloquence or wit. And moreover, it often happens, that, where there is much specious and amiable, there is also much that is sinful, and frightfully so. Men show their best face in the world; but the greater part of their time, the many hours of the day and the night, they are shut up in their own thoughts. They are their own witnesses, none see them besides, save God and His Angels; therefore in such cases we can only judge of what we see, and can only admire what is good, without having any means of determining the real moral condition of those who display it. Just as children are caught by the mere good-nature and familiarity with which they are treated by some grown man, and have no means or thought of forming a judgment about him in other respects; as the uneducated, who have seen very little of the world, have no faculties for distinguishing between one class of men and another, and consider all persons on a level who are respectably dressed, whatever be

their accent, their carriage, or their countenance; so all of us, not children only or the uncultivated, are but novices, or less than novices, in the business of deciding what is the real state in God's sight of this or that man who is external to the Church, but in character or conduct resembles the Christian. Not entering then upon this point, which is beyond us, so much we even can see and are sure of, that human nature is, in a degree beyond all words, inconsistent, and that we must not take for granted that it can do anything at all more than it does, or that those in whom it shows most plausibly, are a whit better than they look. We see the best, and, (as far as moral excellence goes,) the whole of them; we cannot argue from what we see in favour of what we do not see; we cannot take what we see as a specimen of what they are. Sad then as the spectacle of such a man is to a Catholic, he is no difficulty to him. He may be benevolent, and kind-hearted, and generous, upright and honourable, candid, dispassionate, and forbearing, yet he may have nothing of a special Christian cast about him, meekness, purity, or devotion. He may like his own way intensely, have a great opinion of his own powers, scoff at faith and religious fear, and seldom or never have said a prayer in his life. Nay, even outward gravity of deportment is no warrant that there is not within an habitual indulgence of evil thoughts, and secret offences odious to Almighty God. We admire then whatever is excellent in the ancient heathen, or in moderns, who are nearly in their condition, we acknowledge it to be virtuous and praiseworthy, but we understand as little of the character or destiny of the intelligent being in whom it is found, as we understand the material substances which present themselves to us under the outward garb of shape and colour. They are to us as unknown causes which have influenced or disturbed the world, and which manifest themselves in certain great effects, political or otherwise; they are to us as pictures, which appeal to the eye, but not to the touch. Thus much we know, that if they have attained to heaven, it has been by the grace of God and their co-operation with it; if they have lived and died without that grace, they will never see life; and, if they have lived and died in mortal sin, they are in the state of bad Christians now, and will for ever see death.

“Yet, taking the mere outward appearance of things, and the more felicitous, though partial and occasional efforts of human nature, how great it is, how amiable, how brilliant,—if we may pretend to view it distinct from the supernatural influences which have ever haunted it! How great are the old Greek lawgivers and statesmen, whose histories and works are known to some of us, and whose names to many more! How great are those stern Roman heroes, who conquered the world, and prepared the way for Christ! How wise, how profound, are those ancient teachers and sages! what power of imagination, what a semblance of prophecy, is manifest in their poets! The present world is in many respects not so great as that old time, but even now there is enough in it to show both the strength of human nature in this respect, and its weakness. Consider the solidity of our own political fabric at

home, and the expansion of our empire abroad, and you will have matter enough spread out before you to occupy many a long day in admiration of the genius, the virtues, and resources of human nature. Take a second meditation upon it; alas! you will find nothing of faith there, but expedience as the measure of right and wrong, and temporal well-being as the end of action."—pp. 162-165.

Elsewhere he says, in regard to persons external to the Church,

"Many are using the assistances of grace so well, that they are in the way to receive its permanent indwelling in their hearts. Many, we trust, *are enjoying that permanent light*, and are being securely brought forward into the Church; some, alas! may have received it, and not advancing towards the Holy House in which it is stored, *are losing it*..... These are secret things with God; but the great and general truths remain, that grace is the sole means of seeing God; and that, while it enables us to do so, it also brings us into His Church, and is never given us for our illumination, but it is also given to make us Catholics."—p. 200.

And still more definitely as to doctrine:

"How many, [external to the visible Church] whose contrition once gained for them the grace of justification, by refusing to go forward, have gone backwards, though they maintain a semblance of what they once were, by means of the mere natural habits which supernatural grace had formed within them! What a miserable wreck is the world, hopes without substances, promises without fulfilment, repentance without amendment, blossom without fruit, continuance and progress without perseverance."—p. 151.

There is no controversy indeed among Catholics, of course not, as to the general *doctrine* on the subject, only on matters of fact: i. e. some Catholics are inclined to think much more favourably than others of Protestants' spiritual condition. Thus there is no controversy among Catholics, that wherever there is invincible ignorance, the special sin of heresy or schism will not be imputed: and for our own parts, we think that in proportion as a Catholic mixes with Protestants, and observes the deep and apparently almost insurmountable prejudices with which their mind is steeped, their extraordinary misconceptions of our doctrine, and the difficulty of so much as bringing our case (so to speak) into court, (for the great majority of devout Protestants would as soon think of seriously setting to work to examine the claims of Mahometanism or Atheism as those of 'Popery'); the more a Catholic observes all this, we say, the more widely he will be dis-

posed to stretch this defence of "invincible ignorance." Our own poignant alarm about the condition of Protestants in general arises from another source. For, even granting them free from the guilt of formal schism and heresy, still other mortal sins, and those not a few, they have most unquestionably committed; and having no access to the sacrament of Penance, how are they to obtain forgiveness for these? That contrition which arises (in part at least) from the pure and unselfish love of God, is the only remaining remedy; and, however uncharitable we may be considered for saying so, to us the love of God appears a very rare virtue among Protestants. They have often much conscientiousness, great domestic affection, self-sacrifice for the sake of other men; but self-sacrifice for the sake of *God*, or the really feeling towards Him as towards a Person, loving Him with a personal love, and that too an unselfish one—it is this whose absence we deplore. We really believe that the preaching to them of God as a Person, and enforcing on them His Personal claims on their warm, affectionate, and (as one may say) passionate love, that this will in the long run both bring them into a safer state at once, and have incomparably more chance of leading them finally to the Faith, than any argumentative or controversial discourses.

But this view of the case, if alarming in many instances, is in some consoling: and so only we bear most carefully in mind that at last God alone knows the heart, we may take great comfort, so far as individual Protestants of our acquaintance may exhibit signs of this love of God; and we may feel that we indefinitely promote their spiritual welfare in cherishing this, whether by example or advice, though, if so be, we make no way with them at all in controversy. Even if they do not yet possess this unselfish love of God which justifies, yet so far as they exhibit anything of what Father Newman calls a "specially Christian cast about them, meekness, purity, or devotion," we may well believe that the Holy Spirit is working with them, and leading them onwards to what is higher. Nay, heathen virtues themselves may have their utility towards salvation: nor, when we see some one evidently a stranger to, perhaps a disbeliever in, all religion, who yet may quite astonish and shame us by his high sense of justice, or his delicate kindness, or his lavish generosity, are we driven of necessity to the piercing thought, that all this

might as well be absent. We may not indeed attribute to such virtues as are merely natural, any power to move God's favour even of congruity; but whereas God most gratuitously, and of his mere favour, visits all men with His grace at one time or other, so far as they do not of themselves interpose a bar to its influence, it is always possible that such virtuous habits, or qualities may be the very means which keep the avenue to grace from being closed.

It cannot be wrong to state such undoubted principles as these, and bear them in mind: though when we come to the practical application of them to individuals, we shall indeed widely err, unless we hold the opinion to which we may incline with all diffidence and uncertainty; and if we hope, hope with trembling.

We have been occupied at disproportionate length on the author's treatment of visible phenomena; and must therefore say the less on the other particular we mentioned at starting, his treatment of those facts which belong to the invisible world, and are matters of pure revelation. This latter class of facts he grasps with the same accuracy and completeness which he shows in his observation of the former; and, just as in the former case, having so grasped them, he views them in their respective relations with each other;—he brings to bear on them the various analogies, suggested by the resources of a most fertile imagination;—and expresses such emotions, as their contemplation must produce in a truly loving and devout heart.

But how is it, it may be asked, that he is able to grasp these invisible facts with this accuracy and completeness? A mind true, quick, observant and retentive, may well do him this service, in dealing with the *visible* world around him; but what can *observation* do, in that order of things which confessedly lies beyond the reach of observation? The answer to this question should be well and frequently pondered: that which enables Father Newman so to master Christian doctrine, is neither more nor less than his profound and intimate acquaintance with the *Scholastic Theology*. That very habit of mind, which, in matters of experience, will not rest contented with a mere vague and general knowledge, nor accept words instead of things, but impels its possessor to examine closely into the real nature and details of what comes before it;—which, in Political Economy, will not be contented with the *name* of wealth, but will go on to acquire a practical and habitual

realisation of the various facts in actual life which constitute that complex idea—or in History will not acquiesce in the mere record of external events, but is restless and dissatisfied until it has given them their true colouring and proportion, and discerned them as living pictures—that same habit of mind, when turning to Theology, is impelled to ask those very questions which Scholasticism undertakes to answer. Such a devout enquirer cannot, for instance, rest satisfied with the mere announcement that his Saviour is God and Man: he is eager to appropriate and feed upon this blessed truth; he is impatient of words and general ideas, and wishes to contemplate the doctrine as a reality; he will not be contented without a distinct image of the truth, so far as distinctness is possible; and where distinctness ends and mystery begins, there he presses forward the mystery to its ultimate points. In a word, he will ever be asking those questions, which meet with their answer in the pages of Suarez and De Lugo. In their disparagement of Scholasticism Protestants, as a class, have shown plainly enough, what they have shown with equal plainness in fifty other ways, how little real regard and love they have to their God and Saviour. As to the “Evangelicals,” indeed, who most profess such love, it has been observed long since, that it is not in general *Christ* whom they love and worship, but an inward feeling of their own minds; and attention has been called to the fact, that it is not where *He* is mentioned in Scripture, but where *faith* is mentioned, that they are active and awake, and dwell with interest on the inspired page.

Reverting then to our subject, observe the advantage derivable from such knowledge. In Political Economy, our former instance, a student who has not so realised his idea of the word “wealth,” may learn carefully enough the theories of other people, but will never himself advance one step in the science: rather he will make the most egregious blunders if he attempt to do so; and that for the simple reason, that his knowledge is of words not of things. In precisely the same manner, a writer not versed in Scholasticism, does not feel *at home* in his treatment of the Objects of Faith; he is afraid of any variation from an established formula; and can neither express the same idea in other words, nor yet illustrate by analogies, nor honour by devout meditation, nor carry into its consequences, the idea itself; because, to him (intellectually

speaking) it is a form of words, and *not* an idea. We are not (God forbid!) objecting to the use of technical words in theology, or undervaluing the extreme importance of appropriating them most scrupulously to their one particular signification; but objecting only to that habit of mind, which cannot express religious ideas *except* in technical terms. Nor are we speaking as though all men must be theologians; or denying that great numbers embrace a religious truth (as one may say) practically and by spiritual perception, who have not conceived it intellectually. Still, in order that the many may embrace it practically, it is of extreme moment that the few *should* explore it intellectually; and in regard to Father Newman, a little attention will show that it is precisely through this intimate conversance with Theology, that he obtains that free, secure, and confident position when dealing with the world of *faith*, which is given him by his power of keen accurate and dispassionate observation when dealing with the world of *sight*.

We may perhaps be pardoned a somewhat long quotation, in order sufficiently to exemplify our meaning: in order to show, how having, in the first instance, fully and intimately grasped the idea proposed by the Church, he is then able to set forth and illustrate it with ideas of his own.

“Yow know, my brethren, that our Lord and Saviour, though he was God, was also perfect man; and hence He had, not only a body, but a soul likewise, such as ours, though pure from all stain of evil. He did not take a body without a soul, God forbid! for that would not have been to become man. How would He have sanctified our nature if He had taken a nature which was not ours? Man without a soul is on a level with the beasts of the field; but our Lord came to save a race capable of praising and obeying Him, possessed of immortality, yet dispossessed of their hope of an immortality of bliss. Man was created in the image of God, and that image is in his soul; when then his Maker, by an unspeakable condescension, came in his nature, He took on Himself a soul in order to take on Him a body; He took on Him a soul as the means of His union with a body; He took on Him in the first place the soul, then the body of man, both at once, but in this order, the soul and the body; He Himself created the soul which He took on Himself, He took His body from the flesh of the Blessed Virgin, His Mother; thus He became perfect man with body and soul, and, as He took on Him a body of flesh and nerves, which admitted of wounds and death, and had the organs of sensation, so did He take a soul too which could receive those sensations and could feel those wounds, and

which, besides these bodily sufferings, was capable of the pain and sorrow which are proper to a human soul ; and, as His atoning passion was undergone in the body, so was it undergone in the soul also."— pp. 343-344.

" Living beings, I say, feel more or less according to the spirit which is in them ; brutes feel far less than man, because they cannot think of what they feel ; they have no advertence or direct consciousness of their sufferings. This it is that makes pain so trying, viz., that we cannot help thinking of it, while we suffer it. It is before us, it possesses the mind, it keeps our thoughts fixed upon it. Whatever draws the mind off the thought of it lessens it ; hence friends try to amuse us when we are in pain, for amusement is a diversion. If the pain is slight, they sometimes succeed with us ; and then we are, so to say, without pain even while we suffer. And hence it continually happens that in violent exercises or labour men meet with blows or cuts, so considerable and so durable in their effects, as to bear witness to the sufferings which must have attended their infliction, of which nevertheless they recollect nothing. And in quarrels and in battles wounds are received, which, from the excitement of the moment, are brought home to the consciousness of the combatant, not by the pain at the time of receiving them, but by the loss of blood that follows.

" I will show you presently, my brethren, how I mean to apply what I have said to the consideration of our Lord's sufferings ; first I will make another remark. Consider then, that hardly any one stroke of pain is intolerable ; it is intolerable when it continues. You cry out perhaps that you cannot bear more ; patients feel as if they could stop the surgeon's hand, simply because he continues to pain them. Their feeling is that they have borne *as much* as they can bear ; as if the continuance and not the intenseness was what made it too much for them.

What does this mean, but that the memory of the foregoing moments of pain acts upon and (as it were) edges the pain that succeeds ? If the third or fourth or twentieth moment of pain could be taken by itself, if the succession of the moments that preceded it could be forgotten, it would be no more than the first moment, as bearable as the first ; but what makes it unbearable is, that it is the twentieth ; that the first, the second, the third, on to the nineteenth moment of pain, are all concentrated in the twentieth : so that every additional moment of pain has all the weight, the ever-increasing weight, of all that have preceded it. Hence, I repeat, it is that brute animals would seem to feel so little pain, because, that is, they have not the power of reflection or of consciousness. They do not know they exist ; they do not contemplate themselves, they do not look backwards or forwards ; every moment, as it succeeds, is their all ; they wander over the face of the earth, and see this thing and that, and feel pleasure and pain, but still they take every thing as it comes, and then let it go again, as men do in dreams. They have memory, but not the memory of an intellectual being ; they put together nothing, they make nothing one and individual to themselves out of the particular sensations which they receive ; nothing is

to them a reality or has a substance beyond those sensations ; they are but sensible of a number of successive impressions. And hence, as their other feelings, so their feeling of pain is but faint and dull, in spite of their outward manifestations of it. It is the intellectual comprehension of pain, as a whole, diffused through successive moments, which gives it its special power and keenness, and it is the soul only, which a brute has not, which is capable of that comprehension.

“ Now apply this to the sufferings of our Lord :—do you recollect their offering Him wine mingled with myrrh, when he was on the point of being crucified ? He would not drink of it ; why ? because such a potion would have stupified His mind, and He was bent on bearing the pain in all its bitterness. You see from this, my brethren, the character of His sufferings ; he would have fain escaped them, had that been His Father's will ; ‘ If it be possible,’ He said, ‘ let this chalice pass from Me ;’ but since it was not, He says calmly and decidedly to the Apostle, who would have rescued Him from suffering, ‘ The chalice which My Father hath given Me, shall I not drink it ?’ If He was to suffer, He gave Himself to suffering ; He did not come to suffer as little as He could ; He did not turn away His face from the suffering ; He confronted it, or, as I may say, He breasted it, that every particular portion of it might make its due impression on Him. And as men are superior to brute animals, and are affected by pain more than they, by reason of the mind within them, which gives a substance to pain, such as it cannot have in the instance of brutes ; so, in like manner, our Lord felt pain of the body, with an advertence, and a consciousness, and therefore with a keenness and intensity, and with a unity of perception, which none of us can possibly fathom or compass, because His soul was so absolutely in His own power, so simply free from the influence of distractions, so fully directed *upon* the pain, so utterly surrendered, so simply subjected to the suffering. And thus He may truly be said to have suffered the whole of His passion in every moment of it.

“ Recollect that our Blessed Lord was in this respect different from us, that, though he was perfect man, yet there was a power in Him greater than His soul, which ruled His soul, for He was God. The soul of other men is subjected to the wishes, feelings, impulses, passions, perturbations of itself ; His soul was subjected simply to His Eternal and Divine Person. Nothing happened to His soul by chance, or on a sudden ; He never was taken by surprise ; nothing affected Him without His willing beforehand that it should affect him. Never did He sorrow, or fear, or desire, or rejoice in spirit, but He first willed to be sorrowful, or afraid, or desirous, or joyful. When we suffer, it is because outward agents and the uncontrollable emotions of our minds bring suffering upon us. We are brought under the discipline of pain involuntarily, we suffer more or less acutely according to accidental circumstances, we find our patience more or less tried by it according to our state of mind, and we do our best to provide alleviations or remedies of it. We cannot anticipate beforehand how much of it will

come upon us, or how far we shall be able to sustain it ; nor can we say afterwards why we have felt just what we have felt, or why we did not bear the suffering better. It was otherwise with our Lord. His Divine Person was not subject, could not be exposed, to the influence of His own human affections and feelings, except so far as He chose. I repeat, when He chose to fear, he feared ; when He chose to be angry, he was angry ; when He chose to grieve, He grieved. He was not open to impulse, but He opened upon Himself voluntarily the influence by which He was impelled. Consequently, when He determined to suffer the pain of His vicarious passion, whatever He did, He did, as the Wise Man says, *instanter*, 'earnestly,' with His might ; He did not do it by halves ; He did not turn away His mind from the suffering, as we do ;—(how should He, who came to suffer, who could not have suffered but of His own act ?) no, He did not say and unsay, do and undo ; He said and He did ; He said, 'Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God ; sacrifice and offering Thou wouldst not, but a body hast Thou prepared for Me.' He took a body in order that He might suffer ; He became man, that he might suffer as man ; and when His hour came, that hour of Satan and of darkness, the hour when sin was to pour its full malignity upon Him, it followed that He offered Himself wholly, a holocaust, a whole burnt-offering ;—as the whole of His body stretched out upon the Cross, so the whole of His soul, His whole advertence, His whole consciousness, a mind awake, a sense acute, a living co-operation, a present, absolute intention, not a virtual permission, not a heartless submission, this did He present to His tormentors. His passion was an action ; He lived most energetically, while He lay languishing, fainting, and dying. Nor did He die, except by an act of the will ; for He bowed His head, in command as well as in resignation, and said, 'Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit ;' He gave the word, He surrendered His soul, He did not lose it."—pp. 345-351.

We might introduce another quotation from the early part of the 7th discourse, on "Perseverance in grace," except that a contemporary Catholic periodical has already extracted it, for another instance of admirable dogmatic statement, and on a very difficult and delicate subject: the certainty, namely, of our all falling into venial sin ; nay, and into mortal also, except for a special and distinct gift, the gift of Perseverance.

It will be an obvious enquiry on the part of our readers, how the present volume stands in comparison with the Sermons published by the same author when a Protestant. That the style is less laboured, and more free and natural, that he writes as one far more at his ease, and pouring forth his whole heart, this is an obvious criticism which

few will deny. His Protestant sermons abounded at every turn in suggestions, hints, "who knows but what," "possibly," and the like; the natural language of one who felt that none of his hearers were fully with him, and who wished to suggest no more to each one than he was able to receive. But we may go beyond the mere question of style, and observe some more substantial contrasts between this and his former volumes.

First, as to this very matter of his hearers not having been fully with him when a Protestant. Consider the contrast as to the *authority* with which he now speaks. He was then giving his opinions, founded on his study of Scripture and Antiquity, and submitted to the criticism of his auditors; who had just the same right to their opinion that he had to his. He did not speak to them with the authority of the Anglican Church, (little as that could be) for he was obliged to confess that she taught with "the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies;" he did not speak to them with the authority of the Anglican bishops, (little as that again could be), for it was well known they disliked and distrusted him; he did not speak with the authority of those which he considered as sister churches, for he was obliged most strenuously to disavow agreement with *them*, as the very condition to obtain a hearing. No: he expressed his opinion, and others might express theirs. How great is now the contrast! He delivers Catholic doctrine as from an authority, which his hearers as well as himself are bound to believe cannot err; he invites not their criticism, but challenges their faith and obedience. Every discourse bears witness in its very tone to this high claim.

There are Protestants to be found indeed, who (strange to say) regard this claim of ours to unity in religion as a fallacy, maintaining that Catholics differ from Catholics no less widely than Protestants from Protestants: and who, when we urge against them that on their principles theology never can be a science, retort that neither can it be on ours. Their grounds for this are two-fold: 1, that the multitude of uneducated Catholics will give discrepant answers on a hundred various questions which may be asked them; and are indeed hardly found to agree in one, except that they believe whatever the Church teaches: and 2, that even among professed divines there are several questions confessedly open. As to the first of these objections, it is obvious and most important to remark, that as

it is not mainly by intellectual propositions that the Church communicates divine truth to the uneducated among her children, the absence of definite agreement on such propositions is no proof of real discordance. and even small experience will show any one, how wonderfully the body of Catholics, who sincerely hold that one proposition of the Church's divine authority, grow up into a deep and mysterious unity of belief. But let us ask these objectors at once; will they admit that *astronomy* is a science? for certainly the mass of uneducated men will not be found to agree in the most elementary propositions of that science; and there are, moreover, various points on which professed astronomers avowedly differ. Why, then, is astronomy a science? because on the great body of essential and fundamental truths, all *who study the subject* are in agreement; and moreover, continually, from time to time, propositions are passing over from the class of uncertain to the class of certain. Now this is precisely the case with Catholic Theology. The mass of Catholics of course have not studied it, and may continually (if they express themselves on such subjects) utter propositions which are *materially* heretical: nay, there might be conceivably a time and a place where, from various circumstances, Theology receives little of systematic study, and where in consequence those who cannot rank among the uneducated, are yet exposed to very serious error. But *open schools of Theology, and the evil is immediately in process of cure: on all the great essential truths there is no rival, no antagonist, scheme of doctrines whatever: all who study Theology agree in this great body of truth.* Thus, to take the two instances above given from the present volume, on the dogma of the Incarnation, and of Perseverance in grace,—there may be many, even educated, Catholics, who have not learned the full doctrine of the Church on those subjects, and who will be much the better for learning it; but *there is no other doctrine* which so much as *professes* to be the Church's teaching on these momentous questions. And as to the comparatively few questions which remain open, such for instance as the various systems on Grace alluded to by Father Newman, (p. 133), so soon as either side of these questions is so pushed forward by its advocates as to threaten any evil to the general fabric, authority at once steps in to limit and keep it in check. But among Protestants, one learned divine will maintain, e. g., the doc-

trine of judgment according to works, another equally learned will deny it; the one will maintain that his doctrine is that of the Anglican Church, the other will deny it; and in one thing only will they agree, viz., that on whichever side the Anglican Church may be, she makes no pretence to be infallible. Who does not see that here is no material for a system of doctrine? nothing fixed, nothing certain, nothing definite. I may conceivably have faith in Catholic doctrine, for it is a substance; I cannot in Protestant doctrine, for there is no such substance: there is but a large congeries of conflicting Protestant *opinions*, and among these opinions I may have my opinion and you may have yours.

Here then is one all-pervading, all-important contrast between this volume and its predecessors. Father Newman for the first time speaks with authority; he does not advocate his own opinion, but expounds the Church's doctrine. Another of its characteristics is, that he is not afraid of realizing and dwelling on his own tenets. This is one special note of divinity in Catholic doctrine, that it will bear the weight, (if one may so speak,) both of the most devout meditation and of the most acute deduction; that no weak point will be so discovered, but rather the strength and completeness of the whole fabric be more triumphantly demonstrated. As an instance of what we mean, the present author says plainly, in the second volume of his Protestant sermons, in speaking of our Blessed Lady, "this wonderful relationship between God and man, it is perhaps *impossible for us to dwell much upon*, without some perversion of feeling." He was literally afraid of thinking too much of a doctrine which he fully believed to be true, lest meditation on it might lead him to some "Popish" exaggeration! Remarkable contrast indeed to the two beautiful and touching sermons which close this volume! In becoming a Catholic the author has learned, that devout meditation on *truth* cannot be a way to *error*; and he has learned also, that the true way to avoid scandal and misconception, is not to appear ashamed of some one part of our system which Protestants may dislike, but the bringing forward our whole doctrine in its full and true proportion. It is not by shrinking back from the high and glowing expressions of love poured forth by Saints to our dear Lady, as though the highest human language could be even adequate to such a theme) that success will

be obtained, but by bringing forward the expressions they also used, and the feelings of deep and unutterable adoration which they exhibited, towards the Divine Trinity, towards the Sacred Humanity of Jesus, and towards the Sacrament of the Altar. The author, accordingly, having set forth sufficiently these high and primary doctrines, (see especially, the 14th, 15th, and 16th discourses,) proceeds to offer his loving, hearty, and most ungrudging tribute of loyalty and devotion, to the great Queen of Heaven, the Queen of our affections here on earth. (See the 17th and 18th discourses.)

Another instance may be mentioned, in which the author, when a Protestant, shrunk from drawing any definite picture of the doctrine which his hard position required him to maintain; we mean his statements on the intermediate state. It is plainly impossible that one who realized, so vividly as those sermons prove, the miserable sinfulness of us ordinary Christians, and the supernatural spotlessness of the Saints of the Most High, can have set before himself what he was saying, when he represented both these classes as joined together in the same condition, immediately after death. Yet, as far as words go, this was stated. Ordinary Christians were represented as not in a state of suffering, and Saints as not in a state of perfect bliss; nay, in one sermon it was said that they had still their judgment to undergo, one by one.

And observations not dissimilar might be made on his treatment of Post-Baptismal Sin.

There are other doctrines again, which he did then professedly hold, but of which his Catholic experience seems to have increased and deepened his perception in an almost incredible degree. We would mention particularly these two; the *Passion of Jesus*, and the *sovereignty of grace*. On the latter subject the "high church" party professed, of course, to accept fully St. Augustine's doctrine, so far as it was directed against the various degrees of Pelagianism; but it appears to us, that there was more or less of a semi-Pelagian tone in whatever they wrote. They were driven to this probably, by the fight they had to maintain against the Calvinists, and their unacquaintance with the modern Catholic systems, which would have given them better arms of defence; but the fact we regard as undeniable. It is curious enough, that this very charge of a semi-Pelagian tone was brought against *Catholics* by the

author in his work on "Justification;" a charge to which his present volume is among the best refutations. For it is one of its especial merits, that it has brought into suitable prominence that doctrine, which is the very antagonist in the Catholic scheme of any semi-Pelagian tone; the Catholic doctrine of Perseverance: the doctrine, namely, that this great benefit is no natural, and, as it were, unforced, matter-of-course, result of inherent grace, but on the contrary, that it is quite a special gift, which no previous grace; can merit, but for the attainment of which we must ever be waiting upon God with prayer and pious observance.

On the other particular above-mentioned, Father Newman's growth of feeling is still more remarkable,—the Passion. The subject was mentioned, among other places, in a sermon in his sixth volume on our Lord's privations, and in the third on His tears over the grave of Lazarus. In both these sermons there are many deep and valuable thoughts; but where is the fervour and unction, the pouring forth, as it were, of the whole heart, with which he now approaches the same theme? In fact, there are two particulars of Catholic usage, without which it appears to us morally impossible that any one should acquire a deep and tender devotion to this most awful, yet most sweet, of Mysteries: the one, the use of the crucifix; the other, the sympathy with our dear Lady's dolours, and the contemplation of His sufferings in their effect on her.

One reason then for greatly rejoicing at the appearance of this volume is, that the world may see the effect produced by Catholicism on this singularly gifted mind. And another arises from the general subject of these discourses, as stated by us at the outset. For this is a period when more than one powerful and original thinker is putting forth his speculations, on the *moral*, (so to speak) of human phenomena, on the way in which the world should be regarded, and on the destiny of man. The Catholic has his answer to these enquiries, no less than each separate infidel; and it is well that the latter class should learn this. And though the deep and almost insurmountable prejudice and self-conceit of many among the number, may render them inaccessible to any evidence which would prove genius and other rare mental gifts to be the property of a modern Catholic,—yet that all are not such, is shown by a very

careful, and in many respects a very complimentary, criticism on this very volume, which has appeared in a rationalistic periodical called "the Inquirer."* For our own parts, we would gladly test the respective merits of the Catholic or any infidel system, by this simple criterion. Let a person ponder carefully on those facts in our nature and earthly lot, which all admit; let him contemplate, not superficially but carefully, and if possible by personal intercourse and experience, the squalour, need, and general wretchedness of our poor; let him fix his mind earnestly on such facts as those on which we commented in the earlier part of this article,—the inconsistency, restlessness, hollowness, of the whole course of things here below; man's need of something whereon to rest his affections, and the proved inadequacy of all earthly objects to satisfy this craving; let him not turn impatiently from these facts, or merely admit them and then pass on, as so many so-called philosophers and philanthropists seem to do, but let him saturate his mind with them, and drink them in; then let us ask him, to what system of doctrine or opinions will he find his mind attuned? what exhibition will appear to him stamped with the impress of Divine Wisdom? Will it be the thrice-repeated and high-sounding generalities of Mr. Carlyle? Will it be the more humble and all-earthly calculations and anticipations of Mr. Mill? or will he feel rather drawn towards such doctrines as the fall of man,—the Atonement of a Saviour,—the all-importance of grace? Which will he find himself to have the heart to study? Mr. Carlyle's "Latter-day pamphlets," or Mr. Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," or Father Newman's "Discourses to Mixed Congregations?"

ART. IX.—1. *Jane Eyre*. An Autobiography, by CURRER BELL. 3rd Edition. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1849.

2. *Shirley*. A tale by CURRER BELL. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1849.

WE consider the works with which we have headed our article as worthy of a separate notice, for many

* See "The Inquirer" of Feb. 16th, 1850.

reasons. In the first place, although novels, they are works of singular talent; there goes to either of them as much of thought and imagination, as might well be beaten out to cover the pages of at least half-a-dozen average works of far greater pretension; in the second, they have originated a new style of novel-writing, as distinct from anything we have yet had, as Scott from Austen, or as Dickens from either; and, as is usual in such cases, these works have a raciness and charm which we shall not find again in any of their imitators, although there will be many more or less successful, and, finally, more or less odious; of which last phase, indeed, there are already symptoms, for the style will not bear deterioration.

As might be expected, both these books have excited great attention; they have been much read and admired, and much canvassed, *not* admiringly; most people have felt their fascination, but there are many who will not acknowledge it; and some, for whom they are too brilliant and too bold, shelter themselves under the plea, that they are "not strictly proper." In short, there is a feeling in many quarters that their morality is questionable, and there is a mistrust,—a vague suspicion, entertained against them, which it is difficult to analyse, and which we are much inclined to account for in the words of the writer. "The Abomination of Desolation," she says, "was no mystery to them: they had discovered that unutterable Thing in the characteristic others call Originality. Quick were they to recognise the signs of this evil; and wherever they saw its trace—whether in look, word, or deed; whether they read it in the fresh, vigorous style of a book, or listened to it in interesting, unhackneyed, pure, expressive language—they shuddered—they recoiled: danger was above their heads—peril about their steps. What was this strange Thing? Being unintelligible it must be bad. Let it be denounced and chained up."

We cannot but think that these words were dictated by a sort of "presentiment," and that the authoress sought to deprecate the criticism which might be awakened by her boldness as well as originality of mind. The excuse is good,—the plea valid,—boldness does not necessarily lead to vice, nor does originality, nor even strong passion; but they should be dealt with only by the strong and the experienced. Undoubtedly we would give neither of these novels to very young people; they are too worldly, too

passionate; they strike upon chords in our nature too deep and intricate to be within their comprehension. It must be understood also, that in these stories there is no particular virtue to be inculcated, no individual vice to be held up to abhorrence, no distinct moral, in short, to be enforced; still less are there any peculiar views of religion to be exemplified. Of religion, indeed, there is no more than the occasional, natural aspirations, which serve to redeem the stories from heathenish coldness; and this is fortunate, for (although written by the daughter of a clergyman,) there peep out one or two unorthodox opinions, which prove the lady's imagination to be as potent and discursive upon this subject as upon others, more legitimately within its exercise. Of this, however, we have only indications, not offensive; and we can, therefore, without scruple, dismiss from our consideration, subjects which we have never thought to be naturally or appropriately dwelt upon in works of this kind. What is the peculiar instruction we require from a novel? and first of all, what is a novel? The resource of the young and the idle, or of the wise too in their moments of weariness and aimless relaxation; its very purpose and construction unfit it to be a mode of conveying grave truths. Truth comes not "mended" in its pages, but suspicious; and if made a primary object, the novel loses its character, and sinks into one of those anomalous school-room books, in which we have so often found "the story" read to pieces, while the instructive context has been treated with remarkable respect. A novel must be a *story*; let it be a strong, faithful, lively picture of human life, and we shall draw a moral from it for ourselves. We except, (of course,) all that is vicious and impure, but with this exception, we believe, that wherever a view has been taken broadly, and rendered faithfully, of man's struggles, sufferings, and rewards, a most efficacious assistance will have been rendered to the teaching of the wise and good. We have listened often to the recollections of our old friends,—to those long-winded, clear-headed narratives, which take up the history of a family and carry it down through all its branches, from generation to generation; and when we could overcome the shuddering occasioned by their *prosineness*, and bend ourselves seriously to listen, we have been surprised to find how much practical wisdom was to be derived from them. How many illustrations of God's

retributive justice to men,—of His goodness,—of the truth of old saws; wise, homely proverbs and prophetic promises; were to be found in these sincere and simple histories; true they *were* simple, there was no false colouring, no improper purpose to distort the facts. And this remark would seem to bring us back to the subject from which we have wandered. Our enquiries concerning the *morality* of a novel should be limited to *two*:—does it convey an idea of life, faithful and natural,—not common-place,—and is that idea undistorted by false principles or unworthy purposes?

Both questions we could answer, in the present instance, to our entire satisfaction. The construction of these two novels is entirely different. In “Jane Eyre,” the first, and most admired, the interest is wholly centered in the heroine,—a solitary child. Group after group disappears as she passes from amongst them. Rochester alone remains to divide the attention of the reader with her, and they two alone occupy the scene, and fill it, at the close of the story. In “Shirley,” on the contrary, there are two heroines, with their respective love affairs, both dwelling in a country circle, the various members of which have each their separate interest and pleasant variety of character, and are kept before us and blended with the narrative until its conclusion. Both stories are admirable in their way; we could not ourselves assign a preference; we rather welcome the variety as another proof that the talent of the authoress is as fertile as it is splendid. It is difficult to analyse the charm which attaches to the characters of this authoress. She is no miniature painter; she has no soft model of ideal perfection in her eyes; Jane Eyre is keen, vehement, resentful, but her life-like vigour, the untrammelled freedom of thought and action are not exaggerated; they are shaded off, by many pretty touches, into the girlish, womanly character. The opening of the work introduces her characteristically.

“There was no possibility of taking a walk that day. We had been wandering, indeed, in the leafless shrubbery an hour in the morning; but since dinner (Mrs. Reed, when there was no company, dined early,) the cold winter wind had brought with it clouds so sombre, and a rain so penetrating, that further out-door exercise was now out of the question.

“I was glad of it: I never liked long walks, especially on chilly afternoons: dreadful to me was the coming home in the raw

twilight, with nipped fingers and toes, and a heart saddened by the chidings of Bessie, the nurse, and humbled by the consciousness of my physical inferiority to Eliza, John, and Georgiana Reed.

“The said Eliza, John, and Georgiana were now clustered round their mama in the drawing-room; she lay reclined on a sofa by the fireside, and with her darlings about her (for the time neither quarrelling nor crying) looked perfectly happy. Me, she had dispensed from joining the group; saying, ‘She regretted to be under the necessity of keeping me at a distance; but that until she heard from Bessie, and could discover by her own observation that I was endeavouring in good earnest to acquire a more sociable and child-like disposition, a more attractive and sprightly manner,—something lighter, franker, more natural as it were—she really must exclude me from privileges intended only for contented, happy, little children.’

“‘What does Bessie say I have done?’ I asked.

“‘Jane, I don’t like cavillers or questioners: besides, there is something truly forbidding in a child taking up her elders in that manner. Be seated somewhere; and until you can speak pleasantly, remain silent.’

“A small breakfast-room adjoined the drawing-room: I slipped in there. It contained a book-case: I soon possessed myself of a volume, taking care that it should be one stored with pictures. I mounted into the window-seat: gathering up my feet, I sat cross-legged, like a Turk: and, having drawn the red moreen curtain nearly close, I was shrined in double retirement.

“Folds of scarlet drapery shut in my view to the right hand; to the left were the clear panes of glass, protecting, but not separating me from the drear November day. At intervals, while turning over the leaves of my book, I studied the aspect of the winter afternoon. Afar, it offered a pale blank of mist and cloud; near, a scene of wet lawn and storm-beat shrub, with ceaseless rain sweeping away wildly before a long and lamentable blast.

“I returned to my book—Bewick’s History of British Birds: the letter-press thereof I cared little for, generally speaking; and yet there were certain introductory pages that, child as I was, I could not pass quite as a blank. They were those which treat of the haunts of sea-fowl; of ‘the solitary rocks and promontories’ by them only inhabited; of the coast of Norway, studded with isles from its southern extremity, the Lindeness, or Naze, to the North Cape—

‘Where the Northern Ocean, in vast whirls
Boils round the naked, melancholy isles
Of farthest Thule; and the Atlantic surge
Pours in among the stormy Hebrides.’

Nor could I pass unnoticed the suggestion of the bleak shores of Lapland, Siberia, Spitzbergen, Nova Zembla, Iceland, Greenland, with ‘the vast sweep of the Arctic Zone, and those forlorn regions

of dreary space,—that reservoir of frost and snow, where firm fields of ice, the accumulation of centuries of winters, glazed in Alpine heights above heights, surround the pole, and concentrate the multiplied rigors of extreme cold.' Of these death-white realms I formed an idea of my own: shadowy, like all the half-comprehended notions that float dim through children's brains, but strangely impressive. The words in these introductory pages connected themselves with the succeeding vignettes, and gave significance to the rock standing up alone in a sea of billow and spray; to the broken boat stranded on a desolate coast; to the cold and ghastly moon glancing through bars of cloud at a wreck just sinking.

"I cannot tell what sentiment haunted the quite solitary churchyard, with its inscribed headstone; its gate, its two trees, its low horizon, girdled by a broken wall, and its newly-risen crescent, attesting the hour of even-tide.

"The two ships becalmed on a torpid sea, I believed to be marine phantoms.

"The fiend pinning down the thief's pack behind him, I passed over quickly; it was an object of terror.

"So was the black, horned thing seated aloof on a rock, surveying a distant crowd surrounding a gallows.

"Each picture told a story; mysterious often to my undeveloped understanding and imperfect feelings, yet ever profoundly interesting: as interesting as the tales Bessie sometimes narrated on winter evenings, when she chanced to be in good humour; and when, having brought her ironing-table to the nursery hearth, she allowed us to sit about it, and while she got up Mrs. Reed's lace frills, and crimped her night-cap borders, fed our eager attention with passages of love and adventure taken from old fairy tales and older ballads; or (as at a later period I discovered) from the pages of Pamela, and Henry, Earl of Moreland.

"With Bewick on my knee, I was then happy: happy at least in my way. I feared nothing but interruption, and that came too soon. The breakfast room-door opened.

"'Boh! Madam Mope!' cried the voice of John Reed; then he paused: he found the room apparently empty.

"'Where the dickens is she?' he continued. 'Lizzy! Georgy!' (calling to his sisters) 'Joan is not here: tell mama she has run out into the rain—bad animal!'

"'It is well I drew the curtain,' thought I; and I wished fervently he might not discover my hiding-place; nor would John Reed have found it out himself; he was not quick either of vision or conception; but Eliza just put her head in at the door, and said at once:—

"'She is in the window-seat, to be sure, Jack.'

"And I came out immediately; for I trembled at the idea of being dragged forth by the said Jack.

“‘What do you want?’ I asked, with awkward diffidence.

“‘Say,—what do you want, Master Reed;’ was the answer. ‘I want you to come here;’ and seating himself in an arm-chair, he intimated by a gesture that I was to approach and stand before him.”—Jane Eyre, vol. i., pp. 1-6.

There follows a description, as strong as it is vivid, of the persecution which the orphan child is made to endure, and of the little spirited creature chafing, and at last sinking under it, until the kind old Doctor advises her being sent to school; and the one selected, under the name of Lowood, we have many a time heard recognized by the pupils of a certain school for the education of clergymen’s daughters in the North of England; we are prepared for its system by the introduction of its minister and director.

“Mrs. Reed occupied her usual seat by the fireside: she made a signal to me to approach: I did so, and she introduced me to the stony stranger with the words: ‘This is the little girl respecting whom I applied to you.’

“*He*, for it was a man, turned his head slowly towards where I stood, and having examined me with the two inquisitive-looking grey eyes which twinkled under a pair of bushy brows, said solemnly, and in a bass voice: ‘Her size is small: what is her age?’

“‘Ten years.’

“‘So much?’ was the doubtful answer; and he prolonged his scrutiny for some minutes. Presently he addressed me:

“‘Your name, little girl?’

“‘Jane Eyre, sir.’

“In uttering these words, I looked up: he seemed to me a tall gentleman; but then I was very little; his features were large, and they and all the lines of his frame were equally harsh and prim.

“‘Well, Jane Eyre, and are you a good child?’

“Impossible to reply to this in the affirmative: my little world held a contrary opinion: I was silent. Mrs. Reed answered for me by an expressive shake of the head, adding soon, ‘Perhaps the less said on that subject the better, Mr. Brocklehurst.’

“‘Sorry indeed to hear it! she and I must have some talk;’ and bending from the perpendicular, he installed his person in the arm-chair, opposite Mrs. Reed’s. ‘Come here,’ he said.

“I stepped across the rug; he placed me square and straight before him. What a face he had, now that it was almost on a level with mine! what a great nose! and what a mouth! and what large prominent teeth!

“‘No sight so sad as that of a naughty child,’ he began, ‘especially a naughty little girl. Do you know where the wicked go after death?’

“ ‘They go to hell,’ was my ready and orthodox answer.

“ ‘And what is hell? Can you tell me that?’

“ ‘A pit full of fire.’

“ ‘And should you like to fall into that pit, and to be burning there for ever?’

“ ‘No, sir.’

“ ‘What must you do to avoid it?’

“ ‘I deliberated a moment; my answer, when it did come was objectionable: ‘I must keep in good health, and not die.’

“ ‘How can you keep in good health? Children younger than you die daily. I buried a little child of five years old only a day or two since,—a good little child whose soul is now in heaven. It is to be feared the same could not be said of you, were you to be called hence.’

“ ‘Not being in a condition to remove his doubt, I only cast my eyes down on the two large feet planted on the rug, and sighed; wishing myself far enough away.

“ ‘I hope that sigh is from the heart, and that you repent of ever having been the occasion of discomfort to your excellent benefactress.’

“ ‘Benefactress! benefactress!’ said I, inwardly: ‘they all call Mrs. Reed my benefactress; if so, a benefactress is a disagreeable thing.’

“ ‘Do you say your prayers night and morning?’ continued my interrogator.

“ ‘Yes, sir.’

“ ‘Do you read your bible?’

“ ‘Sometimes.’

“ ‘With pleasure? Are you fond of it?’

“ ‘I like Revelations, and the book of Daniel, and Genesis and Samuel, and a little bit of Exodus, and some parts of Kings and Chronicles, and Job and Jonah.’

“ ‘And the Psalms? I hope you like them.’

“ ‘No, sir.’

“ ‘No? oh, shocking! I have a little boy, younger than you, who knows six Psalms by heart; and when you ask him which he would rather have, a ginger-bread-nut to eat, or a verse of a Psalm to learn, he says: ‘Oh! the verse of a Psalm! angels sing Psalms,’ says he, ‘I wish to be a little angel here below;’ he then gets two nuts in recompense for his infant piety.’

“ ‘Psalms are not interesting,’ I remarked.

“ ‘That proves you have a wicked heart; and you must pray to God to change it: to give you a new and a clean one: to take away your heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh.’

“ ‘I was about to propound a question, touching the manner in which that operation of changing my heart was to be performed, when Mrs. Reed interposed, telling me to sit down; she then proceeded to carry on the conversation herself.

“ ‘Mr. Brocklehurst, I believe I intimated in the letter which I wrote to you three weeks ago, that this little girl has not quite the character and disposition I could wish: should you admit her into Lowood school, I should be glad if the superintendent and teachers were requested to keep a strict eye on her, and, above all, to guard against her worst fault, a tendency to deceit. I mention this in your hearing, Jane, that you may not attempt to impose on Mr. Brocklehurst.’ ”

“ ‘Well might I dread, well might I dislike Mrs. Reed; for it was her nature to wound me cruelly: never was I happy in her presence: however carefully I obeyed, however strenuously I strove to please her, my efforts were still repulsed and repaid by such sentences as the above. Now, uttered before a stranger, the accusation cut me to the heart: I dimly perceived that she was already obliterating hope from the new phase of existence which she destined me to enter; I felt, though I could not have expressed the feeling, that she was sowing aversion and unkindness along my future path; I saw myself transformed under Mr. Brocklehurst’s eye into an artful, noxious child, and what could I do to remedy the injury?’ ”

“ ‘Nothing, indeed;’ thought I, as I struggled to repress a sob, and hastily wiped away some tears, the impotent evidences of my anguish.

“ ‘Deceit is, indeed, a sad fault in a child,’ said Mr. Brocklehurst, ‘it is akin to falsehood, and all liars will have their portion in the lake burning with fire and brimstone: she shall, however, be watched, Mrs. Reed; I will speak to Miss Temple and the teachers.’ ”

“ ‘I should wish her to be brought up in a manner suiting her prospects,’ continued my benefactress; ‘to be made useful, to be kept humble: as for the vacations, she will, with your permission, spend them always at Lowood.’ ”

“ ‘Your decisions are perfectly judicious, madam,’ returned Mr. Brocklehurst. ‘Humility is a christian grace, and one peculiarly appropriate to the pupils of Lowood; I, therefore, direct that especial care shall be bestowed on its cultivation amongst them. I have studied how best to mortify in them the worldly sentiment of pride; and only the other day I had a pleasing proof of my success. My second daughter, Augusta, went with her mama to visit the school, and on her return she exclaimed: ‘Oh, dear papa, how quiet and plain all the girls of Lowood look! with their hair combed behind their ears, and their long pinafores, and those little holland pockets outside their frocks—they are almost like poor people’s children! and,’ said she, ‘they looked at my dress and mama’s, as if they had never seen a silk gown before.’ ”

“ ‘This is the state of things I quite approve,’ returned Mrs. Reed; ‘had I sought all England over, I could scarcely have found a system more exactly fitting a child like Jane Eyre. Consistency, my dear Mr. Brocklehurst; I advocate consistency in all things.’ ”

“‘Consistency, madam, is the first of Christian duties ; and it has been observed in every arrangement connected with the establishment of Lowood : plain fare, simple attire, unsophisticated accommodations, hardy and active habits ; such is the order of the day in the house and its inhabitants.’

“‘Quite right, sir. I may then depend upon this child being received as a pupil at Lowood, and there being trained in conformity to her position and prospects ?’

“‘Madam, you may : she shall be placed in that nursery of chosen plants—and I trust she will show herself grateful for the inestimable privileges of her election.’

“‘I will send her, then, as soon as possible, Mr. Brocklehurst ; for, I assure you, I feel anxious to be relieved of a responsibility that was becoming too irksome.’

“‘No doubt, no doubt, madam : and now I wish you good-morning. I shall return to Brocklehurst-hall in the course of a week or two : my good friend, the Archdeacon, will not permit me to leave him sooner. I shall send Miss Temple notice that she is to expect a new girl, so that there will be no difficulty about receiving her. Good-bye.’

“‘Good-bye, Mr. Brocklehurst ; remember me to Mrs. and Miss Brocklehurst, and to Augusta and Theodore, and Master Broughton Brocklehurst.’

“‘I will, madam. Little girl, here is a book entitled the ‘Child’s Guide ;’ read it with prayer, especially that part containing, ‘an account of the awfully sudden death of Martha G——, a naughty child addicted to falsehood and deceit.’

“‘With these words Mr. Brocklehurst put into my hand a thin pamphlet sewn in a cover ; and having rung for his carriage, he departed.’—*Jane Eyre*, vol. i., pp. 52-60.

The goaded child breaks into a storm of fury, and the re-action of her feelings is as piteous as it is true to nature. To this school the accusations of her aunt are brought by the charitable Mr. Brocklehurst, when, in company with his dashing family, he visits it, to enforce every hard or galling restriction by his sanctimonious precepts ; but the child rises above them, forms friends,—one of them being, as a character, the only failure in the book, a mere abstraction,—obtains a good education, and at eighteen leaves it to take the situation of a governess in Mr. Rochester’s house, to his ward. She is beginning to plead against the too tranquil ease of this new situation,—

“‘Women are supposed to be very calm generally : but women feel just as men feel ; they need exercise for their faculties, and a field for their efforts as much as their brothers do ; they suffer from too rigid a restraint, too absolute a stagnation, precisely as

men would suffer ; and it is narrow-minded in their more privileged fellow-creatures to say that they ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings, to playing on the piano and embroidering bags. It is thoughtless to condemn them, or laugh at them, if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex.”—vol. i., p. 216.

—when the “grim” master of the house, Mr. Rochester, returns home. We should quote far too largely were we to give an idea of the skill with which the authoress has delineated the *attraction* which these two *strong* characters have for each other. There is perfect propriety, and no lack of feminine reserve or girlish modesty in little Jane, but yet she rises to his level,—mates him,—excites at once and restrains his somewhat stern and cynical nature. The pungent dialogues in which they try each other’s strength elicit but at times from him the expression of growing passion, and the strength with which Jane holds in check her own ardent impulses, bring the sensible, high-spirited girl before our minds with a reality quite beyond the usual scope of fiction. The sort of character and the sort of intercourse are best given in the words of Rochester :

“ ‘ Impatiently I waited for evening, when I might summon you to my presence. An unusual—to me—a perfectly new character I suspected was yours : I desired to search it deeper, and know it better. You entered the room with a look and air at once shy and independent ; you were quaintly dressed—much as you are now. I made you talk : ere long I found you full of strange contrasts. Your garb and manner were restricted by rule ; your air was often diffident, and altogether that of one refined by nature, but absolutely unused to society, and a good deal afraid of making herself disadvantageously conspicuous by some solecism or blunder ; yet when addressed, you lifted a keen, a daring, and a glowing eye to your interlocutor’s face : there was penetration and power in each glance you gave ; when plied by close questions you found ready and round answers. Very soon, you seemed to get used to me—I believe you felt the existence of sympathy between you and your grim and cross master, Jane ; for it was astonishing to see how quickly a certain pleasant ease tranquillized your manner : snarl as I would, you showed no surprise, fear, annoyance, or displeasure at my moroseness ; you watched me, and now and then smiled at me with a simple yet sagacious grace I cannot describe. I was at once content and stimulated with what I saw : I liked what I had seen, and wished to see more. Yet, for a long time, I treated you distantly, and sought your company rarely. I was an intellectual epicure, and wished to prolong the gratification of making this novel and piquant acquaintance : besides, I was for a while troubled with

a haunting fear that if I handled the flower freely its bloom would fade—the sweet charm of freshness would leave it. I did not then know that it was no transitory blossom; but rather the radiant resemblance of one, cut in an indestructible gem. Moreover, I wished to see whether you would seek me if I shunned you—but you did not; you kept in the school-room as still as your own desk and easel; if by chance I met you, you passed me as soon, and with as little token of recognition, as was consistent with respect. Your habitual expression in those days, Jane, was a thoughtful look: not despondent, for you were not sickly; but not buoyant, for you had little hope, and no actual pleasure. I wondered what you thought of me—or if you ever thought of me; to find this out, I resumed my notice of you. There was something glad in your glance, and genial in your manner, when you conversed: I saw you had a social heart; it was the silent school-room—it was the tedium of your life that made you mournful. I permitted myself the delight of being kind to you; kindness stirred emotion soon; your face became soft in expression, your tones gentle; I liked my name pronounced by your lips in a grateful, happy accent. I used to enjoy a chance meeting with you, Jane, at this time: there was a curious hesitation in your manner: you glanced at me with a slight trouble—a hovering doubt: you did not know what my caprice might be—whether I was going to play the master and be stern, or the friend and be benignant. I was now too fond of you often to simulate the first whim; and, when I stretched my hand out cordially, such bloom and light and bliss rose to your young, wistful features, I had much ado often to avoid straining you then and there to my heart.”—Jane Eyre, vol. iii., pp. 33-35.

We are not analysing the story; we cannot find space for her return to the home of her dying aunt, and the revelation there made to her; or for the mystery of Thornfield Hall. It is explained at last. Rochester, waywardly and fiercely overcoming his own feelings, asks and obtains Jane Eyre's consent to marry him, and after a somewhat stormy courtship, they stand together before the clergyman,—strangers step forward,—declare an impediment to the marriage, in the existence of a former wife, for years confined in Thornfield Hall, a violent and disgusting maniac. Terrible is the scene that follows: she hears his passionate pleading; the history of all the misery and sin that had followed his fatal marriage.

“‘You see now how the case stands—do you not?’ he continued. ‘After a youth and manhood passed half in unutterable misery and half in dreary solitude, I have for the first time found what I can truly love—I have found *you*. You are my sympathy—my better self—my good angel—I am bound to you with a strong attach-

ment. I think you good, gifted, lovely : a fervent, a solemn passion is conceived in my heart ; it leans to you, draws you to my centre and spring of life, wraps my existence about you—and, kindling in pure, powerful flame, fuses you and me in one.

“ ‘ It was because I felt and knew this, that I resolved to marry you. To tell me that I had already a wife is empty mockery : you know now that I had but a hideous demon. I was wrong to attempt to deceive you ; but I feared a stubbornness that exists in your character. I feared early instilled prejudice : I wanted to have you safe before hazarding confidences. This was cowardly : I should have appealed to your nobleness and magnanimity at first, as I do now—opened to you plainly my life of agony—described to you my hunger and thirst after a higher and worthier existence—shown to you, not my *resolution* (that word is weak) but my resistless *bent* to love faithfully and well, where I am faithfully and well loved in return. Then I should have asked you to accept my pledge of fidelity, and to give me yours : Jane—give it me now.’ ”

“ A pause.

“ ‘ Why are you silent, Jane ?’ ”

“ ‘ I was experiencing an ordeal : a hand of fiery iron grasped my vitals. Terrible moment : full of struggle, blackness, burning ! Not a human being that ever lived could wish to be loved better than I was loved ; and him who thus loved me I absolutely worshipped : and I must renounce love and idol. One drear word comprised my intolerable duty,—‘ Depart !’ ”

“ ‘ Jane, you understand what I want of you ? Just this promise—‘ I will be yours, Mr. Rochester.’ ”

“ ‘ Mr. Rochester, I will *not* be yours.’ ”

“ Another long silence.

“ ‘ Jane !’ re-commenced he, with a gentleness that broke me down with grief, and turned me stone-cold with ominous terror—for this still voice was the pant of a lion rising—‘ Jane, do you mean to go one way in the world, and to let me go another ?’ ”

“ ‘ I do.’ ”

“ ‘ Jane,’ (bending towards and embracing me), ‘ do you mean it now ?’ ”

“ ‘ I do.’ ”

“ ‘ And now ;’ softly kissing my forehead and cheek.

“ ‘ I do—’ extricating myself from restraint rapidly and completely.

“ ‘ Oh, Jane, this is bitter ! This—this is wicked. It would not be wicked to love me.’ ”

“ ‘ It would to obey you.’ ”

“ A wild look raised his brows—crossed his features : he rose ; but he forbore yet. I laid my hand on the back of a chair for support : I shook, I feared—but I resolved.

“ ‘ One instant, Jane. Give one glance to my horrible life when you are gone. All happiness will be torn away with you. What

then is left? For a wife I have but the maniac up-stairs: as well might you refer me to some corpse in yonder church-yard. What shall I do, Jane? Where turn for a companion, and for some hope?

“Do as I do: trust in God, and yourself. Believe in heaven. Hope to meet again there.’

“Then you will not yield?”

“No.’

“Then you condemn me to live wretched, and to die accursed?” His voice rose.

“I advise you to live sinless; and I wish you to die tranquil.’

“Then you snatch love and innocence from me? You fling me back on lust for a passion—vice for an occupation?”

“Mr. Rochester, I no more assign this fate to you than I grasp at it for myself. We were born to strive and endure—you as well as I: do so. You will forget me before I forget you.’

“You make me a liar by such language: you sully my honour. I declared I could not change: you tell me to my face I shall change soon. And what a distortion in your judgment, what a perversity in your ideas, is proved by your conduct! Is it better to drive a fellow creature to despair than to transgress a mere human law—no man being injured by the breach? for you have neither relatives nor acquaintances whom you need fear to offend by living with me.’

“This was true: and while he spoke my very Conscience and Reason turned traitors against me, and charged me with crime in resisting him. They spoke almost as loud as Feeling: and that clamoured wildly. ‘O comply!’ it said. ‘Think of his misery; think of his danger—look at his state when left alone; remember his headlong nature; consider the recklessness following on despair—soothe him; save him; love him; tell him you love him and will be his. Who in the world cares for *you*? or who will be injured by what you do?’

“Still indomitable was the reply—‘I care for myself. The more solitary, the more friendless, the more unsustained I am, the more I will respect myself. I will keep the law given by God; sanctioned by man. I will hold to the principles received by me when I was sane, and not mad—as I am now. Laws and principles are not for the times when there is no temptation: they are for such moments as this, when body and soul rise in mutiny against their rigour; stringent are they; inviolate they shall be. If at my individual convenience I might break them, what would be their worth? They have a worth—so I have always believed; and if I cannot believe it now, it is because I am insane—quite insane: with my veins running fire, and my heart beating faster than I can count its throbs. Preconceived opinions, foregone determinations, are all I have at this hour to stand by: there I plant my foot.’”—Jane Eyre, vol. iii., pp. 36-40.

And there is something sublime in all that follows ; an appreciation of the inward and superior will of a strong nature, scarce conscious of itself or of its own workings, assuming even the form of a blind instinct, and yet of power to subdue the raging passions which it has to combat.

“In the midst of my pain of heart, and frantic effort of principle, I abhorred myself. I had no solace from self-approbation ; none even from self-respect. I had injured—wounded—left my master. I was hateful in my own eyes. Still I could not turn, nor retrace one step. God must have led me on. As to my own will or conscience, impassioned grief had trampled one and stifled the other. I was weeping wildly as I walked along my solitary way ; fast, fast I went like one delirious. A weakness, beginning inwardly, extending to the limbs, seized me, and I fell : I lay on the ground some minutes, pressing my face to the wet turf. I had some fear—or hope—that here I should die : but I was soon up ; crawling forwards on my hands and knees, then again raised to my feet—as eager and as determined as ever to reach the road.”—*Jane Eyre*, vol. iii. p. 48.

As we have said before, it is not our intention to follow our heroine in her wanderings, nor to notice her accession of fortune, or her recognition by her relations ; and yet this part of the story contains most striking scenes, and there is one character, that of her cousin, St. John Rivers, which we consider one of the most rare and finely delineated, that can be met with in the whole region of such descriptions. It is not every one who will have met such a one ; those who have will recognise it with a thrill. We have spoken of the unity of the story,—its coherency is no less remarkable ; every incident is exciting, unexpected ; not one can be taxed with being forced, unnatural, or even improbable ; and the catastrophe is a fitting climax,—pathetic, and yet full of softness and satisfied feeling. We must not detail it, in justice to those who have not yet read this charming novel.

“*Shirley*,” in its own way, is equally agreeable. It has less, perhaps of passion, but it is more diffuse, more ornamented, more various ; it abounds, even more than “*Jane Eyre*,” in those lovely pictures of nature which form so striking a feature in these novels ; pictures which have not the soft and somewhat laboured tinting of Mrs. Radcliffe’s scenery, nor are they like the rich elaborate framework in which James disposes of his personages ;—they are dashed

off in few strong colours, laid on broadly ; the sounds, the aspect of nature, the effect of the changing temperature upon the nerves, seems re-produced, blending and harmonising with the scene in a peculiar manner. We take at random the description of an old mansion.

“ If Fieldhead had few other merits as a building, it might at least be termed picturesque : its irregular architecture, and the gray and mossy colouring communicated by time, gave it a just claim to this epithet. The old latticed windows, the stone porch, the walls, the roof, the chimney-stacks, were rich in crayon touches and sepia lights and shades. The trees behind were fine, bold, and spreading ; the cedar on the lawn in front was grand, and the granite urns on the garden wall, the fretted arch of the gateway, were, for an artist, as the very desire of the eye.

“ One mild May evening, Caroline passing near about moon-rise, and feeling, though weary, unwilling yet to go home, where there was only the bed of thorns and the night of grief to anticipate, sat down on the mossy ground near the gate, and gazed through towards cedar and mansion. It was a still night—calm, dewy, cloudless : the gables, turned to the west, reflected the clear amber of the horizon they faced ; the oaks behind were black ; the cedar was blacker ; under its dense, raven boughs a glimpse of sky opened gravely blue : it was full of the moon, which looked solemnly and mildly down on Caroline from beneath the sombre canopy.”—vol. i. pp. 276-277.

Take again this short description, taken equally at random :

“ It was now the middle of the month of February ; by six o'clock, therefore, dawn was just beginning to steal on night, to penetrate with a pale ray its brown obscurity, and give a demi-translucence to its opaque shadows. Pale enough that ray was on this particular morning ; no colour tinged the east, no flush warmed it. To see what a heavy lid day slowly lifted, what a wan glance she flung along the hills, you would have thought the sun's fire quenched in last night's floods. The breath of this morning was chill as its aspect ; a raw wind stirred the mass of night-cloud, and shewed, as it slowly rose—leaving a colourless, silver-gleaming ring all round the horizon—not blue sky, but a stratum of paler vapour beyond. It had ceased to rain, but the earth was sodden, and the pools and rivulets were full.”—vol. i. p. 83.

But we proceed to give some account of the book. Its opening is comical : we have a description of the three curates of adjoining parishes.

“ These gentlemen are in the bloom of youth ; they possess all the activity of that interesting age—an activity which their moping old vicars would fain turn into the channel of their pastoral duties, often expressing a wish to see it expended in a diligent superintendence of the schools, and in frequent visits to the sick of their respective parishes.

But the youthful Levites feel this to be dull work ; they prefer lavishing their energies on a course of proceeding which—though to other eyes it appear more heavy with ennui, more cursed with monotony, than the toil of the weaver at his loom, seems to yield them an unfailing supply of enjoyment and occupation.

“ I allude to a rushing backwards and forwards, amongst themselves, to and from their respective lodgings : not a round—but a triangle of visits, which we keep up all the year through, in winter, spring, summer, and autumn. Season and weather make no difference ; with unintelligible zeal they dare snow and hail, wind and rain, mire and dust, to go and dine, or drink tea, or sup with each other. What attracts them, it would be difficult to say. It is not friendship ; for whenever they meet they quarrel. It is not religion ; the thing is never named amongst them : theology they may discuss occasionally, but piety—never. It is not the love of eating and drinking ; each might have as good a joint and pudding, tea as potent, and toast as succulent, at his own lodgings, as is served to him at his brother’s. Mrs. Gale, Mrs. Hogg, and Mrs. Whip,—their respective landladies—affirm that ‘ it is just for nought else but to give folk trouble.’ By ‘ folk’ the good ladies of course mean themselves, for indeed they are kept in a continual ‘ fry’ by this system of mutual invasion.”—vol. i. p. 3-4.

We could not refrain from this introduction of the worthy gentlemen, for they are irresistibly comical, and we should think portraits, from the great pains the authoress has given to touching them up ; although for any importance they are of to the story they might as well not have been mentioned. The amusing wrangle with which the curates are following up their dinner is interrupted by the rector of one of them, Mr. Helstone.

“ Standing straight as a ramrod—looking keen as a kite, presented, despite his clerical hat, black coat, and gaiters, more the air of a veteran officer chiding his subalterns, than of a venerable priest exhorting his sons in the faith. Gospel mildness—apostolic benignity, never seemed to have breathed their influence over that keen brown visage ; but firmness had fixed the features, and sagacity had carved her own lines about them.”—vol. i. pp. 13-14.

We are elsewhere told of the same clergyman, after admitting that a parson should not be warlike, and refusing nevertheless to join in the outcry against the diabolical rector of Briarfield.

“ He was not diabolical at all. The evil simply was—he had missed his vocation : he should have been a soldier, and circumstances had made him a priest. For the rest he was a conscientious, hard-headed, hard-handed, brave, stern, implacable, faithful

little man : a man almost without sympathy, ungentle, prejudiced, and rigid ; but a man true to principle,—honourable, sagacious, and sincere. It seems to me, reader, that you cannot always cut out men to fit their profession, and that you ought not to curse them because that profession sometimes hangs on them ungracefully—nor will I curse Helstone, clerical Cossack as he was. Yet he *was* cursed, and by many of his own parishioners, as by others he was adored, which is the frequent fate of men who show partiality, in friendship, and bitterness in enmity ; who are equally attached to principles and adherent to prejudices.”—Shirley, vol. i. pp. 48-49.

The character of this clerical Cossack is admirably kept up to the last. He, with his Irish curate, sallies forth to the assistance of his parishioner, Robert Moore, a young mill-owner, and one of the heroes of the story—yet there is nothing heroic in his position, character, or actions. By the introduction of machinery, and his own cold stern manner, he earns the hatred of his neighbours, and is shot at and badly wounded once. The “Orders in council” (the date of the story is 1811-12) cripple his trade, and he is consequently in embarrassment, from which he strives desperately to free himself, and on account of which he subdues the love he is inclined to feel for Caroline Helstone, the rector’s niece, and one of the sweetest little heroines we remember. There is an orderly propriety, a lady-like elegance about this pretty creature, which seems quite a distinct feature ; we perceive it and recognise it—her feelings are intense, but they are modestly yielded to, or firmly struggled with, after the fashion of a refined English girl, and there is nothing of insipidity in them or in her. Moore is a hard but gentlemanly man, reserved, brave, courteous, a keen man of business, with a heart entirely under his own control. He is not good enough for Caroline, yet is the sort of person who might attract such a nature. She is suffering from his coldness and her own uncertainty ; her health is failing, and she desires a change. When the second heroine is introduced, the heiress of the neighbourhood, a lady worth a thousand a year and just of age—Miss Shirley Keeldar, a great arrival!—and with her come a host of personages ; the pompous fussy uncle, her quondam guardian, with his formal wife ; the daughters, stiff, censorious nonentities ; the only son, lame, an affectionate, sensitive boy—and his tutor.

This tutor should be introduced with a flourish of trumpets. He is the brother of Robert Moore, and the unavowed lover of the heiress. He has been her tutor, and occasionally assumes the airs of a master, while at others he keeps the distance suggested by his pride and poverty; the lady varying in like manner from the haughty to the submissive: at no time, however, is their intercourse carried on pleasingly. Louis Moore is supposed to be a paragon of virtue and attainments; but the conviction is by no means brought home to the reader. No feeling of his superiority reconciles us to what is neither more nor less than insolence, but partially disguised, in his behaviour to her; an exaggerated attention to the suggestions of his own pride; a desire to subjugate, to “master” her; scarcely tempered by the delicacy or deference due to her age and sex. And the result is that Shirley, a graceful, generous, impulsive creature, irresistible in her girlish mischief, and carelessness, and sportive sweetness; even she loses something of her charm during the courtship: it has so much of the wiliness and the “*meffiance*” of war, at least on his part, that the over coyness with which at last she yields, appears not *only* natural, but painful. Yet we must do justice to the art of the authoress. Without an incident—except sundry quarrels with her uncle—to mar the progress of their love, it is astonishing how much variety enlivens it, and keeps up the reader’s suspense until the end. Caroline’s love affairs are not so prosperous; she becomes very ill; her long decay is quickened into fever; and then Mrs. Pryor, Miss Shirley’s *ci-devant* governess and friend, (for whom Caroline has conceived great affection), comes to nurse her; unsuccessfully at first, the symptoms grow worse, wanderings of the mind come on; then, in the hope of causing a revulsion of feeling, Mrs. Pryor reveals herself as her mother.

“‘Then, if you love me,’ said she, speaking quickly, with an altered voice: ‘if you feel as if—to use your own words—you could ‘grow to my heart,’ it will be neither shock nor pain for you to know that *that* heart is the source whence yours was filled; that from *my* veins issued the tide which flows in *yours*; that you are *mine*—my daughter—my own child.’

“‘Mrs. Pryor——!’

“‘My own child!’

“‘That is—that means—you have adopted me?’

“‘It means that, if I have given you nothing else, I at least, gave

you life ; that I bore you—nursed you ; that I am your true mother : no other woman can claim the title it is *mine*.’

“ ‘ But Mrs. James Helstone—but my father’s wife, whom I do not remember ever to have seen, she is my mother ?’

“ ‘ She is your mother : James Helstone was *my* husband. I say you are *mine*. I have proved it. I thought perhaps you were all his, which would have been a cruel dispensation for me : I find it is *not* so. God permitted me to be the parent of my child’s mind : it belongs to me : it is my property—*my right*. These features are James’s own. He had a fine face when he was young, and not altered by error. Papa, my darling, gave you your blue eyes and soft brown hair : he gave you the oval of your face and the regularity of your lineaments : the outside *he* conferred ; but the heart and the brain are *mine* : the germs are from *me*, and they are improved, they are developed to excellence. I esteem and approve my child as highly as I do most fondly love her.’

“ ‘ Is what I hear true ? Is it no dream ?’

“ ‘ I wish it were as true that the substance and colour of health were restored to your cheek.’

“ ‘ My own mother ! is she one I can be so fond of as I can of you ? People generally did not like her, so I have been given to understand.’

“ ‘ They told you that ? Well, your mother now tells you, that, not having the gift to please people generally, for their approbation she does not care : her thoughts are centered in her child : does that child welcome or reject her ?’

“ ‘ But if you *are* my mother, the world is all changed to me. Surely I can live—I should like to recover——’

“ ‘ You *must* recover. You drew life and strength from my breast when you were a tiny, fair infant, over whose blue eyes I used to weep, fearing I beheld in your very beauty the sign of qualities that had entered my heart like iron, and pierced through my soul like a sword. Daughter ! we have been long parted : I return now to cherish you again.’

“ ‘ She held her to her bosom : she cradled her in her arms : she rocked her softly, as if lulling a young child to sleep.

“ ‘ My mother ! My own mother !’

“ ‘ The offspring nestled to the parent : that parent, feeling the endearment and hearing the appeal, gathered her closer still. She covered her with noiseless kisses : she murmured love over her, like a cushat fostering its young.

“ ‘ There was silence in the room for a long while.

* * * * *

“ ‘ Does my uncle know ?’

“ ‘ Your uncle knows : I told him when I first came to stay with you here.’

“ ‘ Did you recognise me when we first met at Fieldhead ?’

“‘How could it be otherwise? Mr. and Miss Helstone being announced, I was prepared to see my child.’

“‘It was that then which moved you: I saw you disturbed.’

“‘You saw nothing, Caroline: I can cover my feelings. You can never tell what an age of strange sensation I lived, during the two minutes that elapsed between the report of your name and your entrance. You can never tell how your look, mien, carriage shook me.’

“‘Why? Were you disappointed?’

“‘What will she be like? I had asked myself; and when I saw what you were like, I could have dropped.’

“‘Mama, why?’

“‘I trembled in your presence. I said I will never own her: she shall never know me.’

“‘But I said and did nothing remarkable. I felt a little diffident at the thought of an introduction to strangers, that was all.’

“‘I soon saw you were diffident; that was the first thing which reassured me: had you been rustic, clownish, awkward, I should have been content.’

“‘You puzzle me.’

“‘I had reason to dread a fair outside, to mistrust a popular bearing, to shudder before distinction, grace, and courtesy. Beauty and affability had come in my way when I was a recluse, desolate, young and ignorant: a toil-worn governess perishing of uncheered labour, breaking down before her time. These, Caroline, when they smiled on me, I mistook for angels! I followed them home, and when into their hands I had given without reserve my whole chance of future happiness, it was my lot to witness a transfiguration on the domestic hearth: to see the white mask lifted, the bright disguise put away, and opposite me sat down—Oh God! I *have* suffered!’

“‘She sank on the pillow.

“‘I *have* suffered! None saw,—none knew: there was no sympathy—no redemption—no redress!’

“‘Take comfort, mother: it is over now.’

“‘It is over, and not fruitlessly. I tried to keep the word of His patience: He kept me in the days of my anguish. I was afraid with terror—I was troubled: through great tribulation He brought me through to a salvation revealed in this last time. My fear had torment—He has cast it out: He has given me in its stead perfect loveBut, Caroline——’

“‘Thus she invoked her daughter after a pause.

“‘Mother!’

“‘I charge you, when you next look on your father’s monument, to respect the name chiselled there. To you he did only good. On you he conferred his whole treasure of beauties; nor added to them one dark defect. All *you* derived from him is excellent. You owe him gratitude. Leave, between him and me, the settlement of our

mutual account: meddle not: God is the arbiter. This world's laws never came near us—never! They were powerless as a rotten bulrush to protect me!—impotent as idiot babblings to restrain him! As you said, it is all over now: the grave lies between us. There he sleeps,—in that church! To his dust I say this night, what I have never said before, 'James, slumber peacefully! See! your terrible debt is cancelled! Look! I wipe out the long black account with my own hand! James, your child atones: this living likeness of you,—this thing with your perfect features,—this one good gift you gave me has nestled affectionately to my heart, and tenderly called me 'mother.' Husband! rest forgiven!'

"Dearest mother, that is right! Can papa's spirit hear us? Is he comforted to know that we still love him?"

"I say nothing of love: I spoke of forgiveness. Mind the truth, child,—I said nothing of love! On the threshold of eternity, should he be there to see me enter, will I maintain that?"

"Oh, mother! you must have suffered!"

"Oh, child! the human heart can suffer. It can hold more tears than the ocean holds waters. We never know how deep—how wide it is, till misery begins to unbind her clouds, and fill it with rushing blackness."

"Mother, forget."

"Forget!" she said, with the strangest spectre of a laugh. "The North pole will rush to the South, and the headlands of Europe be locked into the bays of Australia, ere I forget."

"Hush, mother! rest!—be at peace!"—Shirley, Vol. iii. pp. 18-23.

We have heard this part of the story greatly blamed, especially it has been considered unnatural that Mrs. Helstone should have parted with this only child in its infancy, and have never sought to rejoin it. In matters of feeling as of taste there is no certain rule; to us it appears that maternal affection does not always spring to life in full force, particularly in a heart absorbed already by painful emotion. We can comprehend that the troubled, heart-sore, self-distrusting woman should have shrunk from the charge of this child, so like to a bad hateful father, the perpetual link with the abhorred past—the child whom she could not maintain, and feared she could not manage, and from whom she dreaded a repetition of the trials she could no longer cope with; and that she might have felt she was doing the best for the child by leaving it to the care of its father's brother, (a worthy man and a clergyman), and for herself in wrenching herself

free of the ties which she had found so hard. At any rate, here is a beautiful picture ; we have Caroline reviving under the influence of this sweet affection, assuming the ascendancy, claiming the privileges of a spoiled child. Other prospects brighten too ; in the loneliness and danger that follow his wound, Moore's heart detaches itself somewhat from the wealth he has bought with such ambitious, not sordid, passion. It softens to his own love and his cousin's, (they are distant connexions). She is the first person he demands on his return to his home. We must make room for one more extract.

“ ‘Hortense,’ said Moore, as his sister bustled up to help him off with his cloak, ‘I am pleased to come home.’

“ ‘Hortense did not feel the peculiar novelty of this expression coming from her brother, who had never before called the cottage his home, and to whom its narrow limits had always heretofore seemed rather restrictive than protective : still, whatever contributed to his happiness pleased her ; and she expressed herself to that effect.

“ ‘He sat down, but soon rose again : he went to the window ; he came back to the fire.

“ ‘Hortense !’

“ ‘Mon frère ?’

“ ‘This little parlour looks very clean and pleasant : unusually bright, somehow.’

“ ‘It is true, brother : I have had the whole house thoroughly and scrupulously cleaned in your absence.’

“ ‘Sister, I think on this first day of your return home, you ought to have a friend or so to tea ; if it were only to see how fresh and spruce you have made the little place.’

“ ‘True, brother : if it were not late, I might send for Miss Mann.’

“ ‘So you might ; but it really is too late to disturb that good lady ; and the evening is much too cold for her to come out.’

“ ‘How thoughtful in you, dear Gérard ! We must put it off till another day.’

“ ‘I want some one to-day, dear sister : some quiet guest, who would tire neither of us.’

“ ‘Miss Ainley ?’

“ ‘An excellent person, they say ; but she lives too far off. Tell Harry Scott to step up to the Rectory, with a request from you, that Caroline Helstone should come and spend the evening with you.’

“ ‘Would it not be better to-morrow, dear brother ?’

“ ‘I should like her to see the place as it is just now : its brilliant cleanliness and perfect neatness are so much to your credit.’

“ ‘It might benefit her in the way of example.’

“ ‘It might and must : she ought to come.’

“ ‘He went into the kitchen.

“ ‘Sarah, delay tea half an hour.’ He then commissioned her to despatch Harry Scott to the Rectory, giving her a twisted note hastily scribbled in pencil by himself, and addressed ‘Miss Helstone.’

“ Scarcely had Sarah time to get impatient under the fear of damage to her toast already prepared, when the messenger returned ; and with him the invited guest.

“ She entered through the kitchen, quietly tripped up Sarah’s stairs to take off her bonnet and furs, and came down as quietly, with her beautiful curls nicely smoothed ; her graceful merino dress and delicate collar all trim and spotless ; her gay little work-bag in her hand. She lingered to exchange a few kindly words with Sarah ; and to look at the new tortoiseshell kitten basking on the kitchen hearth ; and to speak to the canary-bird, which a sudden blaze from the fire had startled on its perch ; and then she betook herself to the parlour.

“ The gentle salutation, the friendly welcome, were interchanged in such tranquil sort as befitted cousins meeting ; a sense of pleasure, subtle and quiet as a perfume, diffused itself through the room ; the newly kindled lamp burnt up bright ; the tray and the singing urn were brought in.

“ ‘I am pleased to come home,’ repeated Mr. Moore.

“ They assembled round the table. Hortense chiefly talked. She congratulated Caroline on the evident improvement in her health : her colour and her plump cheeks were returning, she remarked. It was true : there was an obvious change in Miss Helstone : all about her seemed elastic ; depression, fear, forlornness, were withdrawn : no longer crushed, and saddened, and slow, and drooping, she looked like one who had tasted the cordial of heart’s-ease, and been lifted on the wing of hope.

“ After tea, Hortense went up-stairs : she had not rummaged her drawers for a month past, and the impulse to perform that operation was now become resistless. During her absence, the talk passed into Caroline’s hands : she took it up with ease ; she fell into her best tone of conversation. A pleasing facility and elegance of language gave fresh charm to familiar topics : a new music in the always soft voice, gently surprised and pleasingly captivated the listener ; unwonted shades and lights of expression elevated the young countenance with character, and kindled it with animation.”
—pp. 249—251.

There follows a long conversation between the lovers ; into which the authoress has seen fit to introduce a silly and flippant attack upon the Litany of Loretto as “jargon.” This irrelevant affront to a favourite devotion of

the immense majority of the Christian world is an offence against good taste and good manners we should not have expected from this lady.

But we must draw to a close as well as our subject. We need scarcely say that all ends well for our two heroines. The obnoxious "Orders" are repealed, Robert's prospects brighten, and both brothers are made happy. It is scarcely doing justice to the book to omit all mention of Yorke, the original and most entertaining Yorkshire Squire, nor of his *too* original—his eccentric family; the Symptons, too, the good old maids, the various country neighbours are all good in their way; for the dialogues are spirited and racy, and give evidence of knowledge of the world and of society. Finally, we hope the authoress will suppress all tendency to exaggeration and abruptness—that she will avoid all theories concerning her own religion—whereby we suspect she would injure itself with all her parties—and all attacks upon that of other people; and with these reservations we shall be truly rejoiced to welcome as many more such novels as she will please to give us.

ART. X.—1. *Church Matters in MDCCCL.* No. I. Trial of Doctrine. By the REV. JOHN KEBLE, M. A. Oxford and London: Parker.

2.—*Suggestions to minds perplexed by the Gorham Case.* A Sermon preached at the Royal Chapel, Whitehall, on Sexag. Sunday, 1850. By WILLIAM SEWELL, B. D. Oxford & London: Parker.

3.—*The Church, the Crown, and the State, their junction and their separation.* Considered in two Sermons bearing reference to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. By the REV. W. J. E. BENNETT, M. A. London: Cleaver.

4.—*The Things of Cæsar and the Things of God.* A Discourse preached in Christ Church, St. Pancras, on Sunday, Jan. 27, 1850. By W. DODSWORTH, M. A. London: Masters.

5.—*A House divided against itself.* A Sermon preached on Sunday, March 10, 1850. By W. DODSWORTH, M. A. London: Masters.

- 6.—*The Pulpit*, No. 1,500. *Divisions in the Church of England*. A Sermon by the REV. GILBERT ELLIOT, M. A. Preached in Trinity Church, Marylebone, on Sunday morning, Jan. 20, 1850.
- 7.—*A first Letter on the present position of the High-Church Party in the Church of England*. By the REV. W. MASKELL. The Royal Supremacy, and the authority of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. London: Pickering.
- 8.—*The present Crisis in the Church of England*. Illustrated by a brief enquiry as to the Royal Supremacy. By W. J. IRONS, B. D. London: Masters.
- 9.—*A few words of hope on the present Crisis of the English Church*. By the REV. J. M. NEALE, M. A. London: Masters.

THESE works were mostly written in anticipation of an event which has now occurred. For we take our pen to write, after the judgment, on the long pending case of Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter, has been pronounced. The character of most of these publications may be said to suffer by this circumstance; at least our interest in them is necessarily diminished. While the judgment was veiled in uncertainty, the contingent promises or declarations which they contain served to irritate our minds to that zestful enjoyment, that conjecture, prophecy, hope, expectation give. Now all is surely accomplished as to the one side, and we cannot long remain doubtful as to its effects on the other. The "Gorham" decision is as unfavourable to the "Church-party" as its greatest foes could have desired; the very darkest anticipations of its members have been more than fulfilled; will the effects upon its destinies be such as have been threatened or promised, or will this storm, too, like the stone-altar decision, the abolition of bishopricks, the promotion of Dr. Hampden, and the Jerusalem episcopacy, raise but a transient swell upon the sluggish and stagnant waters of the earth-bound Establishment? Perhaps before this question is in print, perhaps before we have brought our article to its close, we shall have evidence on the subject; and if it would have been insipid to read observations based on conjectures respecting the decision, had we written before it was issued, so it may be still more stupid to peruse our present remarks, penned in uncertainty as to its consequences, should the next few weeks unfold them to the public eye. But having till now watched closely the events which Providence has ruled for the gradual destruction of error, and the triumph of truth, in past years, we may not shrink

from the recording of our thoughts, at what appears to all parties the most decisive religious crisis of our era.

We will assume, that our readers are sufficiently acquainted with the main outlines of the Gorham case, to dispense us from the task of here reproducing them. It will be sufficient to state, that the gentleman who gives name to it, has carried to the Queen in Council, an appeal from the Arches Court, in a certain cause pending between him and the bishop of Exeter; that the appeal was made against a sentence which justified the bishop for refusing to institute him to a benefice, to which he had been presented by the Lord Chancellor; that the refusal to institute was based upon the charge of unsoundness of faith in Mr. Gorham, touching baptismal Regeneration. Thus the question at issue is to the following effect: was the bishop justified in rejecting, as unorthodox, from a living, a clergyman who denies that Baptism confers regeneration, by its own power; or, in other words, does the religion established by law in this country teach authoritatively, and as its exclusive doctrine, baptismal regeneration? By two statutes, 2 and 3 Will. IV., c. 92, and 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 41, such an appeal is to be heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and its sentence is final and definitive, and not subject to further review. Its members are all laymen, and may belong to any imaginable creed, or be mere infidels, with only one exception; for the lord chancellor (who in the Gorham case could not act, as being a party,) must not be a catholic.

It was in anticipation, as we have already observed, of the sentence of this court, that most of the pamphlets collected by us were written; and they present us with a graduated series of views respecting it, beginning with the very lowest, and going up to the most exalted, churchism.

Mr. Elliot, for instance, is faithful to the principles, which he avowed to his congregation in his inaugural discourse, that the English Establishment is "a Church which is created by the law, upheld by the law, paid by the law, and may be changed by the law, just as any other institution of the land."* He therefore makes no difficulty on the subject of the late, then expected, decision

* A Sermon preached...at Trinity Church, Marylebone, Jan. 10, 1847, p. 13.

of the Gorham controversy. One short extract from his sermon will suffice to show what doctrine is preached at *one* end of Albany Street, on this momentous topic.

“Mark, then, well, the character of your Church, as it rose antagonistic to Rome. At the Reformation it was given to this realm to feel that God’s Church ought not to be something standing apart in a Christian land, and amid a Christian people from their ordinary law and life,—that there ought not to be one polity, called the State, and another polity called the Church, and that the polity of the State might be independent of the action and control of God’s Word and will,—but that a Christian people should know and feel themselves above all to be a Church of God, bound to know and to obey His will.

“And this nation understanding and feeling this, became as a nation in its corporate capacity, a congregation of faithful men, a visible, manifest Church of God, determining, as a people, to bring themselves under acknowledged subjection to God, with a national faith, a national worship, and a national conscience. As a nation, through its ordinary channels of legislation it gave to itself laws as a church. It recognized no claim whatever on the part of any supposed commission deriving its authority from the apostles, either to give a law to the people, or to assume the ministry among them. It never listened, if the clergy ever made it, to any claim, to what the apostles themselves disclaimed, ‘the dominion over their faith,’ or to be ‘lords over God’s heritage.’ Its ritual it prescribed, its code of doctrines and of discipline it ratified, such form of ministry as it thought most expedient it appointed, the duties of the ministry it determined, the sustentation of the clergy it provided for, all by its ordinary channels of legislation as a nation; and while it permits of no change except through the ordinary legislature, it commits to its ordinary courts interpretation, where its formularies have occasioned doubt or difficulty; and attributes to the sovereign the title, under Christ, of supreme head of this national Church, because the sovereign is the executive of the will of the three estates of the realm.”—p. 92.

The whole drift of his sermon is in fact to show, and he does so in a powerful, and not easily controvertible manner, that the English establishment of the Reformation was in every way antagonistic to the previous catholic Church in these realms, and that so far from interpretation of the English religious doctrines having to be sought in her formularies or traditions, they must be thence deduced by contradictories.

But our wish is not to occupy ourselves with writers belonging to this school, but rather to comment, necessarily with brevity, on the publications of authors familiarly

considered High-churchmen, and to point out a few of the many awkward and embarrassing difficulties into which they are cast. We do not either intend to give our own views on the present crisis; but shall limit ourselves to the examination of those presented, in the pamphlets and sermons before us, calling in assistance from other sources.

We feel no inclination to treat with levity, still less to enjoy, the pain and perplexity of these writers; any more than we should the struggles of one who is plunging and battling amidst broken ice, through which he has fallen, in spite of the DANGEROUS plainly placarded to warn him off. Many things we read in these works, apt to call up a smile, and to provoke the exclamation, "It is all your own fault; you have leaned on Egypt's reed, and you wonder that it pierces your hand!" But we are checked in such thoughts by the true earnestness which some of these authors exhibit, and by our sincere hope, that this further awakening of their religious sensibilities will not pass, like other graces, over them in vain.

It may appear invidious, and perhaps uncharitable, to speak thus as of *some*. But we are compelled in sincerity to avow, that some who have taken up this cause, do appear to us to be but acting a part. There are some who for years have been known as upholding theoretically certain views, allied to High-church opinions, but are almost eccentrically ferocious in regard to what their theory compels them to call, branches of the Catholic Church. Though Rome is absolutely necessary for them to establish their so-called Apostolical succession; though she is necessary to their construction of the fantastic branch-church system;* though she is necessary for them, to found

* Thus Mr. Sewell, in the sermon before us, says: "Has God declared it? What He has declared we know through Christ; what Christ declared through His Apostles; what the Apostles, whether in writing or by word of mouth, we learn *through the radiating independent concurrent branches of the Catholic Church of old*, in whose steps our own Church walks, not holding its doctrine from men, or preaching any other Gospel than that 'once for all delivered to the saints.' This is enough." (p. 7.) We have perplexed ourselves much to ascertain the meaning of the words, which we have marked in italics. First the branches radiate, that is, separate; then they concur, that is, join; and though thus united together at both ends, they remain independent. Such is the "branch-church" theory!

their argument in favour of any doctrine, on the consent of all Churches; although, however unowned, she is necessary for their guidance in regard to all which they call new life in Anglicanism, to devotion, asceticism, and penitential works; yet by a strange anomaly, the writers to which we allude seem to bear always about them a very hatred of the Church to which they are so indebted. One of these loose admirers of a fanciful catholicity, but a thorough foe of the Catholic Church, is Mr. Sewell, whose sermon before us has been well characterised, by Mr. Maskell, in regard to its principal point, in these words:

“Would that we could indeed echo the writer’s words, ‘What mean these fears?’ I, for one, cannot make so light of them, nor do I hesitate to confess it. And this is most certain: that no man, who will give himself time for consideration, as he will answer to God and to his conscience, will find his anxieties and doubts removed by weak evasions of the true question at issue; or by attempts to bury them beneath a confused heap of words, not supported by argument, and unsustained by facts.”—p. 66.

And really looking at the sermon itself, it presents such a nice balance between the catholicity of words and the protestantism of realities; between zeal for the establishment and anxiety for the state; between jealousy for doctrinal authority in the one, but full right of supremacy in the other, that one almost instinctively looks at the title-page to see where this trimming, compromising discourse was delivered, and breathes freely again on finding it to have been spoken “at the Royal chapel, Whitehall;” the very spot whence are dated those gracious acts of royal Supremacy, which clothe in ample lawn, arms that throw their bucklers over “things as they be.”

We have heard of determined French royalists who maintained that the climate of their country had become decidedly worse after the first expulsion of the Bourbons; we have heard an old Italian declare, that gray horses had ceased to be born in Italy “after the time of the French;” we have read of political democrats nearer home, who freely attribute the potato-blight to Lord John Russell; but we certainly were not prepared to hear it gravely asserted in a pulpit, that all this trouble about Gorham and the bishop of Exeter, and the Privy Council, was due entirely to Rome. Our reader will hardly believe us, unless we quote the passage, which we will mark, where we wish for his particular attention.

“Let us not invent some scheme of our own; let us have nothing of human devising either in the past days or the present. Let us go back to those days of the Church, in which the Catholic institutions of the Apostles may be most easily traced, and take as far as possible a model from them, as will prove under every future trial and perplexity, *I do not say a guarantee against error, or false judgment, or disappointment on our own part*, but a consolation in distress, an answer to our own conscience, and a defence before the tribunal of God. We must indeed go back far. Not to Convocation, for *Convocation is a civil creation, a clerical Parliament instituted for purposes of finance, not a Synod of God's ministers for proclaiming His word*. And the usurpation of Rome more or less disorganized the Church by this very question of appeals. *To her we entirely owe our present troubles*. The present irregular and dangerous tribunal is such a natural inheritance and offshoot from her first violation of the polity of the Church, that we can scarcely trust to any precedent more recent than the early centuries of Ecclesiastical history. What form of Synod, under what modification, and *with what precise jurisdiction* would be most suited to our wants, will be a question for the profoundest research.”—p. 26.

In addition to the particular motive above assigned for our quoting this passage, we present it as a delicious specimen of theological prescription to a bruised and threatened church. The following is the process requisite for her cure. *First*, having duly obtained permission from the supreme Crown, to let the church settle her own affairs her own way, but without the remotest approach to a scheme for doing so; having obtained merely the abrogation of the present tribunal, without the substitution of any other; having procured the admission, by the legislature, of a future ecclesiastical court as yet *in nubibus*, instead of “the Queen in Council,” “the profoundest research” has to commence, as to “what form of Synod” will most “suit present wants.” Who has to undertake all this? Where lies the jurisdiction to prepare and appoint this specific form of Synod? *Secondly*, after all, the form of synod which requires such profound research has been already settled by Mr. Sewell to be found in the “precedents of the early centuries;” not in any formed after Rome’s “first violation of the polity of the Church.” Mr. Sewell ought surely, for the guidance of the imaginary commission of organization of a national Synod, to have pointed out the line of demarcation between the two periods, and to have shown the differences between forms of Synod in each. We are quite in the dark on the subject. *Thirdly*, the preliminary authority will have to

decide "*what precise jurisdiction*" the Synod is to have. In other words, there is to be a Synod convened to make final decisions; but there is, or there has to be, some other unknown power, to decide what the *precise jurisdiction* of that Synod is to be! What is this power that has to limit or over-rule its authority? *Fourthly*, when this form of Synod, discovered by "the profoundest research" of some persons unknown, invested with some "precise jurisdiction" by some superior authority undiscovered, formed on the model of ancient precedents not yet defined, has come into existence, it must turn out to be "no scheme of their own;" "nothing of human devising, either in the past days or the present." Yet it is to be formed by the precedents of men of former times, and the researches of those of ours! *Fifthly*, if not anything human, it will be something Divine; and yet it is not to "prove...a guarantee against error, or false judgment." Then what better will it turn out than a mere "human device?" Such, however, is the ready panacea for a Church in present trouble, perplexity, and imminent peril.

But we said that a writer of Mr. Sewell's cast appears, in such a matter, to be playing a part. And in truth, we cannot bring ourselves to see anything more than a studied declamation, a rehearsal of a character in such a passage as the following. The preacher is speaking of the petition to be made for the new chimera of a Synod or Court of appeal, before alluded to.

"And it is impossible that the appeal can be rejected. Englishmen will not hear of it; they will not be accomplices in such oppression; they will not tolerate such hypocrisy as would be involved in the refusal of our claim. It may be that statesmen love not the Church; that they are jealous of her powers, impatient of her remonstrances, scornful of her authority. So it has always been. And, it may be, the day is past for recollections of happier things; of the blessings, the aids, the mercies which this nation has derived from its Church; of the thousand ties of love which bind the heart of a Churchman to his country. Set them all aside, and still our appeal must be granted. What? abjure all cognizance of religion, and intrude upon the religion of the Church? Cast off every profession of a creed, and prescribe doctrines to the Church? Let loose every caprice of human folly to run after its own devices, and put chains upon the Church, when she would walk in the path laid down by the Apostles? Raise the watchword of liberty of conscience, and pay no regard to the consciences of Christ's ministers? Cry toleration, and then persecute?"

Will Englishmen endure this? Is it possible that the Legislature should refuse to give to us what they have given to all? Is the Church to be the only spiritual community excluded from the liberties of religion, and made the plaything of a tyranny? It cannot be."—p. 24.

This is the fourth place in his sermon, in which Mr. Sewell alludes to the peculiar characteristics of "Englishmen." In one, more emphatically he asks his hearers,

"And yet, is not the day gone by for formalisms and conventionalisms in the pulpit? Is not the time come, when we must all speak out, speak openly—speak fearlessly—without circumlocution—as we speak in matters of life and death—in plain English, as Englishmen to Englishmen—and must speak from our pulpits? Where else is the voice of the clergy to be heard?"—p. 10.

For our parts, we believe that those feelings which are peculiarly called an "Englishman's," will be found to respond very faintly to the call, to strengthen the Church's arm, and increase ecclesiastical influence. But to conclude this part of our subject, Mr. Sewell's chief anxiety seems to be, lest the Crown should be too severely judged. He tells us that "it was against the Pope's usurpations and intrusions that the Supremacy of the crown in this realm was so strongly re-established and protected; and this is the measure of the means taken to guard against the evil, *and the excuse, if any be required, for the wrong which for a time they may have inflicted on the Church.*" (p. 13.) Rome is again responsible for the misdeeds of the State in regard of the Anglican Church! And in fact, while most High-churchmen seem trembling lest the Supremacy should be over-rated, and while the more fervent are nerving themselves to bear persecution for impugning its rights, and no one seems likely to let loose lions, and prepare the rack and stake*

* The following exaggerated view of the possible result of the late decision, which closes Mr. Sewell's declamation, will show how grotesquely unreal is the feeling which he exhibits. Can any one persuade himself, that Mr. S. believes there is the slightest danger to himself or friends, that the disagreeable persuasives which he enumerates will be applied to them by Lord John Russell?

"And no less with firmness yet with temperance, meekly but boldly, publicly but with reverence and respect, we are bound to remind it of the only course, which the members of Christ's Church can take, when the one alternative is left, to obey either God or

against the apologists of royal authority. Mr. Sewell is intense in exhorting his audience to fortitude, in upholding the Supremacy of the Crown. For thus he speaks:

“But fifthly, let us never be tempted by hasty alarm, or injustice, or even persecution, lightly to abandon that *salutary and Christian doctrine*, that the ‘Sovereign hath the chief power in this realm, and other his dominions,’ and that ‘to him the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain;’ in all causes, ecclesiastical or civil. In each the final reference may well be made to him, so long at least as he is a member of the Church.”—p. 18.

We will finally remark that the great salutary measure which had to save the Church, an appeal to the Sovereign, had to be taken “at once, before any decision was given.” “It is *our duty*,” exclaims Mr. Sewell, “our solemn duty, from which *we* must not shrink.” (p. 24) We ask the better informed in such matters, was this “solemn duty” performed by Mr. Sewell? Or did he shrink from it? Or was his “solemn duty” only to *tell* other people what he and they ought to do, but not to do it?

The Rev. Mr. Irons is a writer also who combines, in perhaps different proportions, admiration of his own system with reprobation of Catholicity. He is High-church,

man. O that those would place before them—those I mean; who shrink, and tremble, and doubt, and vacillate, and almost fall off from their faith and allegiance to their dear and blessed mother the Church of England, as soon as she is threatened by foes, or betrayed by friends, or perplexed with difficulties, or menaced by the secular powers of this world; O that they would place before them this last alternative, and learn how weak, how impotent any the most mighty arm of flesh is to enslave them, when they are resolved in the spirit of God to follow their Almighty Lord patiently and submissively to the cross, and to proclaim His testimony to the last! O that they would remember that the soul of the Christian is beyond the reach of any power of earth! Kings, Princes, Legislatures, Parliaments, ministers, nobles and armies, prisons and spoliation, poverty, confiscation, dishonour, exile, death, the rack and the stake, the fiery furnace, and the den of lions, all these, all the powers of the world, may be let loose upon Christ’s Church again; as they were let loose on her in her first infancy, in her entrance on her wandering in the wilderness. The last days may be like the first. But they cannot touch the soul. They cannot—no, not all of them confederated—they cannot stifle its voice; they cannot coerce its functions of witnessing to God’s truth in the world.”—p. 28.

but most protestantly so. Many of our readers' curiosity it will sufficiently abate to learn, that he resolutely maintains, and learnedly elucidates, the following propositions. First, that the Supremacy of the Crown is of Catholic origin, existed many centuries before the Reformation, and grew out of catholic principles; and secondly, that "the spirit of the Reformation was altogether hostile to the royal Supremacy;" so that really protestantism, since it became the religion of England, has in fact gone on restricting the royal Supremacy, and bringing it down far below what it was in catholic times. Such an attempt must be consigned to the same literary category as Hardouin's theory, that Virgil, Horace, and all the classics were written by mediæval monks; or Walpole's, that Richard III. was a very ill-used and calumniated monarch; or Wakefield's, that Judas, according to the Gospel, died of a penitential cholera; or Sir W. Drummond's, that the Apostles were only the twelve signs of the zodiac; or Volney's, that St. Peter is Bootes; or Goropius Becanus's, that Low Dutch was the language of Paradise; or Rossini's, that every painting attributed to the great masters is a copy, every single original being lost. These theories, and a thousand more as fanciful, have been gravely maintained, and enforced with great acuteness and erudition: and yet no one believes them; they are clever paradoxes, and that is all. And to the same shelf of learned curiosities we must beg leave to aggregate Mr. Irons's theory of the Supremacy, though learnedly supported, by facts, from which we should draw opposite conclusions: and we must be quietly permitted to treat the whole, as simply intended for a theological *Myth*.

The remaining portion of the writers before us belong more decidedly, though still in unequal degrees, to that section of the same party, which has been more prominently before the public; which does feel regret at the religious separation of England from the rest of the world, instead of glorying in this isolation; which acknowledges respect and admiration for much that Rome possesses and Anglicanism has lost; and from which already the Catholic Church has drawn so many valuable members, as to make her desirous of more. The names of Maskell, Keble, Bennett, Neale, and Dodsworth, have in various ways been connected with what was formerly known, as the Oxford school, in the English Establishment. These

do all seem to feel the reality of the danger which threatens them: and they enter into consideration of the present crisis, with the earnestness of men, who believe the time is come for acting, rather than talking, and who are willing to face the clear difficulties of their position. We will endeavour to compare and analyse their views; and to place before our readers as clear a digest, as time and space will permit, of their suggestions.

I. The first thing which strikes us as prominent in them all, and as strangely contrasting with the first, and originally moving principles of the High-church development, is their total disregard, or rather overlooking, of episcopal agency or importance, in the present crisis. When the "Tracts for the Times" first appeared, their primary object was to exalt, support, and almost push up into an involuntary importance, the power of the episcopacy. They proclaimed the high prerogatives of that order, avowed the deepest reverence and docile submission in its regard. In fact, the very name of High-church conveys to ordinary minds the impression, of an unusual pre-eminence and importance, attributed to the sacerdotal and episcopal character. Now, however, that a crisis has come, it is clear that the warning "not to put trust in princes" is extended to the spiritual, as well as to the temporal, lords within the realm. While every one is suggesting his remedy for the threatening evil, not one seems to look to the bishops as the quarter from which hope is to be gathered, from which leadership is to come, whence the inspiring notes of resistance, and battle with the powers of the world, are to come. It is not to the watchmen on the towers of Sion that they look for the signal of danger, or the order to rally; it is not to the natural leaders of the host that it turns for counsel and for array. The scene before us, so far, looks like that of an army abandoned by its generals, or of a ship's crew deserted by its officers, and in the presence of an enemy. The more energetic subalterns think it their duty to consult, and decide what must be done.

Mr. Dodsworth, in his sermon on "the things of Cæsar and the things of God," not once calls on the people to rally round their bishops, or to wait, in firm confidence, their direction. We doubt, in fact, if their very name is mentioned in his entire discourse. "The Church" is indeed much spoken of, in vague and general terms; but

the office of its prelates is not alluded to, as being that to which its safety is to be entrusted. Mr. Bennett is the same. In the first of his two sermons, the bishops of his Church are not once mentioned; in the second, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London are alluded to, in a bracketed passage, (p. 30) in connection to an address to them, "to take measures, on the Church's behalf, for the restoration of convocation, or the assembling the Church synod." And the address to these prelates itself bears nothing but the form of an ordinary requisition to a magistrate to call a meeting, without a word expressive of confidence in them or their body. But indeed, Mr. Bennett seems to rely much more upon the zeal and exertions of the laity, than upon those of the episcopal Bench. For thus he addresses his congregation:

"My brethren, I believe that you can, under God, set the Church right in this her danger. I mean you, as the lay body of the Church; because, as the lay body of the Church, you have before you the House of Commons, and by your will, as the people, is the House of Commons constituted. It is of no use to shut our eyes to a disagreeable truth, because it is disagreeable. Rather let us face it; and remember that the real seat of power being the House of Commons, and you being the people, who constitute the House of Commons, *the remedy is with you.*

"It is this simple undeniable fact, which makes me say, that upon you, as the lay body of the Church, does God seem to call at this moment, for a resolution of our difficulties. You can do as I have humbly suggested,—deliver protests and send forth petitions. You can seek, by constitutional and Christian means, redress for grievances. You can appeal to those who make the laws, to alter the laws."—p. 33.

Mr. Keeble, one of the primitive Tractarians, in like manner totally omits all mention of the bishops as the refuge or stay of the Anglican Church, in this her perplexity and trouble. Nor can we be surprised at this, when, speaking of the passing of the Act of William IV., he thus speaks of the episcopate: "The bishops, even had they been separately consulted, *are by no means representatives of the general mind of the Church*, as every one must allow, who knows how their appointment is overruled." (p. 11.) Whence it appears, that the bishops are no longer the voice of the Anglican Church, and that "the Church" is in fact some power that will overmatch the prelacy. Mr. Irons echoes the charge against this

body, when he mentions as a grievance "the promotion of the most notoriously unsound persons to the episcopal bench, in defiance of remonstrance, and in repudiation of law." (p. 45.) Mr. Maskell's whole masterly letter bears evidence of no great reliance upon the Anglican hierarchy, nor, indeed, upon the state-church, as able to grapple with the present crisis, or raise themselves up to the proper level for required action. Among the "few words of hope" which Mr. Neale is able to whisper into the ear of his afflicted Church, but few refer to episcopal assistance. There is one passage in which they are alluded to; and though a compliment is paid to one, and the orthodoxy of the majority is maintained, it is clear that even this is but a happy addition to not at all the essential strength of the Church. On the other hand, the teaching of the two Archbishops go for nothing; and there is a tolerable intimation that the second order of clergy may have to take the lead, and teach the first their duty. (p. 22.) And, in fact, his appeal is first to the London clergy, who "are, or ought to be, the Cardinal priests of the English Church." But even they are told that if they "loiter," or "are afraid to put themselves forward," or (what we think at least equally probable) if they "cannot agree upon a plan of action;" then the country clergy "will take the lead in this holy warfare." (p. 21.)

There is one more organ, that was at least, of High-church views, whose office in the system seems to be peculiar. The function of "the English Churchman," to which we allude, in the Anglican body, seems to be, to secrete honey and balm, from every possible calamity which can befall the Church. It is not content to *apply* these restoratives and lenitives; no, it always most felicitously contrives to extract them from the wound itself. Its operation is not external and curative; it is positively functional and organic. Whatever happens to the establishment is always reason for hope. So long as an eminent man remains in it, he is proof of its soundness: the moment he leaves it, he is no loss. While the appointment of an unorthodox bishop is pending, all is fury, threats, and dignified zeal; so soon as he is appointed, the evil becomes trifling. When every other consolation fails, there is reserved this balm in Gilead, that the more the Establishment is filled with heresy, schism, dissension, and scandals, the more it is drained by conversions to

Rome, or weakened by secession to infidelity or dissent; the more the tough vitality of the Church is proved, "the greater its signs of life;" because it survives all its losses and complaints. And so it is in the present case. We should be glad to see any one, who has leisure for so heavy an undertaking, extract from the files of the "English Churchman" a catena of testimonies respecting episcopal dignity and authority: it would prove how truly that High-church organ has been for years conducted, without palpable principles, or intelligible views. But the last is the unkindest cut of all, and well deserves attention. The editor is enumerating the "inconveniences" resulting from the late decision in the Privy Council, which, with complacent benignity, is considered by the writer as an "inconvenient" one, and nothing whatever more. He proceeds as follows:

"Another inconvenience is, that a Bishop may examine a nominee to a living, and find him unsound in doctrine, and still not be able to exclude him, because certain laymen have decided that it shall be so. *A third is, that the authority of our Bishops is neutralized.* The two Archbishops have declared their opinion that Baptismal Regeneration is an open question. The Bishops of London and Exeter have declared the contrary. If we take this as an index of the general opinion of the English Bishops, the judgment of the Bench goes for nothing; one party neutralizes the other. *This is inconvenient and perplexing.* Churchmen naturally look with deference to authority: and when that authority fails them they feel distressed. *But even if our Prelates were unanimous in heterodoxy, we see not that the orthodoxy of the Church depends on its Bishops, if their decision is not accepted by the rest of the Church, and we believe that the English Church, generally, is sounder than it ever was.*" * *

"When we consider how the Bishops are appointed, and that the Church is forcibly deprived of its power of testing their orthodoxy, *every one will, we trust, admit that the fact of the two Archbishops giving their sanction to the making an important doctrine an open question, cannot so affect the integrity of the Church, as to make any individual reasonably doubtful as to the propriety of remaining at his post.*

"So long as the formularies of the Church remain orthodox, *and the body of Churchmen have not sanctioned or accepted error,* we have no difficulty as to the course which we ought to pursue. No external form can impair the claims which the Church has to our allegiance. The reversal of the sentence of the Court of Arches, and the thrusting a person into a living contrary to the judgment of his Diocesan, is simply a matter of power. It behoves us to resist this external power to the utmost; and when we can no longer resist it, to protest against it; and having done so, to leave the issue to

God's good Providence, trusting that good will come out of evil, and that the lowest condition of the Church is not unfrequently the forerunner of its rising to increased energy."—English Churchman, March 14th.

Any commentary upon such a theological display is really superfluous. But a few words may be permitted us, because we see that even the well-known initials E. B. P., are yet to be found in the correspondence of this Journal.

We had always thought that the tersest and most comprehensive definition of *the Church*, or of any true branch thereof, was "*Pastori adhærens grex fidelis.*" It appears, however, that the Churchmen, whom this paper represents, do not hold the coherence or union between bishops and people of any essential importance. It is only "inconvenient and perplexing" to have "the judgment of the Bench go for nothing."

Still further, "even if the Prelates were unanimous in heterodoxy," the Churchman "*sees not that the orthodoxy of the Church depends on its bishops, if their decision is not accepted by the rest of the Church.*" This implies, 1st, that there is appeal from a decision of *all* the bishops to the rest of a Church; that is, to the "inferior clergy" and the laity: secondly, that these two form a body authorised to sit in judgment, overrule, and correct the consentient judgment of the episcopal Bench: thirdly, that the supreme authority being vested in the second order of clergy and laity, the government of the Anglican Establishment is, properly speaking, presbyterian and democratic combined, and not episcopal.

From the whole we cull a precious maxim of theology as follows. The two archbishops and all the bishops may be unsound in doctrine, and heterodox, yet "the integrity of the Church" may not be vitally "affected." This is very much as if one were to maintain that the whole head might be in a state of universal mortification, and yet the body remain quite sound. Unless the Anglican *Church* is hereby declared to be *acephalous*.

Let us now look back at the very first page of the "*Tracts for the Times,*" to the very first profession of faith, and deed of incorporation of High-churchmen. In the first page of No. 1, we read as follows: "Consider a moment. Is it fair, is it dutiful, to suffer our Bishops to stand the brunt of the battle, without doing our part to support them? Upon them comes the care of all the

Churches. This cannot be helped; indeed, it is their glory.....To them then we willingly and affectionately relinquish their high privileges and honours: we encroach not upon the rights of the SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES: we touch not their sword and crosier. Yet surely we may be their shield-bearers in the battle without offence: and by our voice and deeds be to them what Luke and Timothy were to St. Paul." Again in No. 10. "It may be asked, *who* are at this time the successors and spiritual descendants of the Apostles? I shall surprise some people by the answer I shall give, though it is very clear, and there is no doubt about it: THE BISHOPS.....Thus the whole plan of salvation hangs together—Christ, the true Mediator above; his servant, the Bishop, *His earthly likeness.*"

One, then, of the most important features revealed to us by the Gorham controversy is this, the total departure of the High-church party from its first and fundamental principles, its lofty and dignified assumptions. We knew indeed how the authority of the bishops was set practically at nought; how prayers for the dead, catholic devotions, rites, and ceremonies were introduced into particular congregations, without any permission even sought from the bishop; how a clergyman of one Diocese exercised acts of jurisdiction in another, without asking for the Diocesan's leave; how even actual censure or suspension by such an authority was disregarded, if it came in collision with private views: but we certainly were not prepared for the total disruption which seems to have taken place between "the Church" and its rulers, and the lapse into complete independence, not to use a stronger word, to which the High-church party has glided.

II. We may now consider in what way the decision of the Privy Council is received by the different writers before us.

On this subject there is considerable variety of opinion. Some are disposed to make very light of the matter. Such are, as we have seen, Mr. Sewell, Mr. Irons, and "the Churchman." To them the sentence is but the enunciation of the opinions of a body of laymen; and the Church is noways affected by it. Mr. Irons considered, that if the sentence reversed the judgment of the court of Arches, "it would just do a great wrong:.....but it would

do nothing that would be binding on the *conscience* of any man among us, laic or clergyman." (p. 48.)

Others take a more rational, and a more serious view of the matter, and do consider that the Church is compromised by the decision; and that it becomes responsible for it, unless it takes active measures to shake it off. And yet some overlook the true bearing of the question, and seem intent upon proving, that the Church has nothing to answer for, in respect to the appointment of the jurisdiction, to which its articles have been subjected.

Mr. Keble is particularly earnest in demonstrating the whole jurisdiction of the Privy Council to be an imposition and grievance, to which the Anglican Church has never consented. He acknowledges, indeed, that the law by which this authority was conferred, has been overlooked by Churchmen; and he endeavours to account for this circumstance, in a way which cannot be more mildly characterised, than by saying that it is weak. Mr. Dodsworth makes a similar avowal of ignorance.

"And so, my brethren, I must confess that I see no way out of our present difficulty, [but by obtaining the repeal of those laws which have thus, we may hope inadvertently, enslaved the Church to the State, and made confusion between the things of Cæsar and the things of God. We may hope that as yet we are clear of the sin of wilfully betraying our trust. If we have sinned in accepting such a law, and acting upon it, we have, at least, for the most part, as yet sinned ignorantly. I might be more ashamed to confess, if I did not find so many others in the same predicament, that until this case arose, I never was alive to the fact that by the law of this country a civil court could entertain and finally decide upon matters of the Church's doctrine—matters which are most purely and essentially spiritual. Now at length we all do know it. And, let me say it with emphatic earnestness, WE ARE HENCEFORTH RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KNOWLEDGE OF IT."—p. 33.

Catholics, we are often told, cannot judge correctly of the "position" of Anglicans, and we are considered harsh in our expressions, if we deliver our opinion on them, as we might when speaking of ourselves. But we must own, that such an acknowledgment would appear to us incredible, did not the writer's high character, and the honest earnestness which he evidences, convince us of his sincerity. For, who of us can imagine a catholic priest, and one particularly who had devoted himself especially to elucidating the authority of the Church, and her claims in matters of doctrine, acknowledging to his flock that, up to

a few days before, he had been ignorant to what jurisdiction controversies of faith had to be referred, and where their final decision rested. On a point of such importance, ignorance can surely hardly be pleaded. No law admits such a plea. And how after all was the law passed which gave the offensive power to the Privy Council? It passed through the usual course of every Bill in Parliament; it was thrice read in each House, and probably committed, and received the Royal assent. Mr. Keble indeed says:

“The Bishops, even had they been separately consulted, are by no means representatives of the general mind of the Church, as every one must allow, who knows how their appointment is overruled. Nor do we at all know whether the majority of the Bishops of that day assented to the arrangement: we know that it took place in the very same session, in which ten sees in Ireland were suppressed by mere authority of Parliament, contrary to the earnest votes and remonstrances of the far greater part of the Hierarchy of both countries. Therefore the Church never assented to the powers of this Judicial Committee.”—P. 11.

Mr. Maskell, however, very properly replies:

“There is one argument to which I would venture to draw Mr. Keble’s particular attention. We are told that we never assented to the present supreme court of Appeal, because when the powers of the court of Delegates were transferred to it, the Church was never consulted at all upon the subject. Here I would remark that there is no evidence that the Church was ‘consulted’ at the establishment of the court of Delegates: and there was no necessity of ‘consulting’ the reformed church of England at all, when the change took place some twenty years ago. It was the duty of the Church to reclaim, and to refuse obedience, at the time, if she were not satisfied. To proceed... ‘Nor do we at all know whether the majority of the bishops of that day assented to the arrangement.’ But do we not know that there is no evidence of any objections made by even so few as two or three bishops? Do we not know that not a word was uttered by the clergy of any single diocese, from one end of England to the other?”—P. 67.

Indeed, we trust it will not be thought irreverent, if we say that the argument of Mr. Keble, and those who agree with him, resembles but too much that suggested by the High priests to the Roman soldiers: “Say you His disciples came by night, and stole Him away while we were asleep.”* For to what does the argument amount, but to

*Matt. xxvii. 13.

this; "the Church is not responsible for an act, passed openly before her, with her prelates in the legislature, present and informed of all; because they slumbered at their posts, and did not notice its passing."

Mr. Maskell, it will be perceived, is fully alive to the conscientious responsibility of his Church for the law and its consequences. To extract from his pamphlet is almost impossible; because its power and importance lies in the connected train of reasoning which pervades it from end to end, supported by great, and well applied, erudition. We sincerely recommend it to our readers; assuring them that it will amply repay its perusal.

Mr. Bennett is also earnest and straight-forward on this subject. He does not shut his eyes to the grievous charge which lies at the Anglican Church's door, and the weight with which this decision presses upon its conscience. The passage, though long, deserves transcribing. The italics are in the original.

"The clergy are differently placed from the great mass of the laity, inasmuch as they lie under the oath of supremacy, and the subscription of the thirty-nine Articles, which the laity, for the most part, are not. By this oath of supremacy, there is no question but that we are bound to obey and abide by the decision of the crown, as pronounced legally in its highest court of appeal, on the great question now before it. Whatever doctrine this highest court of appeal may pronounce and declare to be the doctrine of the English Church, either involved in the fact of compelling a bishop of the Church to institute to a cure of souls one whom the Church, in her spiritual Court of Arches, has pronounced unfit, or in a more direct manner, as saying what the doctrine of the Church is—or what the doctrine of the Church is not—in whatever way the sentence may be promulgated, that sentence we are bound legally and conscientiously to accept as the Church's doctrine; for this simple reason—that *there is no higher court to say it is otherwise.*

"It is childish as well as dishonest, to try to escape out of this conclusion by saying, we will not heed what the judgment says: childish, because our saying so will not alter the fact;—dishonest, because we have sworn before God, that the Queen's majesty is the supreme governor in these realms, and holds, as such supreme governor, this highest court of appeal, for the purpose of expressing her final will. We *know* that she *does* hold this court. We *know* that there is *no other court.* We know that (in the present state of the law) the decision of such court is *irrevocable.* Therefore, to that court, as long as it remains, we owe obedience—merely on this simple ground, *that such is the law.*

“But it may be asked, and reasonably, why was not this hardship spoken of *before*? Why is it only *now* that the grievance is complained of? As long as the power was kept out of sight, or was not used, our attention was not directed to it—our eyes were shut. But now the power is used, our eyes are open. We felt (I do not say it was abstractedly right; but so it was)—we felt that the power was of no consequence, as long as we had forbearance in our rulers not to press it; now that they have pressed it, and brought visibly before our eyes the supremacy of the state, against the supremacy of the word of God, our conscience cannot slumber longer. It must awaken now, thus forced into life, and say openly—‘*we must obey God rather than men.*’”—P. 30.

This important passage leads us somewhat further than what it was primarily quoted for. Mr. Bennett acknowledges that this decision is *not* the decision of the Privy Council, but that of the Crown, exercising its prerogative of Supremacy.

This certainly has been very much overlooked. Every one speaks of the decision as that of a lay-tribunal: even as recording nothing more than the private opinions of its members. Quotations are superfluous: the pamphlets before us all treat it in this way, with one exception. At the same time, they speak of the Court of Arches as an ecclesiastical tribunal, and of its decision against Gorham as the sentence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Bennett, in the extract just quoted, tells us that “the Church, in her *spiritual court of Arches*,” has pronounced against Mr. Gorham. Mr. Dodsworth writes in the same manner. “What,” he asks, “are the facts of the case? Here is a temporal or civil court sitting in judgment, with power to confirm or reverse *a decision, on matters of doctrine, in the courts of the Church.*”—(P. 12.)

Now let us compare the two cases. In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the judge, Sir Jenner Fust, is a simple layman. He alone hears the causes, weighs the evidence, and pronounces the judgment. We are not aware that the Archbishop ever attempts to exercise the smallest control over his decisions, still less that he ever reverses them; nor even that he can reserve any cause to his own hearing. Then how is this a “spiritual court” of the Church? Merely because its sentences issue in the name of the Archbishop. We believe that not even the appointment to the office rests with his Grace; so that he cannot exercise even the indirect control over decisions, of

knowing the principles and character of the judge, before such important functions are confided to him. We may, therefore, fairly ask; if the Privy Council's judgment is only that of private lay-men, why is not that of the Court of Arches equally so?

Or we may put the question still more to the conscience of those who demur to the decision; if Sir Jenner Fust had pronounced against Dr. Philpotts, would this sentence have been acquiesced in, as that of the Church, and not as the private judgment of Sir Jenner? But the fallacy of the reasoning respecting the decision of "the Church in its court of Arches" is fully brought out by the following consideration. This court can only be considered a spiritual tribunal, inasmuch as it gives expression to the judgment of the Archbishop, to whom it is reputed to appertain. But the Archbishop was a party to the sentence of the Privy Council, which reversed the sentence of the Arches court. "We have the satisfaction," says the judgment, "of being authorised to state, that the Most Rev. Prelates, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, after having perused copies of this judgment, have expressed their approbation thereof."* The anomalies of these facts are very glaring. If the first sentence, in the

* It is quite clear that the Archbishop has had more to do than merely give a silent vote in favour of the judgment. In a new preface which he has just published to his old work on "Apostolic Preaching," (9th Ed.) he has not only given his reasons for maintaining the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration an open question, but he produces the same passages from Ussher, Jeremy Taylor, and Hooker, and the same information respecting Bullinger's *Decades*, which are introduced into the official decision. We have also there the same doctrine of "charitable construction" which excites Mr. Neale's sneers in his pamphlet. As the Law-lords of Her Majesty's Privy Councils may be supposed to be better read in the Statutes at large, than in Anglican Divinity, we may "charitably" consider these passages as the contributions of the Church, through its Primate. Perhaps this will satisfy Mr. Irous's wish, expressed in the following passage,—

"It is a fact that our two Archbishops, and the first of the Bishops, were assessors to the Judges in Mr. Gorham's trial. The Church has a right to know their authoritative spiritual dicta concerning Baptismal Regeneration, as it already knows their sentiments through the press. In the absence of any real knowledge of what they have said in this case, it is impossible to avoid speculating and wondering."—P. 49.

court of Arches, be considered as the Archbishop's, we have him giving two opposite judgments: first pronouncing *in favour* of the Bishop of Exeter, and then approving a sentence, which annuls and reverses the first, and pronounces *against* the same party. Or we must conclude that the first judgment was *not* to be accepted as that of the Archbishop, who cannot be supposed to have decided against his avowed opinion on the case: and then what was the court of Arches, to the decision of which every High-churchman bowed, but a lay-court, that records the private judgment of its lay judge? If so, why the objection to the second sentence on this score, or why was not the first equally repudiated?

In fact, however, the decision of the Privy Council was not a definitive sentence at all, but only a report carried up to the Chief Governor and Head of the Church, who has been acknowledged by the Church to have full authority in all causes ecclesiastical, as well as civil. "And we shall, therefore, humbly report to Her Majesty, that the sentence pronounced by the learned Judge in the Arches Court of Canterbury ought to be reversed; and that it ought to be declared that the Lord Bishop of Exeter has not shown sufficient cause why he did not institute Mr. Gorham to the said vicarage." Such is the sentence in which is contained the decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council; and we need not add, that the final award was issued directly by the Queen. With far more reason, therefore, than the decision in Arches can be called the Archbishop's, that of the Council must be accepted and treated as the Queen's, speaking in her capacity of Head of the Church.

Mr. Maskell very justly says:

"At present I would say, it is strange that people have not yet discovered that so far as consciences are grieved by it, it is not only, no, nor chiefly—the character, the qualifications, or the position, of the individuals who may compose the supreme court, which make us to be anxious, but the source from whence the court derives its jurisdiction. The one is matter of detail, the other touches the foundation of the whole."—P. 57.

And Mr. Irons makes an important concession much to the same effect; when speaking of the Bill introduced by the Bishop of London into the Upper House, as follows:—

"I fear that the bill is introduced with a belief that the Clergy imagine themselves, by virtue of their holy orders, to have superior

wisdom in deciding religious questions. I am sure that the laity fancy we think so, and that it is a very 'high Church' persuasion. Now we really ought not to mislead them into the idea that we object to learned laymen discussing theological points for the benefit of unlearned Priests. A Bishop does not understand theology one shade better for being a Bishop, nor a Priest for being a Priest. We all know and admit this; but the laity do not think we admit it: and therefore the bill of the Bishop is likely, in this respect, to sustain suspicions and jealousies among our people. If we will give our leisure and prayers to theology, as few will, then may we understand it better than those who have less opportunity and less grace."—P. 51.

In fact: suppose a controverted point were referred to the Holy See, and it pronounced its award, what catholic would think it his duty to enquire, before he made up his mind about submission, whom the Pontiff had consulted in the matter, or to whom he had remitted the question for investigation? Of course we should know, that as he is invested with supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it is by this, and not by the character of his counsellors, that the validity of his decision would be sustained and made binding. Of course too, we should feel confident, that if God has entrusted to him the power to decide, He will give him the wisdom, to select the best modes of coming to a right definition, and to choose proper advisers. But we should not trouble ourselves, indeed we never do trouble ourselves, to weigh the particular principles, or learning, or piety, of those whom he calls to his councils. Or rather we may say, that whereas the Pope never does decide any matters of moment, without their first passing through a council, or as it is termed a "congregation," composed of Cardinals and Prelates,* few people even ask or know, what particular congregation was consulted in the case in point. And though many of the Cardinals or Prelates, composing some of these were often, and some are still, little more than laymen, not in greater orders, all this makes no difference to us. It is the Supreme Pontiff, the Successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, who pronounces the decision, and that is all that we wish to ascertain. Then, if the Queen is really the supreme Head of the Church, or if she is a power in it with appellate jurisdiction, and as she has spoken and pronounced sentence in

* See a paper on the Roman Congregations, in our number for June, 1849.

the "Gorham case," we do not see what right of interference there is in any one, in regard to the counsellors, or judicial sifters of the cause, whom she may select and appoint. She, and she alone, is responsible for this.

It may be objected, that Her Majesty did not choose them, but that they were appointed by Act of Parliament. Be it so. But by whom is an Act of Parliament enacted but, "By the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by the Advice and Consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons." The constitution, therefore, of the Council is the Queen's, or her predecessor's; for the Sovereign has a means of resisting a violence to his conscience; and where he consents, is morally, if not constitutionally, responsible.

The true question, therefore, pending is: has the Queen exceeded the rights conferred on her, in virtue of her Supremacy, or not? If she has not, then the question is at an end, and it matters not who or what were the persons whose advice guided her decision. If she has exceeded her prerogative, then the attack should be transferred from the Privy Council, to her individually.

The anomaly, however, of this process is not yet at end. The decision of the Privy Council not only does not pronounce the final sentence, but does not even advise the Queen to do so. For after the paragraph which we have cited from its decision, it goes on thus: "We shall therefore humbly advise Her Majesty to remit the cause, with that declaration, to the Arches Court of Canterbury, to the end that right and justice may there be done in this matter, pursuant to the said declaration." The court of Arches, therefore, has to put the finishing stroke to the business. In other words, the Queen, as supreme Judge, sends down her mandate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Arches Court, for the reversal of his judgment there; but that Court carries out the sentence, and thus makes it its own. If it does not demur and refuse, then it becomes as much an act of "the Church, in its spiritual Court," as was the first decision against Mr. Gorham.

III. We come now to the most important point of all—the *quid agendum*? What measures are to be taken for the future?

All agree that something must be done; including, as we have seen, Mr. Sewell. It seems conceded on all hands, since before the decision was officially published,

that the English Establishment would become implicated in it, and responsible for it, if it rested satisfied with even passive rejection of the doctrine which that award permitted to be held. Mr. Neale, who is certainly a man of hopes, writes thus:

“Let us not only acknowledge, but assume and press, these points.

“1. The judgment of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council asserts, that the Church of England allows formal heresy to be taught by her priests.

“2. If the decision of the Judicial Committee be the voice of the English Church, she is *actively* committed to heresy.

“3. If the decision of the Judicial Committee, which claims to be the voice of the English Church, be not protested against by that Church, she is *passively* committed to heresy.

“4. On either of the two latter suppositions, it is the bounden duty of all members of the English Church, as they value the salvation of their souls, to go out of her.”—p. 4.

Mr. Keble is scarcely less strong. For speaking of the decision which then was still doubtful, he says:

“But if it be adverse, see what presently follows; even granting, what needs to be distinctly proved, that a Bishop or Archbishop, acting on that decision, would not involve in direct heresy both himself and all in communion with him.”—p. 26.

Mr. Dodsworth is still clearer and stronger on this point.

The following document, however, appears to us deserving of being recorded in our pages; and it embodies the strongest, and most authoritative declaration, which has yet been put forth, of the responsibilities in which Anglicanism is involved, according to the estimate of its High-church party.

“GORHAM V. THE BISHOP OF EXETER.

“The subscribers to the enclosed resolutions present their compliments to the Editor of *The Times*, and will be obliged by his publishing them as soon as possible. London, March 19.

“RESOLUTIONS—1. That whatever at the present time be the force of the sentence delivered on appeal in the case of ‘Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter,’ the Church of England will eventually be bound by the said sentence, unless it shall openly and expressly reject the erroneous doctrine sanctioned thereby.

“2. That the remission of original sin to all infants in, and by the grace of, baptism is an essential part of the article, ‘One baptism for the remission of sins.’

“3. That—to omit other questions raised by the said sentence—such sentence, while it does not deny the liberty of holding that article in the sense heretofore received, does equally sanction the assertion that original sin is a bar to the right reception of baptism, and is not remitted except when God bestows regeneration beforehand, by an act of prevenient grace, (whereof Holy Scripture and the Church are wholly silent), thereby rendering the benefits of holy baptism altogether uncertain and precarious.

“4. That to admit the lawfulness of holding an exposition of an article of the creed contradictory to the essential meaning of that article is, in truth and in fact, to abandon that article.

“5. That, inasmuch as the faith is one, and rests upon one principle of authority, the conscious, deliberate, and wilful abandonment of the essential meaning of an article of the creed, destroys the divine foundation upon which alone the entire faith is propounded by the Church.

“6. That any portion of the Church which does so abandon the essential meaning of an article of the creed, forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that article, but also the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the universal Church.

“7. That by such conscious, wilful, and deliberate act, such portion of the Church becomes formally separated from the Catholic body, and can no longer assure to its members the grace of the sacraments and the remission of sins.

“8. That all measures consistent with the present legal position of the Church, ought to be taken without delay, to obtain an authoritative declaration by the Church of the doctrine of holy baptism impugned by the recent sentence; as, for instance, by praying license for the Church in Convocation to declare that doctrine, or, by obtaining an act of Parliament to give legal effect to the decisions of the collective Episcopate on this and all other matters purely spiritual.

“9. That, failing such measures, all efforts must be made to obtain from the said Episcopate, acting only in its spiritual character, a re-affirmation of the doctrine of holy baptism, impugned by the said sentence.

“H. E. MANNING, M.A., Archdeacon of Chichester.

“ROBERT J. WILBERFORCE, M.A., Archdeacon of the East Riding.

“THOMAS THORP, B.D., Archdeacon of Bristol.

“W. H. MILL, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge.

“E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.

“JOHN KEBLE, M.A., Vicar of Hursley.

“W. DODSWORTH, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, St. Pancras.

“WILLIAM J. E. BENNETT, M.A., Perpetual Curate of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge.

“HENRY WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, M.A., Vicar of East Farleigh.

“RICHARD CAVENDISH, M.A.

“EDWARD BADELEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

“JAMES R. HOPE, D.C.L., Barrister-at-Law.”

The principle is, therefore, clearly avowed: that the English *Church* must act, *as a Church*, to throw off from itself acquiescence and participation in the late decision, or it is chargeable with its consequences. The next question naturally is, *how* is it to act?

It is indeed lamentable to see how little idea there seems to exist among these learned scholars of the Anglican body, as to any definite and specific mode of action in such an emergency. We have already found that they place but small reliance on their bishops, and that they clearly consider the duty to be cast on themselves, to devise a plan of action. Their canon law contains, evidently, no chapters, “*De supplenda negligentia Prælatorum.*” What are called Church Unions (a strange and novel name) have been formed in London and at Bristol; their members have met and have deliberated; but so far, no further step seems to have been reached than the important preliminary, that some steps must be taken. Various expedients have, however, been spoken of.

1. The first, and the one which has been longest in men’s mouths is, the revival of convocation. To this, however, some object. We have seen Mr. Sewell’s opinion of its real objects. But Mr. Maskell, both by his own remarks, and by a valuable quotation on the subject from the Quarterly Review of March, 1845, has raised serious objections, not only to the probability of obtaining a meeting of convocation, but to that of its coming to anything like a just decision. One part of the quotation is worthy of being here reproduced:

“Were a convocation suddenly called again into action, it would, somewhat like the *états généraux* of France in 1789, constitute the most mischievous of all legislatures,—an ancient legislature, bearing an historical name, possessing or claiming great legal powers, unhappily revived after generations of desuetude, not by the renovation of its pristine spirit, but as an expedient at a period of popular excitement, and under the pinch of necessity: a Synod containing within it individuals who, from character and station, would deserve and command the highest respect, and yet composed of members wholly unused to act together in their canonical capacity—unaccustomed to render due submission or to enforce due obedi-

ence—untried to speech, excepting in voluntary societies, whose *ethos* is totally adverse to the constitution of an ecclesiastical assembly—taught, in these anomalous associations, to beg for external aid, instead of depending upon their own inherent powers—trained upon the platform to address themselves to the passions and imaginations of a mixed multitude, rather than to appeal to the conscience and the reason of responsible teachers and chosen guides—having all to unlearn as to their habits of transacting public affairs, and all to learn as to the mode of exercising their resuscitated duties—cut off, as a deliberative Synod, from all traditions of the past, and ignorant of their true position in the present time, destitute of collective experience, and therefore of collective foresight. Such a body, stimulated into morbid activity, would combine all the inconveniences of an obsolete institution with the rashness of a new experiment; and under existing circumstances, involve the Church in inextricable confusion.”

2. There is another expedient, which we do not know whether we ought to consider as identical with the former, or as meant to be distinct. Several writers speak of a *Synod* as the resource of their Church in its present crisis; and as it is generally joined (though disjunctively) to “convocation, synod, or convocation,” we are at a loss to decide whether the two words are considered as synonymous, or as distinctive. If we may speak our mind, we must say, that the joint phrase appears to us rather indicative, partly of a great vagueness of ideas on the subject, partly of a desire to slide from one thing to another. There is an essential difference between a synod and convocation. A synod was here in Catholic times, and is yet in Catholic countries, an extraordinary convention of the clergy diocesan or provincial, in *one* assembly, whereiu matters purely ecclesiastical were decided. Such are the councils in Wilkins. Convocation was a constitutional assembly, co-ordinate with parliament, meeting regularly like it, divided into *two* houses, an upper and lower, and summoned by the crown, chiefly for the purpose of making its separate grants of twelfths and fifteenths, and bounties, to the king. The councils framed canons under anathema, constitutions, and rules of discipline: convocation legislated in regard to the temporal affairs of the clerical body. The former are among the glories and proud monuments of our church: the latter proved its greatest curse. For it was convocation, and not a synod, that gave up its liberty to the state, and bartered its catholicity for the uncertain protection of a tyrant. Supremacy was the work of convocation.

After the so-called Reformation, ecclesiastical synods ceased: they were dangerous, and they were needless under a royal headship. But the state retained convocation, so long as it was wanted for separate money votes, or was a mode of ruling on the maxim, "*Divide et impera.*" Now, however, that the Establishment requires an appellate jurisdiction in a doctrinal matter, it is spoken of as though identical with a synod or council, and thus the attempt is covertly made, to revive, not merely the "ecclesiastical parliament," as it has been rightly called, of which a shadow only remains, but under the same name, the court which it superseded, that of a provincial, or national synod.

That such a convention is a mere chimæra, we believe every one, not blinded by the enthusiasm of party-feeling, will at once agree. Synods are not summoned by requisition, as county meetings are. The bishop of a diocese, the archbishop of a province, the primate or patriarch of a whole country, can alone convoke the synod of his jurisdiction. The supreme pastor in each is entrusted with the duty of presiding: no one can usurp his place: and he who presides convenes. He is the watchman on the tower to descry the danger, and the general in the field to marshal the array. Now it happens marvellously that both the primates of the Anglican bench concur in the justice of the late decision, and its sentence; and no subaltern power can compel them to call a synod, to reverse it. And does any one dream that they can be induced to think this their duty, because a party, known as high-churchmen, or perhaps more commonly as Puseyites, meeting in some place in London, request them to do so; while thousands almost of evangelicals are at their back, supporting them, and encouraging them to the contrary? Will the mere call, however energetic, of one side, and that the smaller one, arouse their consciences, to desert their own, and to put themselves into an awkward position with the state, of which, after all, as peers, they are members no less than of the Church?

And again, if a synod met, in which, of course, and by right, the episcopal body would be the only judging and defining authority, who is sanguine enough to believe, that the majority of the bench would be found in contradiction to the two archbishops? Although Mr. Neale, whose imagination and wishes seem to prevail over his judgment,

in his entire view of the present crisis, may be pleased to say, "We may well bless God, that a great majority of the bishops are on the side of truth; that perhaps it would not be possible to find six who would concur in the judgment," (p. 22.); yet we will venture to appeal to the knowledge of persons more conversant with the question than ourselves, whether the right calculation be not exactly to the contrary. Nay, we doubt if more than the defeated prelate are prepared to take the risks of convoking a synod, to pronounce authoritative condemnation of the royal sentence.

Now we cannot forbear reverting, with joyful and thankful hearts, to the contrast which the Catholic continent has lately presented, in that church of which Mr. Irons sees imminent the total fall. No sooner did circumstances allow the bishops there to meet in synod, but council after council was called in France, in Germany, and in Italy; councils so prudently planned, and so admirably conducted, that Mr. Sewell need not go back to the first ages to find models for his ideal synod of the English establishment. Here, also, there had been long desuetude to embarrass: not a person was alive, probably, who had ever witnessed such a meeting. But the spirit of ecclesiastical organization is so lively, through the principle of docile obedience, in the Church Catholic; the rules for such emergencies are so definite and clearly recognized; the unity and accordance in faith, in discipline, and in fraternal and filial charity, are so certain; in fine, the feelings and qualities requisite for grand, religious, and ecclesiastical action, are so instinctive in her hierarchy, that the opening and conducting of each synod, in whatever country, and the enacting of its canons, have seemed matters of every day recurrence, have caused no confusion, excitement, or anxiety; and nothing but edification, joy, and encouragement, has thence resulted. Surely the Spirit of God was there,—the Spirit of consolation, of peace, and of love. And are there similar symptoms of His heavenly presence in those preliminary meetings, acephalous and inorganic, which sit in taverns, and end in protests; in this conflicting war of pamphlets, in which unseemly names are cast at theological opponents;* and

* Thus, Mr. Neale calls the late Mr. Bickersteth "a leader of the evangelical *faction*." What can prevent the retort uncourteous being made?—p. 10.

still more in this cross-fire of pulpits, teaching within each others' echoes conflicting doctrines; Mr. Dodsworth in Albany street delivering opinions so contradictory of those preached by Mr. Elliot just outside of it, that if there be heresy any longer possible on earth, one, or both, must be heretical? Let them who have to answer it to God, try the two spirits, and decide.

And suppose a synod convened, and filling the noble Abbey of Westminster, is there no preliminary question which must be settled before this of Baptismal Regeneration can be decided? Of the clergy that meet, how many will first wish to know why their judgment of scripture has to be set aside, and to what extent they will be bound by synodical decisions. The authority of *the Church*, of any church, will have first to be secured; in other words, the evangelical leaven must first be purged out: and who will effect this, while it forms the greater part of the body, is as yet a secret unrevealed.

If however the synod has to be held, independently of the state and the civil power, as some of our writers seem to think will be necessary, and after that will be expected to bind the minds and consciences of the archbishops, bishops, clergy and laity, who, not agreeing with the promoters of the disloyal scheme, may choose to keep away from it; the council will have to open and to close its session by two curious measures. The first will be the repeal of the first part of the twenty-first Article, which says, that "General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment of princes." The second would be the revocation of the remaining portion of the same article: "And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God), they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God." For surely if this be true of general councils, it must be more so of provincial ones.

Finally, can unity of doctrine ensue from the gathering together of a multitude of men, among whom it is acknowledged that every heresy prevails, semi-Arianism, if not Arianism itself, Nestorianism commonly, Pelagianism, Novatianism, Anabaptism, and many others, uncorrected by the bishops, unheaded by the flocks, unknown almost to the professors of them, so depreciated is dogma, so low

is the standard of faith, in Anglicanism. The High Church party knows all this, and deplures it; but, instead of seeing in it the stamp of heresy, and the brand of apostacy, nurses, and even ventures to put to the test of prayer, the blasphemous thought, that if this swarm of heretical teachers can only be got together in synod, the spirit of truth will descend upon it, and transform it into an orderly and consentient college of orthodox apostles! We will venture to say, that were such a council called, and were it to be opened, as in the early church, by insisting upon each member subscribing, *ex corde*, the *Omoousion* formulary, some clergy would refuse to do it. Nay, even the writings of those who are so zealous for orthodoxy in the present crisis, will be found occasionally tainted with lurking heresies of other ages.* From such elements as these, we may justly ask, what hope is there that one uniform profession of faith would spring? Can such a hope be founded, either on God's promises, or on the probabilities of human calculations?

* An example of this has just come before us in connection with the actual crisis. A "Prayer in the present state of the Church" has been sent us; and as it is dated "St. Paul's," and as its "proceeds are to be given to the SS. Paul and Barnabas' Dispensary," we may fairly conjecture that it is mainly intended for circulation in the congregation of one of the writers before us. We will extract sufficient to illustrate our meaning in the text, quoting the beginning and end. "*O FATHER of mercies, who seest all the backslidings and calamities of Thy Church, pity its many miseries.....Revive a suffering spirit among us, while we labour under a suffering state.....Enable us contentedly, yea joyfully, to take up our cross and bear it after Thee. O Father, in Thy mercy, guard us against all error.....for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake.*" It is clear from this conclusion, as well as from the very name given to Him who is addressed, that this prayer is directed to God THE FATHER. Yet, it expresses a desire to "bear the cross after Him." Here, then, in a prayer, to be "guarded from error," and "saved from heresy," there is put into the mouths of the congregation the heresy of the Patrapassians, who taught that the Father suffered *on the cross*. No doubt this is an inadvertency: but it shows the ease with which even staunch dogmatists, in the Anglican Church, may slip into heterodoxy. There is, however, another consideration of more importance. A prayer containing such an error would at once have been condemned, or suppressed, by any Catholic bishop. But who fears that such an error would elicit the slightest notice from ecclesiastical authority in Anglicanism? It is but a "gnat," compared with the "camels," which go down every day, smoothly and easily, among its followers and its teachers.

3. We are not, therefore, surprised to see a proposal for a sort of intermediate council or committee, neither Synod nor Convocation; but a body to be named by the latter to take measures for securing the former. Such is Mr. Irons's plan.

"I think, then, that a committee of our best learned Divines, chosen by our convocation to investigate the primitive and approved practice in such matters, would suggest to the Church in synod a better Court of Appeal in doctrine, than any one could be expected to extemporise to meet a difficulty."—p. 51.

We can only repeat, that it shows poorly for the "pure and apostolic character of the branch of the Church established in England," that it should be all, to use a common expression, "at sixes and sevens," respecting the mode of proceeding, when a point of doctrine has to be decided. The ancient Church knew well how to act in such cases; so did that of the Middle ages; so does the living Catholic Church at present. Surely this is not a matter for the "investigation of the best learned Divines;" but one which every Bishop, and every theologian, ought to have learnt at College.

But after all, is it not strange, that the true rights of a provincial or national Synod should hardly have been examined, and defined, in this controversy? It is assumed throughout, that such a meeting, could it be procured, would be able to decide on matters of Faith, without reference to any other authority. If this committee of best learned Divines should, after due investigation, make their report, respecting "the primitive and approved practice in such matters," would they say, that they had found nothing there, of consultation made of "the transmarine Churches," or of appeals carried to the Apostolic See, or of papal legates laying down the law? Would they not discover, that when vital doctrines, such as the one now under discussion, were perilled, in any one "branch of the Church," the orthodoxy of the whole body was considered to be compromised, and every part joined in vindicating the Faith? And why does not England think of this expedient now, and call on the whole Church to unite in asserting the true doctrine? These are questions which ought seriously to arise to the minds of thoughtful men at this time, not as speculative or curious topics, not to be put aside by the stale excuse of providential dealings, that over-rule the plain institutions of Christ our Lord; but as

practical and home-driving enquiries, that involve the first principles of the Anglican separation.

Nothing has more sadly blinded the eyes, and hardened the hearts of High-churchmen, to the clear evidences of catholic truth, than this irregular and undoctinal mode, of reasoning from experiences and outward symptoms, respecting the true condition of their Church. Every attempt at applying the theological tests of truth, every allegation of Scripture or the Fathers, to prove the abnormal state of Anglicanism, every rising doubt, or more painful remorse of conscience, in its members, is met with the illusive cry of, "Look at the signs of life in the Church. See the holiness of many of its members; behold the renovated zeal of its ministers. Surely God is in, and with, her." And then, when members are dissatisfied, comes the cant reproach of "undutifulness," and want of confidence. This is the drift of Mr. Neale's pamphlet. Reasoning he will not permit. "This kind of argument," he remarks, "is too logical to be real." He allows, nay, he exaggerates, if possible, the delinquencies of his Establishment. But then, there has been such a marvellous renewal of its life, in modern times, that no amount of inconsistency, error, or anomaly, can suffice to counterbalance the favourable evidence which thence results. There has perhaps never existed a great heresy, which did not use this argument, and which could not show as good a ground for it. Its wonderful and rapid progress, or its firm hold on many provinces, or the sanctity even to martyrdom of its members, or the learning of its teachers, or any other outward and visible mark of prosperity, gives error, for a time, equivocal notes of Divine favour. Montanists and Novatians, Donatists and Circumcellions, Arians and Nestorians, Anabaptists and Puritans, have eagerly seized on one or more of these signs of life, for their evidence; and it has served them for a time. The Mahommedan superstition built itself, no less, upon similar fallacious advantages.

Mr. Neale, in fact, confutes his own reasoning, by its illustration. After contrasting the Swedish, with the Anglican Church, he thus continues. "Take a still more striking example. The Nestorian Church, on its first separation from the Catholic communion, was an extremely powerful body. For some time it showed every sign of life. In the *ninth* century the Nestorians of the

East are said to have outnumbered the Greek and Latin Communions put together. In the *twelfth*, the Patriarch had twenty-five Metropolitans, who ruled from China to the Tigris, from the Lake Baikal to Cape Comorin. The application is as follows,—

“But the first touch of real persecution, and this vast ecclesiastical empire crumbled away. Gradually, but surely, it lost province after province, till it became, what it is now, a mere sect of the valleys of Kurdistan. How cheering the contrast of the past history of the Church of England!”—P. 17.

Never read we a more lame and impotent conclusion. For, as Nestorianism began in 428, and reached its zenith in the *ninth* century, that is after four hundred years, and had a vast dominion in the *twelfth*, that is after eight hundred years, and yet all this prosperity and apparent life was a deceptive symptom, and came to nought; whence all this boastful confidence in a vitality of *three* centuries, and a vivacity of scarcely twenty years? And then the test of a “*real* persecution,” which dissipated the Nestorian delusion, surely has not yet touched the Church of England. Where then is the “cheering contrast?” To us it appears just the reverse. All this proves that a body, cut off from the “Catholic Communion” may flourish for even eight centuries, and yet be unsound: the reformed Church of England has not reached half this term of the career of a heresy.

But there is another striking contrast to be made. Nestorianism kept up the complete organization of the Church, in its schism. It had a head, it ruled by canons, it convened Synods, it held strongly to faith, excepting its own peculiar errors, it kept up intercommunion of various provinces, and chief of all, it permitted no diversities *within* itself. It was strictly dogmatical, and exclusive. Whoever agreed not, was cast out as a heretic, and unity was preserved. The contrary, in every particular, is, and has been, the course and state of Anglicanism. And this Mr. Neale overlooks. The sort of development, or renovation, which he builds on, is partly architectural, partly rubrical, partly ascetic, partly moral; but in no part, to signify, dogmatic. In that which constitutes a body of religionists, it has been great, and common to the Wesleyans, and other sectaries as well; in what forms the essence of a Church, it has been naught. We are convinced that any necessity of being members of the Estab-

lishment, as the means of salvation, that the operations of grace, that the necessity of explicit belief in the two great Mysteries, in fine, that dogmatic religion, are by no means revived, and never again can be, in the hearts of the English people, by the Church of the State. Faith, once dead, is like an arid plant; which will not be revived, by mere watering, and a little amateur gardening, such as Mr. Neale's friends indulge in; but requires renewing by a graft, from a sound stock.

The actual position then of this body seems to be this. The Sovereign, as its supreme Head, upon advice of the Privy Council legally constituted, has pronounced that a clergyman who denies Baptismal Regeneration cannot therefore be debarred from a living; consequently in that living, he may freely teach that denial, and may lawfully bring up all his flock in that view. And for this he cannot be reproved by his Diocesan. Baptismal Regeneration has therefore ceased, for the present, to be a dogma in that Church.

The legality of the tribunal was admitted by two Archbishops and the first Bishop in the Church, who acted as assessors, and by another Bishop who pleaded before it, without protest.

It is agreed by the High-church party, that the Church of England stands committed to this error, and heretical teaching, unless it rejects it by an act equal to the cause, and the emergency. It must be authoritative, decided, dogmatic, and corporate. Private, individual, dubious expressions of opinion, are nothing worth. A Doctor of Divinity, a Regius Professor, an Archdeacon, has no more right to emit his conclusions, as the voice of the Anglican Church, than its most humble country curate. Even a single Bishop cannot rescue the Establishment from its position of responsibility.

Will the Anglican Church speak? Will it act? It has not yet begun to open its lips, or to stretch forth its arms. A few strong men may lay hold of the hand of a corpse, and make it sign a paper; but this can constitute no valid, as no voluntary, act. And of just so much value will all protests and declarations be, which any party puts out in their Church's name. The body must raise itself, the head must be erect, the eyes sparkling with life, the frame thrilling with energy, and the hand at once bold and deliberate in its act, before we will believe that *it*, and not some one for it, performs so solemn a duty.

We are indeed told, that the Church is in bondage, under persecution. Mr. Bennet writes as follows.

“But only we must have LIBERTY—not the chains and entanglements of a State protection—which, while it embraces, kills; and while it flatters, poisons—but only the freedom of the children of God, who would speak their Father’s voice, and bid men repent and be saved.

“Keep the Church as she is now—chain her down by your statute-book, as now she is chained down, without a voice to speak, a breath to breathe, an arm to uplift, with discipline defunct, and doctrine in the power of enemies—then, I put it to you, is it in the common course or probability of nature that she should long survive?”—P. 29.

That language like this should be put forth, as the wail of a Church, which, for three hundred years, has been treading on the neck of every other religious system, and trying to stifle every cry for the barest toleration! That the mistress-church, the dominant, overbearing, more than royal Establishment of this empire, lofty in station, rich in endowment, sharer in all the good things of earth, should proclaim herself but the slave, the captive of a worldly power, while she holds, with eager grasp, the means which, in other hands, would diffuse blessings among thousands of the poor, now in vice and sorrow, because of her exclusive claims! This is indeed a just retribution, if felt. Many, we know, will read such lamentations with a smile of incredulity; and wonder why that liberty, so much coveted, is not purchased at its well-known price. “*Divitias nihil esse duxi in comparatione illius.*”^{*} But we are ready to acknowledge the appeal. The State, or Government, of England did indeed forge bonds for the Church, but in a double set. It made one of iron, and one of gold. It offered her the latter, with the alternative of the former. She refused the golden slavery. More and Fisher, and the holy Carthusians, and hundreds of others, spoke for the Church, as faithful sons, whose voice she acknowledged; they rejected the bondage of court dictation in matters of religion; they kept faithful to the independence of Catholic Unity, and the iron became their portion, in prison, and on the scaffold. But others were found, less generous, and less noble-minded, the Cromwells and the Cranmers, who, with the gaudy trappings of court livery, readily put on the tyrant’s golden fetters.

* S. p. vii. 8.

The fate of the two Churches, the true and the counterfeit, continued as it began. The Catholic has been—not the slave,—God forbid! but the captive and the prisoner of the State; reluctant, no doubt, but patient; remonstrating, yet meek; her priests exiled, imprisoned, murdered; her nobles amerced, harassed, ruined; her energies, and even her necessary functions, impeded, cramped, and almost suppressed; her existence ignored, save in penal statutes and double-tax entries; and every thing that she held dear and sacred reviled, misnamed, and cruelly misrepresented. And who so loud in the hue-and-cry against her, who so boisterous in her “*Crucifige*,” who so mocking in her “*Vah qui destruis*,” who so ready with the heavy hammer to drive the iron deeper, who so prompt, at any time, with the gall and vinegar, as this gold-bedeized rival, this State-nursling, which now raises its voice (if its voice it be) to cry for liberty, and complain of chains? Why did it not open its mouth to sue for mercy, and toleration at least, for what it now calls its “elder sister,” in the day of persecution? But a higher justice than that of man had prepared a law of nature itself, by which timely retribution has been made. We have both borne quietly for three hundred years our respective fetters: we, of the iron which pierces the soul: they, of the gold that eats into the heart. But iron gyves, if left long enough to themselves, must rust, corrode, break, and fall off; golden chains remain unaltered by time, and can only be removed by being wrenched off by the wearer, and flung away. The master who holds the key will not easily release him.

We do not think, that the moral aspect of the recent controversy has been steadily faced. It is not merely that an unorthodox decision has been given, but that its holy subject has been most profanely handled. The doctrine of Baptism, almost the key to the whole sacramental system, intimately connected with the dogma of the adorable Trinity, descending into the deep and awful mystery of predestination, touching, on every boundary, the obscure regions of the doctrine of Grace, has been treated like any worldly speculative theory, handled rudely and coarsely, in conversation and in writings, without the slightest feeling about it, as a revealed verity, on which eternal life depends. It has been “got up” by lawyers with just as little reverence as if it had been a case of

trespass; and discussed before laymen in a room, as if it had been an action at common law: nay, with less formality or appearance of respectful solemnity than is used in the Old Bailey. Newspaper editors, who perhaps have never learnt their catechism, have written flippantly and ignorantly on this momentous subject, verifying, in a most painful manner, the well-known complaint, that

“Fools rush in, where Angels fear to tread.”

Let any one, who has complained of Tridentine doctrines, compare the manner, in which the Gorham case has been conducted, with the glorious meeting at Trent, its noble array of Bishops, (and such Bishops!) its mighty army of theologians, such as had never met before, its preparatory congregations, its preliminary fasts, its accompanying prayers, its dignified sessions, its unanimous decisions, its authoritative promulgation; and then see which bears the stamp of true dogmatic feeling, of reverence for religious truth, and of an indwelling and overshadowing influence of the Holy Spirit.

Then, as this subject has been dealt with, so, at some future day, may others be: if they follow into the field of free discussion, in newspapers and the Arches Court and Privy Council. Should this take place, we venture to say, that the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist, of our Redeemer's Divinity, nay, that of the Ever-blessed Trinity itself, would be treated with equal dryness, disregard, and even levity. For our parts, we can compare the feelings with which we have watched these proceedings, to none but such as we might have experienced, had we beheld sacrilegious hands of old, plundering the treasury of a church, dragging forth to the gaze and ridicule of the multitude its sacred treasures, and scattering abroad the contents of its venerable shrines.

We will conclude with a practical suggestion; and must take the liberty of embodying it in a parable.

Two men were travelling on a broad and level road, clearly leading to the city whither they bent their steps—the City of truth, and peace, and rest. Along the track, beaten smooth by the tread of generations, journeyed many others, directed like themselves. At length they came to where a road branched off; the main highway continued as before, and multitudes persevered in keeping it. To their regret and amazement, our two wayfarers,

with a few more, preferred the new and untried path, and for a time boasted to one another of their choice. For at first, though less definite, and more crooked, than the ancient road, it was more richly bedight with flowers, greener and more pleasant to behold. By degrees, however, it becomes entangled and miry, and at length an insuperable obstacle comes across it, a high, well-guarded barrier, which cannot be easily surmounted. The time for deliberation was therefore come. It is clear this road must be abandoned; and the discussion arises, in what manner? The one says: We can still see at a distance the old road, as well frequented as ever; and those who are on it seem as happy as when we left it; and so are such of our friends as have betimes returned to it. But I, for my part, can never think of going back to it. Some other expedient must be discovered; and here is one. I have observed, as we came along, no end of gaps in the fences, and ill-secured passes, through which we may creep, or over which we may leap, and so make a new path across country of our own." Now we, in the name of the other traveller, will entreat him who so suggests, to think better, and more soberly. Let not the foolish pride of party, or of sect, or of country, prevail over the wisdom of the most obvious course. Think not that it will lower you to go back to the right way. Do you not clearly trace all your present trouble to the first wrong step? and was not this, departure from the high-road of the universal Church, into the by-way of nationality? For do you not see, that they who have persevered in, or returned to, the former, have not suffered, and do not suffer, like you? Then be reasonable, and regain your lost ground. Go back patiently, humbly, and meekly. Those on the good road scoff not at them that return to it. The new short cut may lead you into a new quagmire, or like many other novelties—end in nothing. Ask them for "the old paths," and go back to them. You will thus easily find yourself, once more, on a plain, straight, and pleasant way, in peace, in unity, in certainty: on such a way as that "fools cannot get wrong upon it." Only the over-wise possibly can.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*The Irish Annual Miscellany*. By the Rev. Patrick Murray, D. D. vol I., 8vo. Dublin: Bellew, 1850.

It may be that, in offering a judgment upon a writer to whose pen our journal owes many of its best and most attractive essays, we shall be violating some of the received conventionalities of our craft. But we have too little in our literature that combines ease and brilliancy of style with real depth and solidity of thought, not to receive with loud and cordial welcome a volume which, with many other striking merits, exhibits both in a very eminent degree. We feel, therefore, that it would be a very false delicacy to abstain, upon a mere point of professional etiquette, from giving every due publicity to a work of such merit, and in every way so important, as the *Irish Annual Miscellany*; even though it may, perhaps, be at the expense of such etiquette, we cannot refrain from adding our voice to the universal sentence of approval with which it has been received.

Among the advantages which, with many acknowledged short-comings and positive vices, the literature of the present day possesses over that of the past generation, not the least substantial is its perfect emancipation from the rigid formalism by which the energies of old were fettered. There is no longer a fixed and settled standard to which each man must bend if he would secure a hearing from the public. The poet is not tied down to a given number of books or cantos. The novelist need not spin out his tale to a determinate measure. There is no longer a stereotyped form—the “*Essay*,” or “*Treatise*,” or “*Enquiry*,”—into which all more serious compositions must be thrown; nor, if a clever writer is master of information upon a subject of importance, or any branch of such a subject, is it any longer necessary that he should wait to compile materials for a quarto or octavo volume, before he can venture to communicate what he already possesses. There are a thousand mediums now-a-days through which he can impart his thoughts; and the most ephemeral of them all,—the daily journal,—frequently contains, in a few occasional columns, written to be read without an effort over the breakfast-table, and then thrown aside for ever, more real and available information than could be extracted,

with much labour and vexation of spirit, from the ponderous quartos of the olden time.

The Irish Annual Miscellany is an example of this freedom. It is the first of a periodical issue of essays, chiefly upon such topics of grave and serious interest, arising from time to time, as may appear to require more detailed and careful discussion than can be bestowed upon them, or at least is commonly bestowed upon them, in the ordinary periodicals. Such are, in the present volume, the essays upon the popular topics of the day,—the Endowment of the Irish Church, the Political Power and Rights of the Clergy, and the vindication of the casuistry of the Jesuits, and the principles of morals received in their theological schools, elicited not only by recent events upon the continent, but also, and more directly, by the virulent attack upon both in Macaulay's History of England. But besides these subjects of present interest, the Irish Annual proposes also to discuss others of a more general character, of which the papers in the volume before us on the condition and requirements of a genuine Catholic Literature, and the nature of the Contemplative Life, may be taken as examples; the whole being diversified and enlivened by lighter pieces, poetry, criticism, and personal or historical sketches. And in each and all there is a vigour and manliness of tone, a depth of thought, an earnestness of purpose, a strong and racy humour, a singular readiness and felicity of illustration, a brilliancy of imagination, a general ease and grace of style, and above all a full and undoubting confidence of right, which impart to the work a character peculiarly its own, apart from and above the ordinary literature of the day.

If the Annual Miscellany for 1850, be a fair representative of the Series, we are sure there are few who will not join with us in the hope that it is but the fore-runner of a long train of similar volumes, each adding fresh reputation and fresh influence to the gifted author.

II.—1. *Rudimentary Dictionary of Terms*, used in Architecture Civil—Architecture Naval—Building and Construction—Early and Ecclesiastical Art—Engineering Civil—Engineering Mechanical—Fine Art—Mining—Surveying, &c., by JOHN WEALE. London, Holborn: John Weale.

2.—*A History of Architecture*, by EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: Masters, Aldersgate St. 1849.

These two works form in their different ways, an important acquisition to the lovers of Architecture; the former, indeed, must prove most valuable to the severer student. The title describes the plan, yet scarcely gives an adequate idea of the quantity of information contained in the book. Every exertion has been made to procure the latest and best. A list of upwards of seventy of the best works upon the different subjects is given as authorities. The most eminent professional men have been consulted; and no pains spared to give clear and popular explanations of the most difficult subjects: these also have been assisted by engravings. To give an instance of the style of what is merely called a dictionary of terms, under the head Girder, (which we take at random), the reader is not only told what a Girder is, and where it is used, but is presented with a series of experiments for trying the strength of girders in different positions, and with the result, in the form of various rules for ascertaining what is termed their "breaking weight."

The qualities and composition of colours, the weight and durability of woods, the best information upon such subjects, as draining, sewerage, building, &c.; the name, situation, and date of building of our ancient abbeys, with the orders to which they belonged, and so on. In fact, the book approaches more to an encyclopedia than a mere dictionary.

Mr. Freeman's History of Architecture has great merit; but as we purpose at an early date to treat more at large upon this subject, we will, for the present, pass it by.

* * * We have received important communications respecting statements in our Number for March, 1849, on the subject of General Rosas, and the affairs of Buenos Ayres. Among others is a letter, published in the papers there, by the Rev. Mr. Fahy, an Irish resident clergyman, in which he gives a denial to some of the statements of that article, and a character of the General quite the reverse of that popularly attributed to him. Nothing can be further from our wishes than to be the unintentional medium of injuring any one's fair fame, be he in a public, or be he in a private station. We therefore hasten to communicate this contradiction to our readers, regretting that want of space prevents us from inserting the original communication. Should this appear expedient, we will give it in our next number: for the present, we will content ourselves with expressing our regret that any thing should have found its way into our pages, either inaccurate, or calculated to give pain, even in so distant a quarter of the globe.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JUNE, 1850.

ART. I.—*Discours sur l'histoire de la Revolution d'Angleterre.* Par
M. GUIZOT.

THE masterly Essay at the head of our article, forms a worthy appendix to the one on "Democracy in France," which its distinguished author published last year. As in that Essay he showed the causes of the failure of the French Revolution, so he points out in the one, which we purpose to review, the causes of the success of the British Revolution. Few political and historical subjects possess equal interest in themselves; and never has the matter been treated and set forth with greater knowledge, sagacity, judgment, and dignity of style. Every page bears the stamp of the learned historian, and the practical statesman. Not only has the author long made the matter he treats the subject of his meditation and research, but his active participation in the great political events and changes of his own time and country, often furnishes him with a clue to the true understanding of the revolutions of another age and land.

Since the Revolution of February, a great change for the better has come over the mind of M. Guizot. Born a Protestant, he has during the greater part of his life professed a sort of mitigated Rationalism. He commenced his political life under the banner of M. Royer-Collard, the head of the Party of the *Doctrinaires*, who, under the Restoration, held what they called the *Juste Milieu* between the Monarchical and the Revolutionary Parties.

But in despite of his religious errors, and his opposition to the Royalist Party, the natural equity and liberality of M. Guizot's mind—his great learning, and his extraordinary discernment, raised him far above the vulgar prejudices of what was then called the Liberal Party. Among the uncatholic writers of France, it would be vain to seek, especially at the period we refer to, for the same just appreciation of the blessed and ennobling influences of the Catholic Church, as may not unfrequently be found in the writings of M. Guizot.

This Party of the "Juste Milieu," which consisted of a strange amalgamation of Infidels, Protestants, and some sincere, but short-sighted Catholics, so far from observing that golden mean which wisdom loves, adopted many of the false principles of the Revolution; yet through superior knowledge and conscientiousness, shrunk from the consistent application of the legitimate consequences. There was no party guilty of such gross inconsistencies. Thus they set themselves up as the most ardent and intelligent admirers of the British Constitution; and yet resisted the introduction of the law of primogeniture, one of the pillars of that Constitution. They called themselves the strenuous defenders of popular liberty; and yet, for thirty years, they opposed the re-establishment of the ancient municipal and communal franchises of France; thus showing themselves opposed to the popular, no less than to the aristocratic elements of a true representative system. They professed themselves favourable to Religion; and yet they evinced their hostility to any project for the restoration of the Church's freedom. They prided themselves, and with reason, on their love of letters, and their encouragement of education; and yet to the last they upheld the monstrous university monopoly, which was scarcely less repugnant to sound literature, than to religion and morality.

The true political medium, is to hold just principles, averse to all extremes, to all excess, and to carry such principles boldly and fairly out in all their results. But it is a false medium to adopt extreme and erroneous doctrines, and then out of prudence or timidity to recoil from their consequences.

Thus this Party of the "Juste Milieu," in power as well as in opposition, under the Monarchy of July as under the Restoration, contributed perhaps more than any other to the failure in France of that constitutional system, which

they so much admired, and the causes of whose success in England their leader, M. Guizot, has so elaborately explained. For when, in consequence of the Revolution of July, this party was raised to the pinnacle of power, what was the policy it pursued? It endeavoured to save society by mere external and material measures, by the suppression of clubs, the prosecution of an incendiary press, official bribery, and resistance to all democratic changes in the constitution; while the roots of the social malady in France—the servitude of the Church—the monopoly of an irreligious university—and the corrupt and enervating system of administrative centralization, were not only not eradicated, but fostered.

But the elevation to power could not fail to reveal to a mind so superior as M. Guizot's, the true character of the Revolution.* It was with evident reluctance he yielded to the tyrannical exigences of the Revolutionary party, that demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1844. He had previously declared that the Prefects of France bore unanimous testimony to their blameless and meritorious conduct. And in his memorable speech on the eve of the Revolution of February, he, as well as his colleague, M. de Broglie, showed how that illustrious Order had been in Switzerland the victim of the foes of all Religion and social order.

The catastrophe of February, which not only precipitated the fall of the minister and his party, but swept away the king, the dynasty, the constitution, and well nigh society itself, and which has uttered such fearful warnings to mankind, could not fail to produce the deepest impression on a spirit so reflective as M. Guizot's. Hence, as we said before, the "Essay on French Democracy" reveals the great progress, which in proportion to the dangers of his country, sound political opinions have made in our author's mind. He now discerns and avows the necessity of conceding to the Church her long-sought liberties, of restoring to the Provinces and Municipalities

* In 1838, M. Guizot spoke so favourably of the Catholic literature of France, especially of the writers of the "Université Catholique," such as the Count de Montalembert, M. Rio, the Abbé Gerbet, and others, that he was taxed by our "Morning Chronicle," with an undue bias to the Catholic Church. Since that period, M. Guizot's respect for our Church has, we have reason to believe, vastly increased.

their long-lost franchises, of bringing about a lasting reconciliation between the Legitimists, the Orleanists, and the more moderate Buonapartists, and of promoting the spread of religion among all classes. Even the cold Doctrinaire now sees that the affections must not be banished from the domain of politics; for a bitter experience has taught him how hollow and insecure are the foundations of that monarchy, which is based *on the interests only*, and not on the *affections of a people*. He admits, too, that the Legitimists, who have adapted themselves with singular address for the last sixty years to all the changing fortunes of their country, represent not only a feeling, but a principle; not merely the interests of a dynasty, but the traditions, recollections, habitudes, and hereditary customs of the French nation.

The Essay at the head of our article, bears two titles: One is, "Pourquoi la Revolution d'Angleterre a-t-elle receussi;" and the other, "Discours sur l'histoire de la Revolution d'Angleterre." The latter title is alone the fitting one; for the answer to the former question is, except in two places, but indirectly given, the causes of the success of the Revolution of 1688, being rather to be inferred from the statement of facts, than from any positive reasoning. This Essay is, indeed, more occupied with the narration of the events, and the portraiture of the several characters engaged in our political Revolutions of the seventeenth century, than with an analytic investigation of their causes and results.

In despite of the happy improvement we have noticed in the author's political opinions, he has not yet reached the political Catholicism of our great Burke; while in religion he is still a Protestant, and a very staunch Protestant too. In his account, therefore, of our political Revolutions of the seventeenth century, which were in many ways so closely connected with the great religious change of the preceding age, he is far from being always a safe guide; and when he sees the truth, he sees it at times but imperfectly.

The Essay before us, which, by showing the causes of the success of the British Revolution of 1688, was intended to point out indirectly the causes of the failure of the French Revolution of 1830, contains many allusions to contemporaneous occurrences. The author judged it

perhaps more prudent to let his countrymen infer the moral of his tale, than to state it himself too broadly.

When we saw this *Essay* advertised under the title, "Why did the Revolution of England succeed?" we immediately asked ourselves the reasons of that success, as well as the corresponding ones, accounting for the signal failure of the French. We had the pleasure to find many of our speculations confirmed by the high sanction of M. Guizot. A writer infinitely inferior to the distinguished author in talents and acquirements, who possesses the advantage of the true faith, may be able to correct some of his erroneous statements; nor shall we offer any apology for our boldness in endeavouring to supply some of his omissions, and to develope propositions which he has but cursorily noticed, pointing out at the same time those remarks which he has suggested. To this end we shall compare the moral and political results of the English and French Revolutions of 1641 and 1789 at the dates of the respective Restorations of the two countries, and then institute a comparison between the British Revolution of 1688 and the French Revolution of 1830. We shall afterwards proceed to analyze and make extracts from the *Essay* before us.

If we search for the primary moral cause of the Grand Rebellion of 1641, we shall find it in that great religious Revolution of the sixteenth century, which had convulsed the Church, raised the people up against their spiritual rulers, proclaimed the principle of private judgment in matters of faith, and thus opened the door to every species of imposture, error, fanaticism, and impiety; while by advocating alternately the principles of political despotism and anarchy, that Revolution shook the foundations of civil society. The Anglican Church, the minion of Royal tyranny, and which so often ministered to its guilty caprices, brought forth a brood of sects, each more hideous and monstrous than the other, and which following parental example, raised their sacrilegious hands against their own mother. The Presbyterians sought to overthrow the Episcopal Establishment;—the Independents rejected every species of hierarchical subordination in the sacred ministry; the Levellers, holding to the Bible alone, would tolerate no spiritual authority whatsoever; and the Quakers appealed to the individual inspiration of the Holy

Spirit, as the sole rule of faith. The Presbyterians, who took the lead in the political as well as religious Revolution, admitted monarchy under certain conditions; but the other sects, more or less anarchical, which followed in their train, evinced a deep-rooted aversion not only to Royalty, but to all civil magistracy. Their destructive efforts were seconded by a party of Free-thinkers, small indeed, but more considerable, according to M. Guizot, than is generally supposed. Yet that profound demoralization which preceded, accompanied, and followed the French Revolution of 1789, during which for eight years the Christian Religion was utterly proscribed, could not attend the British Revolution of 1641. In this the leading party professed only the principles of the Kirk of Scotland, and the other sectaries, fanatical or hypocritical as they might be, still recognised many doctrines and precepts of the Gospel. The great mass of the people still belonged to the Anglican Church; and not to speak of the Irish Catholics, who formed the bulk of their nation, the English Catholics were then powerful and numerous. Hence Charles II. on reascending the throne of his fathers, found not by any means a people so perverted and demoralized, and consequently so difficult to govern, as Louis XVIII. on his reassuming his ancestral crown.

II. If we now examine the political results of the two Revolutions, the position of our Charles II. at his Restoration was far more advantageous, than was that of the descendant of St. Lewis in the year 1814.

1. In the first place, the Church of England had not undergone that wide-wasting spoliation, which since was the doom of the Church of France. Under the Commonwealth tithes were not abolished; and benefices were filled by the Presbyterian ministers, who dissented from the Anglican clergy on points of discipline and church government only. Hence at the Restoration, not a few of the Presbyterian ministers acceded to the Episcopal Establishment. The church lands were all re-transferred to the Bishops, Chapters, and Universities. The Ecclesiastical Tribunals, with the exception of the odious High Commission Court—a Judicature of comparatively recent date—were re-established. The two Universities, which were not suppressed in the time of the Commonwealth, were at the Restoration replaced under the influence of the Anglican Church. Thus that Church found herself

again in possession of all her ancient property, and political, as well as spiritual, rights and privileges; and from this circumstance, as well as from the learning and piety of many Divines, whom she then brought forth, as well as from the general sympathy which her misfortunes had excited, her position became stronger than it had ever been before.

2. If we look to the aristocracy, much as many of its members had suffered in life and property, during the civil wars, or later from the tyrannical exactions of the Republican government, the bulk of the nobility and gentry still retained their estates; nor had their family arrangements as to property been at all disturbed. The House of Lords was re-established in all its rights and privileges; and the country gentlemen regained their influence as proprietors and magistrates. There was, indeed, in the Upper House, a Presbyterian party, as in the time of Charles I.; but no new upstart nobility sat side by side with the ancient.

3. The municipal organization of Great Britain had remained intact during the Commonwealth; the cities had all preserved their corporate franchises. No change had been made in the administrative system of the country.

4. The civil and criminal laws of Great Britain had not undergone any essential alteration; and her various Judicatures had all been retained.

5. Charles II., as M. Guizot justly observes, was not restored by foreign arms, but was called back to the throne of his ancestors by the spontaneous efforts of the British people.

6. The three great results, says M. Guizot, of the Revolution of 1641, were the definitive triumph of the Protestant religion in England; the indissoluble union and mutual controul of the Crown and the Parliament; and the preponderance of the House of Commons in the affairs of the country. On this matter we wish to make a few comments. The triumph of Protestantism is a somewhat vague expression. Certainly, the Protestant Dissenters, who were so severely persecuted under Charles II., would not think that they had obtained at the Restoration a very definitive triumph; and as to the Protestant Established Church, its final triumph may date from the close of Elizabeth's reign. But in another sense the expression is just. The Catholics of England and Ireland, from the severe sufferings

they had to undergo on account of religion and loyalty, were at the close of the Civil Wars, well nigh prostrated; and on the other hand, Protestantism in its various forms had so leavened the mass of the English nation, that as events subsequently proved, no external force, unsupported by moral means, could re-establish the Catholic Church in her former power.

The second remark is perfectly correct. From the reign of Charles II., the union between the Crown and the Parliament became indissoluble, and their mutual controul a matter of necessity. The Revolution of 1641 was only a violent and bloody reaction against the despotism introduced by the Tudors, and continued in a more mitigated form by the Stuarts. The loss of religious influence, to which the Reformation had doomed the Anglican clergy—the consequent moral and political degradation of that body—the servile nobility, whom royal despotism had gorged with the plunder of the Church—the arbitrary maxims wherewith some Protestant sects had indoctrinated kings, and the anarchic doctrines which other of those sects had inculcated on the people—had destroyed the old balance of the British Constitution. The unfortunate Charles I., imbued with those despotic maxims of policy, which for a century had been current not only at Court, but among all classes of the nation, was undoubtedly guilty of arbitrary acts. This monarch, who to many better qualities joined feebleness and insincerity of character, was doomed by Divine Providence to pay the dread penalty, not only for his own faults, but for the accumulated wrongs, and crimes, and sacrileges, and impiety of his Protestant predecessors. The House of Commons, not content with asserting the just liberties of the nation, soon encroached on the incontestable prerogatives of the crown, violated the rights of the peerage, trampled on all law and justice, and, after plunging the nation into the horrors of civil war, established a most grinding tyranny. Thus one excess ever provokes another. The arbitrary sway of princes, who after their rebellion against the Catholic Church, the great Protectress of civil freedom, had intrenched on the liberties of all orders of the State, was now superseded and chastised by a licentious democracy, which proscribed the Episcopal Establishment, put down the Upper House, subverted the

old constitution, abolished royalty, and dragged the monarch himself to the scaffold.

Even under the tyranny of the Tudors, the august forms of parliament had been respected; and the House of Commons, after having under those Princes, sunk to so low an ebb of insignificance, was during the civil troubles, exalted to an equally undue elevation. At the Restoration the equilibrium of the constitutional powers was in some degree restored. Whether without the Reformation, and the civil despotism which that religious revolution brought about, and which interrupted the organic development of our constitution, the parliament would have spontaneously and by the natural course of things attained to the same degree of power as it possessed under Charles II., it is difficult to determine. It is not easy to point out what in the constitution of parliament at that period were the result of latent, inherent principles, and what of violent convulsion. But of this we are certain, that to insure the happiness, prosperity, and civil liberty of England, no Reformation and none of the civil wars it brought about were needed.

The preponderance of the House of Commons in the affairs of the country, is another result of the Grand Rebellion, justly pointed out by our author. This fact he insists on with much force; but in opposing the power of the Lower to the Upper House, he seems to overlook the close connexion subsisting between those two branches of the legislature. This connexion, however, it is, which as Burke well observed, has mainly insured the stability and the happy working of the representative system in England. The country gentleman, then as now, was often of more ancient family, and in possession of larger fortune, than many a Peer. There was, therefore, a community of interests, feelings and opinions, between the high aristocracy, (the barones majores,) and the untitled gentry, (the barones minores,) who had the preponderance in the House of Commons. Again, even at the time we refer to, and still more at a later period, all the more opulent merchants and bankers possessed landed estates, and so were more or less bound up in interest with the aristocracy. This oversight, or, at least, this omission, of M. Guizot's, may be attended with danger; for one of the main causes of the failure of the Representative system in so many countries, has been the too precise, definite, exclusive, and

independent character given to each portion of the legislature, instead of that general union and commingling of feelings and interests between all, so characteristic of the British constitution.

If such were the moral and social condition of Great Britain at the Restoration of 1660, how utterly different was the state of France, in 1814, when Louis XVIII. ascended the throne of his ancestors.

1. The sceptical philosophy of the eighteenth century, had, in that country, undermined religion and morality in the upper, and partly among the middle classes, while a portion of the clergy, by the laxity of their morals, paid a tribute to the frivolity of the age. With the Revolution, impiety reached the acme of its triumph. When the bloody persecution which the Church had now to undergo, the awful chastisements which Divine Providence inflicted on all, especially the high-born and the wealthy, had reanimated the zeal of the whole priesthood, and aroused numbers in the higher ranks to a sense of religion, it was found that impiety and licentiousness had sunk deep into the lowest orders of society. After the utter proscription of the Christian religion, and the systematic demoralization of the people, under the Republic, Napoleon reopened the temples of religion; but the thralldom in which he held the Church he had restored, prevented her from achieving the great task of regenerating society. Her religious Orders were, with few exceptions, interdicted; she could hold no diocesan or provincial synods; and her intercourse with the Holy See was in manifold ways impeded.

2. As to the material condition of the Church of France, the Restoration found her utterly despoiled of that wealth which the pious liberality of former ages had lavished on her.* In lieu of their tithes and estates, for which even the Constituent Assembly, when it confiscated them, had promised an indemnity, the clergy had received from the Imperial government, a miserable pittance, which, in those irreligious districts, where the piety of the faithful did not come to the aid of the ministers of religion, left them in a state bordering on destitution. The Bourbons were little able to remedy this state of things. Even the Bishops,

* Certain forests, the last remnant of the old Church-property of France, were sold by the State, even after the Restoration.

whom they admitted into the Chamber of Peers, sat not in virtue of their sacred office, but by favour of the Court.

3. The ancient universities of France had been totally destroyed, and so had been all her clerical and monastic schools. In their room, one vast, monstrous, State-university had been set up, not only wholly secular in its organization, but, for the most part, irreligious in its teachers and scholars, and endowed with the exclusive monopoly of education in the kingdom.

4. A great part of the old aristocratic families of France had, in consequence of the wars, the proscriptions, the judicial murders, the wholesale massacres of the Revolution, been utterly annihilated. Their survivors, robbed of their estates, were in many cases reduced to want; and those among them who retained a remnant of their property, found that remnant, in virtue of the abolition of entails, fast crumbling away. A Chamber of Peers was, indeed, established by the charter of 1814; but in that Chamber the heads of the most illustrious French houses were not to be found; while a new nobility, identified with the interests and the ideas of the Revolution, there exerted great sway.

5. The municipal corporations of all the French cities, had been utterly destroyed by the Revolution, as well as the franchises of all their communes. An iron system of administrative centralization now cramped the political and intellectual energies of the people.

6. The civil and criminal jurisprudence of France, and all her judicatories, had been swept away by the revolutionary tempest. A code was substituted, which, if it possessed many excellencies, embodied also many of the false principles of the Revolution.

7. A jealousy and antipathy in the course of the eighteenth century had sprung up in France, between the noblesse and the middle classes, and which had arisen partly from the too exclusive spirit of the former, partly from the political inaction to which the crown had forcibly reduced the nobles; this jealousy was aggravated and envenomed by the Revolution of 1789. That Revolution was levelled even more against aristocracy than royalty itself: for out of the iniquitous confiscations of the Revolution, many among the middle classes had been enriched with the spoils of the aristocracy. The possession of this ill-gotten wealth, as well as remembrance of the sway

which they had exercised in the first years of the Revolution, filled them with the utmost hatred and arrogance towards the remains of the ancient nobility. Hence the difficulty which the Restoration experienced of reconciling the conflicting claims, pretensions, and interests of those classes. Hence the difficulty of establishing in France a permanent connexion between the Upper and the Lower House,—a connexion which furnishes the main clue to the success of the British constitution of 1688.

8: If our Charles II. had been restored to his throne by the spontaneous effort of his people, in France the reverse was the case. There the Restoration was preceded by great disasters, which tarnished the military glory, and humbled the pride of the nation. An emperor, the idol of the army, was precipitated from his throne; and it was in the train of foreign squadrons that Louis XVIII. came to take possession of the throne of his ancestors. This circumstance failed not to engender, in a large portion of the French nation, an ill-will, which proved a great obstacle to the stability of the Bourbon dynasty.

Such was the profound diversity in the main results of the English Revolution of 1641, and of the French Revolution of 1789. And it is evident that any systems of polity, founded on such totally different results, must have an issue diametrically opposed. Hence we can at once understand why the Revolution of 1688 succeeded, and the French Revolution of 1830 has been so signal a failure.

In despite, however, of the radical differences between the Grand Rebellion of 1641 and the French Revolution of 1789, there were strong points of resemblance. One was the child of heresy, the other of unbelief; that is to say, both were the issue of different forms of rebellion against God's Church. Heresy convulses civil society; unbelief destroys it; but one prepares the way for the other. In both revolutions, we see the same genesis and progression of parties; the Catholic and Anglican cavaliers, Presbyterian Constitutionalists, fanatical Independents, Levellers, and Fifth-Monarchy-men in England, corresponding to the Catholic Royalists, the Jansenistical Constitutionalists, of 1791, the impious Republicans, Girondists, Jacobins, and Communists, of the French Revolution. In both we see how anarchic factions, powerful to destroy an ancient government, were impotent to establish a new one; how they begot a military tyranny, and how that tyranny

itself was compelled to yield in its turn to legitimate monarchy.

Having now stated the moral and political condition of England and France, as these two countries severally emerged from their bloody revolutions, we have before us the data to explain the respective success of the two revolutions of 1688 and 1830, which both professed to be defensive. Let us now proceed to a comparison between the two.

The *Times* journal of February 4th, 1850, wrote of M. Guizot's work: "The exposition shows in what particulars the English Revolution of 1688 was sound, and as a consequence, has borne permanent fruits; and it leaves to be inferred the particulars in which the Revolution of July, 1830, was unsound. M. Guizot has thus partially to argue against his own work; but we freely admit that the case is wholly exceptional and anomalous, and that neither statesman nor historian could ever calculate upon such a political phenomenon, as that of the present Republic, (viz., of February, 1848.)"

So utterly unfounded is the last assertion of the *Times*, as to the impossibility of foreseeing the catastrophe of February, 1848, that warning voices were raised, not only in France but elsewhere, to show the dangers which beset the monarchy of July, and to predict its probable downfall. To cite but two instances, M. Salvandy, in France, pointed out, in 1832, on what a volcano the Monarchy of July rested; and the celebrated Catholic publicist, Dr. Jarcke, in Germany, showed how in all probability, and even in a shorter space of time than actually occurred, the royalty of the Barricades would be overturned by the Fourth Estate, that had set it up as a mere temporary scaffolding.*

* We may also refer the reader to an article we wrote in this Journal in February, 1844, entitled, "Moral and Political Condition of France," where we proved how, in despite of the designs and acts of many of the leaders of the July Revolution, a strong religious reaction had occurred in France, and where, after showing how all the political promises of that Revolution had been belied, we declared it as not probable that the legitimate dynasty would remain for ever excluded from the throne. Since the catastrophe of February, 1848, the religious reaction has much increased, and as far as opinion goes, the monarchical reaction has intensely augmented under the anarchic Republic.

But now to proceed to our parallel.—

I. The Revolution of 1688 was guilty of no infringement on the political and proprietary rights of the Established Church; nay, it was partly in defence of her spiritual rights that that revolution was achieved. The Universities remained, as before, under clerical influence. If the political condition of the British and Irish Catholics had been deteriorated by the Revolution, that of the Protestant Dissenters was improved.

II. So far from the Revolution of 1688 impairing the property, or encroaching on the political privileges of the aristocracy, it tended to consolidate its influence. In fact, the aristocracy now succeeded to much of the power of dethroned royalty.

III. The municipal organization of the Commonalty was preserved intact. Thus no organic change was brought about by the Revolution of 1688. What then did that Revolution achieve?

1. By it one dynasty was expelled, and another substituted in its room. 2. The royal prerogative was reduced within narrower limits; too narrow in our humble estimation. 3. Better guarantees were obtained for the liberties of the subject. 4. This revolution, though conducted by the aristocracy, was according to M. Guizot, not directed to its selfish aggrandizement, but to the general welfare of the people. And as the same authority observes, it was not a popular tumult, but organized parties that achieved this Revolution. 5. The Jacobites could only reckon for support on a portion of the English Tories. The great bulk of the latter party united with the Whigs in favour of the settlement of 1688; for their common attachment to the Church of England, and their disgust with many imprudent, arbitrary measures of James II., served to allay their disagreement on other matters. Church-of-Englandmen and Dissenters were mostly in favour of the Revolution.

Let us now look to the French Revolution of 1830, which also professed to be defensive.

1. The Restoration left France nearly in the same revolutionary, inorganic state, in which it found it. But on whom lies the fault? On whom but on that self-styled Liberal opposition, which perpetuated the errors of the first revolution, encouraged distrust and disaffection to the crown, resisted all attempts to constitute the aristocracy

on a solid basis, or to restore to the people their commercial and provincial franchises, or to reform education, impart freedom to the Church, and promote the spread of religion; while the more violent openly assailed revelation and monarchy, and deluged the country with infidel and anti-social publications. Thus a large portion of those, who brought about the revolution of 1830, were bent on the destruction of religion; and even the better part, the *Doctrinaires* especially, would indeed retain the Church of the majority of the French people, but only in a state of thralldom. Thus one main motive of the English Revolution of 1688—the preservation of the rights of the national Church—was not only wanting to the French Revolution of 1830, but was replaced by a directly antagonistic principle.

2. The Revolution of 1688 was provoked by the arbitrary measures of the Court. In France the Parliament was the aggressor, and refused subsidies to the Crown, not because the ministers had pursued an unconstitutional policy, but because it was dissatisfied with their persons and principles. Charles X. kept within the letter as well as spirit of the Constitution as long as he possibly could, till the dread, that the Liberal opposition, if it came into power, would offer the same violence to his conscience as in 1828, when it wrung from him the anti-catholic ordinances of that year, drove him to the *coup-d'état* of 1830.

3. In England, as we have seen, the Revolution of 1688 was brought about by the co-operation of the two great political parties in the State—by the combined efforts of the clergy the aristocracy, the gentry, the middle classes, and the people, including the majority of Protestant Dissenters. In France the change of 1830 was achieved by the remnant of the old revolutionary parties; and few of the leaders, who directed it, besides the *Doctrinaires*, were sincerely attached to constitutional monarchy.* The clergy, the remnant of the ancient nobility, a portion of the middle classes, the greater part of the army, the

* "*Le Globe*," a deistical, but not Jacobinical Journal, edited by the Deputy Dubois, and supported by Cousin and Jouffroy, said immediately after the "three glorious days," "The New Monarchy will only be a transition to a Republic, which is the ultimate form of government for European nations."

peasantry in the West and many parts of the South of France, viewed the Revolution of 1830 with indignation and disgust. Charles X. and his ministers had well perceived, that, unless a preponderance be insured to the landed interest in the Lower House, the representative system can in no country work with safety, and the most formidable collisions between the crown and the parliament must inevitably ensue. This is the sense, and to a certain extent, the justification of the famous Ordinances of July. But the abstract truth, which their authors rightly discerned, they attempted to realize after an injudicious method, at a wrong moment, and with a feeble, inefficient military force.

4. All the Peers who had been nominated by Charles X., though they were men of high honour, and were among the wealthiest proprietors of France, were ignominiously expelled the Upper House. Shortly afterwards the peerage itself was declared to be no longer hereditary, but only for life. Thus the Upper House, in the new political system, was bereaved of all importance and influence.

5. The system of administrative centralization was scarcely at all relaxed; and thus communal and provincial franchises—one of the main buttresses of order as well as liberty—were wanting to the new Constitution.

6. The doctrine of popular sovereignty was proclaimed—a whole dynasty was proscribed—and a family deeply imbued with the false principles of the first revolution, raised to the throne.

What, then, have the Revolutions of 1688 and 1830 in common?

Why, a few accidental, superficial circumstances! Both revolutions were decided by a contest, prompt, but unstained by cruel excesses; both were ushered in with an outcry against the Jesuits; and both were directed against monarchs, who, though less selfish than their immediate predecessors, were endowed with less judgment, and knowledge of mankind, and who mistook rashness for energy of character.* And if in both revolutions the doctrine of popular sovereignty was proclaimed, we must ob-

* Charles X., however, whom in his youth Burke had greeted as the accomplished Cavalier, possessed a far more amiable, as well as a higher-toned character than James II.

serve that the same doctrine uttered by different persons in different circumstances, will be attended with very different results. One thing is that theory in the cold page of Locke—another in the burning words of Rousseau; one thing from the lips of an aristocrat like Lord Somers, another in the mouth of a demagogue like Mirabeau; one thing in aristocratic England, another in democratic France.*

* We cannot too often insist on the broad, fundamental difference between the doctrine of the divine origin of the civil power through the medium of the people, as taught by a large class of Catholic divines, and the doctrine of popular sovereignty, as inculcated by Jurieu, Locke, and Rousseau. The former merely wished to maintain, that though the civil power emanates from God, because society, which is a divine creation, cannot exist without it; yet no form of civil polity is of divine institution. Civil power is of divine ordinance indeed; yet its form or modality is the work of man. Thus, for instance, the constitution of the family is *jure divino* monarchical, and that of the Catholic Church *jure divino* monarchical. That form, as they received it from God, they will retain to the end of time; but not so human governments, which are monarchical, aristocratic, democratic, or mixed, according to the wants and circumstances of communities. But the theory of Locke and Rousseau, that civil power emanates *solely and directly from the people*, and *may be revoked at its pleasure*, makes civil society a mere temporary and contingent, but not an absolute and necessary condition of mankind. Had this theory been proposed to Suarez and the other divines who taught the doctrine as above stated, they would have recoiled from it with horror, as one contrary to reason and revelation. Thus Count De Maistre, one of the most ardent opponents of the Protestant and infidel theory of the "sovereignty of the people," has, in his letters on "Education," recently published in the "Univers," referred to the two opinions of Catholic divines respecting the *immediate* or *mediate* divine origin of the civil power, as mere modifications of the same doctrine. But this is the same Count Maistre, who, in his "Soirées de St. Petersburg," says that a profound theory shows, that political power is never given, but *taken*; and who ridicules that verse of Voltaire, "Le premier Roi fut un soldat heureux. C'est faux," he continues, "ce soldat heureux fut déjà soldé (paid) par un Roi." The aberrations of the French Revolution have rendered Catholic writers more precise and circumspect in their language on this subject; and the expressions "Primitive Compact," "Sovereignty of the people in all countries," will not be found in the pages of any eminent modern Catholic publicist on the Continent. An Italian Jesuit, we have been informed,

The length of these preliminary remarks we trust the kindness of the reader will excuse, as they were necessary to develop the principles, correct some mistakes, and supply the omissions in the work at the head of our article. That work we shall now proceed to analyze, citing from time to time such passages as best elucidate the author's doctrines and sentiments, or exhibit his powers to the most advantage.

To explain the success of the Revolution of 1688, M. Guizot, as we intimated, takes a long review of the preceding Revolutions of our country, out of which that national settlement grew. The Reformation of the sixteenth century, he justly observes, had its origin in *religious*, and not in *political* motives. Policy, no doubt, played a great part in that mighty Revolution; but it was not assuredly the *primum mobile*—the chief agent. But when the author says that that movement was achieved in the name of religious *faith*, he uses not only an unhappy, but a very *erroneous* expression. Faith is belief in a divine authority; but it was precisely in the name of individual reason and against the authority instituted by God, that this Revolution unfurled its banners. The principle which implicitly had been at the bottom of all former rebellions against Christ's Church, was now proclaimed in the most explicit and formal manner. And if the Reformers appealed to the divine authority of the Bible, it was still the Bible explained and interpreted by their own reason.

The author then traces the causes, which gave birth to the political Revolution of 1641, and describes the parties which directed it.

The Reformers, the more moderate ones especially, desired only to resist certain arbitrary measures of the crown, to reform abuses in the state, and to recover ancient rights of the constitution, to which they were sincerely attached. The religious innovators, like the Presbyterians, had more revolutionary objects in view, since they desired to subvert the Episcopal Establishment. A radical overthrow of their country's civil constitution, how-

has recently written a work to show that Communism is only the logical inference from the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty. Yet surely this Jesuit in so doing never dreamt of offering any disparagement to Suarez and the majority of Catholic divines. Sat Verbum Sapienti.

ever, did not enter into the contemplation of the parties who commenced the Rebellion. Their sincere desire to preserve or restore ancient rights and liberties, their religious motives, however mistaken, and the imprudent, arbitrary policy of Charles I., gave them a great advantage at the commencement of their struggle with the Crown. But from the reform of abuses, they were soon led to the commission of acts of violence, disloyalty, and injustice.

The author gives an interesting account of the social condition of England at the commencement of the civil wars. The remnants of feudal relationship between the Crown and nobility and their tenantry on the one hand, and the free municipal organization of the cities and counties on the other, are set forth, with his wonted learning and sagacity, by M. Guizot. There was not in these civil wars such an open conflict, as in some other countries, between class and class; for country-gentlemen, and even some peers, were to be seen at the head of the popular party. Still the aristocracy and country-gentlemen were, generally speaking, on the side of the king, and the burgesses on that of the parliament. A vivid picture is traced of the moral evils and physical calamities attendant on the civil war; but in general, a just tribute is paid to the humanity of both the belligerent parties.

“The two parties,” says the author, “fought with fury; but without abandoning in the midst of the struggle all the habits of times of order and peace. No sanguinary revolts,—no judicial massacres.* It was a civil war prolonged, ardent, full of violence and calamities, but without brutal or barbarous excesses, and restrained by the manners of the people within certain limits of justice and humanity.”

The author well shows the natural progression of revolutionary parties, and the necessary evolution of radical principles; and how the more hesitating policy of the Presbyterians was compelled to yield to the more daring measures of the Independents. The character of Cromwell is sketched with those vigorous strokes so peculiar to M. Guizot. His stern fanaticism, his unmeasured ambition, his tortuous policy, his power of fascination over the

* It was only towards the Irish Catholics the Round-heads forgot every sentiment of right and humanity.

minds of men, his eloquence, his consummate skill in war and diplomacy, are set forth with great ability. The interest of the subject, will, we trust, be a sufficient plea for the length of the following citation :

“When the war,” says the author, “was concluded ; when the king was a prisoner in the hands of the Parliament, the reaction in favour of peace became more generally and more decidedly monarchical. The king was destitute of power, and bore his misfortunes with dignity. The Parliament had full power, and yet did not relieve the country’s evils. On the Parliament henceforth weighed the whole responsibility. On its head fell the discontents, the deceived hopes, the suspicions, the wrath, the maledictions of the present, the fears of the future.

“Urged by this national feeling, enlightened by the imminence of the danger, the political Reformers, the first leaders of the Revolution in Parliament, and in their train religious innovators, (like the Presbyterians, who were enemies, indeed, of the episcopal Church, but not of monarchy,) made a last effort to conclude peace with the king, and to terminate, at one blow, the war and the revolution.

“They were sincere, nay, passionate, in their desire for peace, but still imbued with those revolutionary prejudices and pretensions, that had many times already rendered peace impossible. By the conditions which they imposed on the sovereign, they asked of him to sanction the destruction of the monarchy and of the Church, that is to say, to consummate with his own hands, on re-entering it, the ruin of the edifice which constituted his security and claimed his faith.

“They had proclaimed on principle, and put in practice, the direct sovereignty of the House of Commons ; and forced, in their turn, to resist the torrent of popular violence, they marvelled at not finding strength and support, at having to encounter even the hostility and distrust of that aristocracy which they had decried and subverted.

“If they had even succeeded in concluding a peace with the king, that peace would have been vain. It was too late to arrest the Revolution, and too soon to bring it back to its true and national end. God only now began to exercise his justice, and to teach a lesson to mankind. Soon as the first leaders of the movement attempted to rebuild the edifice which they had laid in ruins, then the truly Revolutionary party arose, and treating with brutal contempt the new-got wisdom of the former, drove them out of Parliament, condemned the king to death, and proclaimed the Republic. Two centuries have elapsed since the Revolution of England caused the head of Charles I. to fall, in order to fall itself immediately afterwards on the soil bedewed with that blood. The French Republic, not long ago, exhibited the same spectacle

to the world. And we still hear it said, that those great crimes were acts of great policy, dictated by the necessity of founding those Republics, which scarcely survived them a few days!

“It is the pretension of human folly and wickedness to cover themselves with the veil of greatness. But neither the truth of history, nor the interest of nations, will endure such falsehood.

“The spirit of religious faith and freedom had degenerated in some sects, into an arrogant, contentious fanaticism, indocile to all authority, and which sought its satisfaction only in the excesses of intellectual pride and independence. By the civil war, those sectaries had become soldiers, at once enthusiastic and disciplined reasoners, and obedient. Sprung, for the most part, from the popular classes and trades, they greedily revelled in the pleasure of command and domination, and believed and called themselves the elect and powerful instruments of the Divine will and justice. Under the favour, sometimes of religious enthusiasm, sometimes of military discipline, sometimes of the democratic spirit, Cromwell had won the confidence of these men, and had made himself their leader. After having passed his youth in the excesses of intemperate passion, in the aspirations of a fervent and stirring piety, and in ministering to the interests or desires of the population that surrounded him, he now, as soon as politics and war opened a prospect to his ambition, plunged with impetuosity into the career where he could alone display his genius and satisfy his inclinations. The most fervent of sectarians, the most active of revolutionists, the ablest of soldiers, equally ardent and prompt to speak, to pray, to conspire, to fight; pouring himself out with a frankness full of fascination, and yet lying, when needed, with an audacity unflinching, which filled even his enemies with surprise and confusion; passionate and coarse, adventurous and sensible, mystical and practical, giving boundless scope to the anticipations of fancy, yielding to no scruple in the exigencies of action, wishing for success, at any price, quicker than any man to discern and to seize on the means to success, and impressing on all, friends or foes, the conviction that none would succeed so well, or go so far in any enterprise.

“Such a party, conducted by such a man, the Republic well suited. It gratified their passions, opened a prospect to their hopes, and furnished a security to the interests which the civil war had created. It gave the country up to the army through the genius of its leader, and the empire to Cromwell through the instrumentality of his soldiers.

“From respect for their sincerity, their genius, and their misfortunes, I wish not to express all I think respecting some celebrated men of those times, who were republicans more from policy, and after the classical models of antiquity, than from religious fanaticism. I allude to Sydney, Vane, Ludlow, Harrington, Hutchinson, Milton; elevated minds, proud hearts, nobly ambitious for their country and humanity, but with such little judgment, and such

extravagant pride, that neither dominion nor adversity could teach them any lesson; credulous like children, obstinate like old men, ever blinded by their hopes to their dangers and their faults, and who at the very moment when, by their own anarchic tyranny, they prepared the advent of a tyranny more rational and more vigorous, thought they were laying the foundations for the freest and most glorious of governments.

“Excepting these sects organized into regiments, and these coteries exalted into a Parliament, no one in England wished for a Republic. It ran counter to the traditions, the manners, the laws, the old affections, the ancient objects of respect, the established interests, the good order, the good sense, and the moral feelings of the country.”—pp. 15-18.

The utter futility of the regicide plea—the supreme iniquity which stamped the judicial murder of Charles I.,—and the ruin which the temporary success of crime is sure to bring down on its authors, are ably exhibited in the following passage.

“But revolutionists, even the ablest, are short-sighted. Intoxicated by passion, or governed by the necessity of the moment, they foresee not that what constitutes to-day their triumph, will be their condemnation to-morrow. The execution of Charles I. delivered up to the Republicans and to Cromwell, England stricken with stupor. But the Republic and Cromwell, wounded by that very blow which they had struck, held from that very day but a violent transitory dominion, stamped with that seal of supreme iniquity, which devotes to certain ruin, governments even the strongest and the most successful.

“The judges of Charles I., set every engine at work to divest their act of that fatal character, and to represent it as a divine judgment, which they had the mission to execute. Charles, they said, had aimed at absolute power, and upheld the civil war. Many rights had been violated, and much blood spilled by his orders, or with his knowledge. On him they cast the whole responsibility of tyranny and of civil war; from him they demanded reckoning of all the liberties that had been trampled under foot, and of all the blood that had been shed;—a crime without a name, which his death could alone expiate. But the conscience of a people, even when it is seized with trouble and consternation, cannot be so beguiled. Others besides the king, had filled the country with oppression and bloodshed. If the king had violated the rights of his subjects; the rights of Royalty, ancient also, inscribed also in the Statute-book, necessary also to the maintenance of the public liberties, had been equally violated, assailed, and infringed. He had, indeed, made war, but in self-defence. Who is ignorant that at the very moment, when he had decided on war, it was pre-

paring against him, in order to force him, after so many concessions, to abandon whatever yet remained of his power and prerogatives—the last remnants of the legal government of the country? And now when the king was conquered, he was judged, he was condemned without law, contrary to all laws, for acts which no law had ever foreseen, or qualified as crimes, which the conscience neither of the king nor of the people had ever dreamed of considering as falling under the jurisdiction of men, or of being punishable at their hands. How would every soul have swollen with indignation, had the obscurest citizen been treated in a like manner, and been put to death for crimes defined by an *ex post facto* law, and by pretended judges, yesterday his enemies, to-day his rivals, tomorrow his heirs. And what would not have been attempted against the least of Englishmen, was perpetrated on the king of England, on the head of the English Church as well as State, on the representative and the symbol of all authority, order, law, justice, of all that in human society borders on the limit, and awakens the idea of the Divine attributes!”—P. 20.

Our author then adduces many facts to prove the passive resistance which the Republic had on every side to encounter, and the mean, grovelling, grinding tyranny, which the Long Parliament inflicted on the nation. Its harsh measures in regard to the press—its illegal, tyrannical exactions—its arbitrary imprisonments—its intolerance towards the Church-of-England-men, and its cruel persecution of British and Irish Catholics, are successively described.

M. Guizot then shows how Cromwell kept aloof from the miserable cabals and contentions of this Parliament, and laid down by degrees, and with consummate prudence, the foundations for his future Dictatorship. The gradual transformation from the Revolutionist bent on destruction, to the Protector who attempted to reconstruct the political edifice he had helped to overthrow, is set forth in the following passage with much depth of observation.

“Thus abroad, as at home, the English Republicans found their ideas and their hopes belied by events, or gave themselves to those ideas and hopes the most signal contradiction. They had promised freedom—they practised tyranny. They had promised the union and the triumph of Protestantism—they carried war into its bosom.

“In vain did this government endure;—gain battles;—overpower its enemies;—it could not be consolidated. In the midst of their successes, and of the general submission of the nation, the Republic

and their leaders were decried, and sank from day to day in public estimation.

“A man, the chief author of the execution of Charles I., and of the Establishment of the Republic, Cromwell, had anticipated this result, and was preparing to turn it to profit. On the death of the king, and the proclamation of the Republic, a prodigious but natural transformation occurred in Cromwell. Animated hitherto by ambition, and all the passions of sectarianism, against the enemies of his faith and the impediments to his fortune, he had exerted all his energies for their destruction. As soon as that work of destruction had been consummated, another task was imposed on him. The Revolution had done its work;—but it was necessary to reconstitute a government. Providence, who rarely gives to one and the same man a two fold power, had marked out Cromwell for the double task. The revolutionist now made room for the dictator.

“While the paramount necessity of the new state of things was obvious to the sound and lofty mind of Cromwell, he saw that the government, which the Republicans attempted to found, would not succeed;—neither the institutions nor the men. In institutions there was no unity, nor stability, nor prospect of success; intestine war and permanent discord in the centre of government. In the men who composed it, narrow or chimerical views, petty or headlong passions;—a revolutionary struggle perpetuated between the government and the country. Exalted to supreme power, the Republican parliament and its leaders were soon weighed and condemned by the good sense of Cromwell. From thence a strong and regular government could never issue.

“One idea henceforth engaged the mind of Cromwell. This was, not to associate himself with the policy or with the destinies of these institutions and these men; to keep himself aloof from their faults and their reverses; to separate himself from the parliament while he obeyed it. It booted little to separate himself; his fortunes must grow up, while those of others were dwindling away. Cromwell foresaw the ruin of the parliament and its leaders, and resolved not to fall with them,—he wished to rise by their side.

“The great men of action do not construct beforehand, and in all its details, their plan of conduct. Their genius lies in their instinct and in their ambition. Every day, in each circumstance, they see the facts really as they are. They descry the path which those facts point out to them, and the chances which that path opens to them. They enter upon it with eagerness, and walk on it, always by the same light, and as far as space opens before them. Cromwell marched towards the dictatorship, without well knowing what would be his goal, or at what price he was destined to reach it; but still he kept marching.

“This situation which he sought, isolated and independent of the ruling power, the parliament of its own accord presented to him. Cromwell at London annoyed and alarmed the parliamentary

leaders. They asked him to take the command of the army which was to subjugate Ireland, that had everywhere taken up arms for Charles Stuart, or rather against the parliament. Cromwell invited solicitation. They were obliged to accord much to him; in the first place, for his friends, (for his patronage was zealous and extensive); then for his own person; for he wanted great and sure means of success, well equipped troops, marked honours, and undisputed power. All was granted to him; he was pressed to depart. His departure was solemn and magnificent. Many sermons were preached to predict, and implore of God success upon his arms. Cromwell spoke and prayed himself in public, seeking and finding in the Bible allusions replete with encouragement to the war he was about to undertake. He left London surrounded by a numerous staff, composed of officers brilliantly equipped. At Bristol, where he stopped before embarkation, the people of the surrounding country rushed to see him. He neglected nothing; and all was calculated to excite expectation, and busy the minds of men, at the moment when he removed from their sight.

"It was England that he wished to gain in subjugating Ireland to its yoke. He was there in presence of a hostile race and creed, the one despised, the other detested by the English people. He waged against the Irish a war of extermination, massacring, despoiling, and hunting them down, hesitating no more at cruelty in the camp than at falsehood in parliament; covering all his acts with the plea of necessity, and prompt to believe in that plea, in order more quickly to attain success.

"The lustre of his victories and of his name soon disquieted the parliament. Cromwell was everywhere the subject of conversation;—the people spoke of him in admiration—the politicians sought to divine his conduct and his future policy. In Scotland, at the moment when he left for the army of Ireland, the report had spread, that it was not to Dublin, but to Edinburgh he wished to conduct it, and the whole population was on a stir. Others said that on his return from Ireland, he intended leaving England, and going to France, under what title, and with what design was not known. Pamphlets were seized, bearing the title, 'The Character of King Cromwell.' He had now reached that point in his career, where the most frivolous circumstances, the slightest steps of a man who becomes great, excite, in an intense degree, popular curiosity, and the anxiety of his rivals."—pp. 31—4.

The spirit which leads revolutions to hide and withal bedeck the ruins which they have made, with new monuments of glory, is described by a statesman, who has evidently been a *near* as well as *deep* observer of their mysterious workings.

"The joy which succeeds to a great fear overcomes for a moment

all jealousy and all hatred. The parliament loaded Cromwell with favours; a rich grant of lands was voted to him; the palace of Hampton Court was assigned him as a residence; the most distrustful lavished on him marks of gratitude and of deference. The enthusiasm of the republican people was more sincere and of more value. Revolutions which have overthrown ancient greatness, are anxious and proud to erect new monuments of greatness. They find their safety and their pride withal in seeing themselves consecrated in images of glory; and they think thus to make reparation to society for the grandeur whereof they have despoiled it. Hence that instinct, which, in despite of democratic passions, prompts popular parties to make those pompous manifestations, to use that unmeasured flattery, that idolatry of language, with which they delight to incense the great men whom they see ascend the ruins which they have made. Sectarians and philosophers, citizens and soldiers, parliament and people, all, willingly or by compulsion, concurred in aggrandizing Cromwell, as if to share his aggrandizement; and the republicans of the city of London, who met to harangue him when he returned within their walls, delighted in announcing to him: 'Thou wast destined to load kings with chains, and to put nobles in fetters.' Deluded men! who little dreamed that soon those fetters would bind their own hands!"—pp. 35—6.

Full justice is rendered to the great ability of Cromwell's administration, to the useful internal reforms he effected, as well as to the energy with which he sustained abroad the interests and the glory of his country. Yet the revolutionary origin of his power rendered it unstable and insecure; and insecurity begat violence and injustice. His tyrannical exactions, his arbitrary imprisonments, his imperious, oppressive conduct towards the parliament, were more the results of his situation, than of a despotic temper.

M. Guizot well proves how, though Cromwell overpowered all resistance; though he successively crushed all Royalist, Presbyterian, and Republican insurrections; though he had the rare art of conciliating men of different parties; still his power could not strike root. In vain he sought to fall back on the ancient institutions of his country, to encompass himself with the great and powerful, and to employ every imaginable artifice and intrigue for the transfer of the Crown to his own head; Providence, as our author justly observes, would not permit the rebel, stained with the blood of his king, and who had planted a military tyranny on the ruins of his country's constitution, to have the honour of re-establishing that constitution.

The utter incapacity of the revolutionary parties for carrying on the government after the death of Cromwell is ably shown; and the character of General Monk, who was the instrument for bringing about the Restoration, is well portrayed.

“The monarchy,” he says, “was re-established after the complete exhaustion and the definitive ruin of its enemies and its rivals. The republic and the Protectorate had appeared and reappeared under all forms and in all combinations they could take. All the powers, all the names which the Revolution gave birth to, had been worn out and decried. The field of battle lay empty. The very phantoms of revolutionary combatants and pretenders had disappeared.”—p. 53.

M. Guizot here cursorily notices the political condition of England at the Restoration. Royalty was re-established, he shows, with all her natural allies, supporters, and concomitants. When the king was restored to the throne of his ancestors, the peerage resumed its independent share in the legislature; the country gentlemen their natural, legitimate influence as proprietors and magistrates; and while in the Church the Episcopal Establishment was restored, the bishops and chapters recovered their property and political privileges. The subject here briefly adverted to by M. Guizot, we ourselves have already more fully enlarged on at the commencement of this article.

Two dangers, according to the author, beset the Restoration—the spirit of revolution and the spirit of reaction. The spirit of revolution, though cast out and exorcised from the British nation, still continued to haunt the kingdom. In an indirect and covert way, it still inoculated the legal Opposition Party, that yet sought not to restore the republican form of government. This was, of course, a great obstacle to the establishment of settled rule. Another formidable obstacle to good government was the spirit of reaction. That word, “reaction,” must, however, be defined. It is a favourite bugbear with revolutionists, old and new. Reaction consists in an utter disregard for lawful interests created under a revolutionary state of things, or in the violent re-establishment of obsolete laws or customs utterly useless or inapplicable to the present times, or in the punishment of old long-past offences, which is as contrary to sound policy as to humanity. But reaction is not the reparation of injustice, when that reparation does

not violate the lawful interests of a third party, or when the punishment, more or less intense, of old offences is imperiously required by public feeling, or is absolutely necessary to the ends of justice, or when the laws and institutions revived are of a permanent and vital character, deeply rooted in the past, and salutary to the present and the future. Good sense and right feeling will teach a government, when restoration or reparation degenerates or not into reaction. We know not whether M. Guizot would subscribe to our definition of reaction; but we think that the following reflections of the author are just.

“The spirit of reaction,” he says, “that malady of victorious parties, incessantly fomented the spirit of revolution; not that we should credit all the reproaches, which history lays to the charge of the cavaliers and the Church of England; for revolutions long supreme, and at last arrested in their course, have the arrogant pretension, that the iniquities they have committed should remain intact; and that their malevolent power only should be repressed. They qualify, as reaction, all reparation of the evils they have committed.”—p. 56.

In the reign of Charles II., the political reaction, according to our author, was short; but the religious reaction was long and violent. The High-church party, not content with the political ascendancy of the Episcopal Establishment, persecuted, contrary to the Declaration of Breda, the Protestant Dissenters and the Catholics. In the case of the latter, who had made such heroic sacrifices in behalf of the royal cause, and whose peers had at the commencement of the troubles, even voted against the expulsion of the Protestant Bishops from the House of Lords, the conduct of the Court and of the High-church party, was stained with gross ingratitude as well as injustice and inhumanity. The vacillating policy of Charles II., the anti-catholic bigotry of the High-churchmen and Dissenters, and the struggles of political parties in that reign, are well described.

“Those faults and those dangers, however,” says M. Guizot, “did not menace or strike at the vital parts of the British monarchy or society. On the whole, the spirit of revolution no longer possessed, nor did the spirit of reaction govern England. Since its great revolutionary crisis from 1640 to 1660, the English nation has had the good fortune and the merit of understanding the lessons of experience, and never giving itself to extreme parties. In the

midst of the most ardent political struggles, and even in the violences in which it sometimes followed, sometimes urged its leaders on, that people has ever known in the critical and decisive moment how to restrain itself, and to fall back on that strong good sense, which consists in recognizing the essential advantages we wish to preserve, and in clinging to them, while we put up with the inconveniences which may attend them, and forego the desires likely to compromise them. It is from the reign of Charles II. that that good sense, which is the political intelligence of a free people, has presided over the destinies of England."—p. 58.

Here the author states the three great results before adverted to of the Revolution of 1640;—the indissoluble union of the Crown and the Parliament—the preponderance of the House of Commons in the affairs of the country, and the definitive triumph of Protestantism. This matter we need not dwell upon, as we have already investigated it. These three facts, in the opinion of our author, explain the conduct and proceedings, and the destiny of all the parties and governments under the Restoration. The character and conduct of Charles II. and his brother, are ably depicted. The one cherished a secret inclination for the Catholic Church; the other was sincerely devoted to it, and openly professed his adherence. Both, from their early reverses, and the revolutions of which they had been the victims, entertained a love for absolute power. The good sense as well as the indolence of Charles, repressed his hankering for absolute power, and taught him, by a spirit of compromise, to avoid all extreme parties or measures. In religion, his worldly-mindedness, his timidity, and extreme sensuality, induced him to profess himself a member of the Anglican Church, in whose doctrines he had, to say the least, but a very wavering faith; till on his death-bed his conscience smote him too strongly to allow him to die in any other communion than that of the Catholic Church. James II. was of a bolder and franker nature than his brother, and in every respect more honourable and sincere; yet without his judgment and prudence. He made no secret of his fondness for absolute power; and openly professed the religion which, contrary to his worldly interests, he had embraced. The public character of Clarendon is ably portrayed. With all his great qualities, his persecution of the Catholics and Dissenters, his haughty demeanour to the House of Commons, his neglect of seeking among its members for

support to his government, and his bold reproofs of royal licentiousness, led to his fall.

The author justly stigmatizes the conduct of the Ministry of the "Cabal." Their licentious minds—their political profligacy—their servility—their treachery and corruption—the constant mutability in their foreign and domestic policy, are held up by him to indignation. He exposes, too, the scandal of the secret treaty, whereby Charles in return for monies received from the king of France, surrendered to him the independent policy of his country. This venal dependance on a foreign prince was not confined to the court, but was shared by several of the popular leaders, who declaimed most violently against the close alliance with Louis XIV. Some of those so-called patriots received secret bribes from the Government of France—others among them took pensions, not so much from corrupt motives, as with the view of furthering the political designs of their party.

The conduct of Charles II. himself is thus extenuated by M. Guizot:

"Absolute monarchy had alone won the esteem and the predilection of Charles. He had sustained the shocks, and witnessed the abuses and the aberrations of his country's institutions. He had contemplated with his own eyes the lustre of the Court of Louis XIV., and the solidity of his Government. In that quarter reposed his admiration and his confidence. Hence his proneness to fall into a state of venal servility towards Louis XIV., whom he regarded as the head of the monarchical cause; and he felt not all the shame that ought to have overpowered him, when he bartered to that prince the policy and the liberties of his country."—p. 60.

The administration of the Earl of Danby, and the gradual growth of the two great Parliamentary parties, the Whigs and the Tories—their struggles and alternate triumphs—and the fluctuating policy of the Court under Charles II., are ably depicted. The author once or twice indignantly glances at that anti-catholic fanaticism, which inflamed the Whigs and the Tories, the Protestant Dissenters and the Church-of-England men, which furnished the pretext for so much cabal and violence, occasioned so many embarrassments to the government, and drove the Crown to the most iniquitous measures against its most faithful subjects. James II. began his reign by professing to respect the rights of the Established Church, and the

civil liberties of the people. But though he convoked a Parliament, he still continued to levy taxes of his own authority, and held at times an arbitrary language which alarmed the nation. James had witnessed from childhood the sufferings of his fellow-Catholics, and had been himself a victim of the Penal Laws. Those laws he now sought to suspend by his own authority; he appointed Catholics to be heads of Colleges at the two Universities; called the Jesuit Petre to his councils; and had the folly to make in so Protestant a country as England at that time, the profession of Catholicism a condition to ministerial functions. The cruelties of Judge Jeffrey, (and from a privity to these James cannot be acquitted,) tended to excite the indignation of all classes; and at last a royal order enjoining the clergy to read in all pulpits a declaration, whereby he abolished, in virtue of his royal prerogative, all laws against Catholics and Dissenters, set the seal to the rash monarch's doom. The imprisonment of the seven bishops, who opposed the imprudent and illegal, however just demand of James, was the signal for a national resistance. Passive opposition was offered by the Anglican clergy; the leading members of the Whig and Tory parties entered into negotiations with the Prince of Orange; the Dissenters rejected the proffered boon of toleration, and united with the Church-of-England men against the Court; and a general alienation of the people from the Crown—the sure prelude to a Revolution—occurred. It was in vain his most prudent advisers, all sensible English Catholics, and the Pope himself, condemned the rashness of James, and dissuaded him from the adoption of measures, likely to prove fatal to the cause of Catholicity in England. It was in vain Louis XIV., and his own envoys in France and in Holland, warned him of the intrigues and active correspondence going on between the malcontents in England and the Prince of Orange. Nothing could enlighten—nothing could bend the hard, blind obstinacy of James.

M. Guizot renders full justice to the religious sincerity of this monarch, who under Charles, generously sacrificed power, influence, patronage, popularity, and after he came to the throne, his Crown itself, in behalf of that faith, which at a mature period of life he had spontaneously embraced. That James II., brought up in a licentious court, kept a mistress for a time, is a fact, which, however

lamentable and blameworthy, doth not militate against the earnestness of his religious convictions. How many fail to act up to the dictates of their faith! How many must reproach themselves with an inconsistency between their belief and their practice! The same scandal is chargeable in a much higher degree on Louis XIV; yet the sincerity of his religious belief has never been impeached. His trying reverses and domestic afflictions, James bore with signal fortitude; and his last years of exile were cheered and supported by practices of piety. It did not enter into the designs of Divine Providence that the true faith, which in our country had been put down by a violent tyranny, should be re-established by an arbitrary power. That great moral revolution, in order to be effective and permanent, must be the work, not of external constraint, but of inward spontaneous conviction, fervent prayer, and honest, zealous enquiry. In his mistaken zeal, James II. commenced the work of England's conversion at the wrong end. But in the wisdom of an all-merciful Providence, it seems reserved for the present generation to repair the fault of that monarch, and to commence the work of a true religious regeneration of our country, in the only legitimate way.

Had James II. pursued a prudent course of policy, respected the rights of the Parliament, repressed rebellion with firmness unstained by cruelty, abstained from meddling in the concerns of the Protestant Church and Universities, and conciliated the Anglican Tories—the staunch friends of monarchy—he would then have been enabled directly or indirectly, through Parliament or by prerogative, to bring about a mitigation, if not an entire abrogation, of the Penal Laws. Thus would he not only have insured the safety of his own throne, but have conferred lasting services on the Catholic Church within these realms. But his rash, ill-concerted measures of toleration, disapproved as they were by the Pope and the Catholic princes, as well as by his most loyal English advisers, Catholic and Protestant, alienated from him the great body of the Anglican clergy and laity, excited the suspicions of the Protestant Dissenters, left him open and defenceless to the assaults of Whigs and Republicans, and blasted the hopes of English and Irish Catholics.

Those Catholics who admit that a people may rise against its sovereign in defence of its religion and funda-

mental laws, can scarcely deny the same right to Protestant nations placed in similar circumstances. If the League in France, whose general spirit and object were quite independent of the individual excesses that stained it, were the means of saving Catholicism in France, by keeping out heresy from the throne, we cannot be surprised that so Protestant a people as the English in 1688, should have expelled a monarch who was encroaching on their civil liberties, and tampering with their ecclesiastical Establishment. Still, though we can excuse, we do not justify that Revolution; for James's overt acts betrayed no fixed design to overthrow the ecclesiastical, and still less the political institutions of the country, and his design to establish universal toleration, however unwise and unconstitutional the means he adopted, was just and laudable before God and man.

Bating certain modifications adverted to above, and keeping in view the fundamental religious differences which divide the respected author and ourselves, we concur in the following estimate of the Revolution of 1688.

"It is the salvation of nations in their critical days, to comprehend and to put in practice, alternately by submission and by action, the counsels which God hath given them in the events of their destiny. England had learned by her first trials, that a Revolution is in itself a disorder immense, indescribable, which entails on society great evils, great dangers, and great crimes, and which a rational people may one day feel itself constrained to have recourse to, but which it ought to dread and repel until the hour of dire necessity. This, England remembered in her new trials. She bore much, she resisted long, in order to escape a new revolution; and it was only at the last extremity, when she saw no other means of saving her religion, her rights, and her honour, that she submitted to this painful necessity. It is the glory of the Revolution of 1688, that it was an act of pure defence, and necessary defence. This was the first cause of its success.

"Defensive in its principle, this Revolution was at the same time precise and limited in its object. In the great convulsions of society, a frenzy of ambition, universal, supreme, impious, takes hold, at times, of men. They believe themselves justified and competent to lay their hands on all things, and to reform at their will, the world. Nothing is more senseless nor more vain than those wild extravagances of human creatures, who, treating as chaos the great system, in the midst whereof their place has been marked out, attempt to constitute themselves creators, and only succeed in carrying into whatever they touch the disorder of their own chime-

ras. England, in 1688, fell not into this infatuation. She aspired not to change the foundations of society, and the destinies of humanity; she vindicated and upheld her religion, her laws, and her positive rights, and within these limits were confined her pretensions and her designs. She accomplished a Revolution proud withal and modest, which gave to the country new leaders and new guarantees; but when this object was once obtained, she declared herself satisfied, and paused, wishing for nothing less, but pretending to nothing more.

“This Revolution was achieved not by popular insurrections, but by well organized political parties, organized long before the Revolution, with the view of regular government, and not in a revolutionary spirit. Neither the Tory party nor the Whig party itself, in despite of the revolutionary elements intermixed with it, had been formed for the overthrow of the established order of things. They were parties of legal politics, not of conspiracy and insurrection. They were induced to change the government,—they had not been born for that design, and they returned to order without an effort, after having for a moment deviated from it, not out of taste or habit, but from sheer necessity. And it was not one of two great parties long opposed that had alone the merit and the burthen of the Revolution. Opposite parties approximated and concerted together to bring it about. It was between them a work of common compromise and necessity, not a triumph or a defeat. Whigs and Tories saw the gradual approach of this Revolution, and greeted it with different sentiments; but all adhered to, and took part in it.

“It has often been said in France, and even in England, that the Revolution of 1688 had been, not a popular, but an essentially aristocratic work, accomplished by the combination, and to the exclusive advantage of the upper classes, not by the impulse nor for the benefit of the whole people.

“This is a remarkable example, among many others, of the confusion of ideas, and the forgetfulness of facts, which so often dictate the appreciation of great events.

“The Revolution of 1688 achieved in politics the two most popular things which history records. It proclaimed and guaranteed, on one hand, the personal and general rights of the private citizen, and on the other, the active and decisive participation of the country in its government. Every democracy that knows not that this is all it needs, and is entitled to claim, misapprehends its truest interests, and will never be able either to found a government, or to maintain its own liberties.

“In the moral order of things, the Revolution of 1688 had a more popular character still. It was made in the name, and by the strength of the religious convictions of the people, and for their security and ascendancy. In no country and at no period, has the faith of the people exercised more empire over the destiny of their government.

“Popular in its principles and in its results, the Revolution of 1688 was aristocratic in its execution; that is to say, it was conceived, prepared, and brought to maturity by men of rank, the faithful representatives of the interests and sentiments of the nation. It has been England's rare good fortune, that close and strong links should have been there formed and perpetuated between the different classes of society. The aristocracy and the democracy have there lived together, and prospered together, mutually sustaining and counteracting each other. The leaders have not separated from the people, nor the people been wanting in leaders. It was in 1688, especially, that the English nation reaped the fruits of that happy harmonious combination of ranks in its social system. To save its religion, its laws, and its liberties, that nation was driven to the formidable necessity of a revolution; it accomplished it by men, the friends of order and good government, and not by revolutionists. The same influences which had brought about the revolution, were employed in restraining it within just limits, and in giving it a durable form. The cause of the English people triumphed by the hands of the English aristocracy;—this was the great characteristic of the revolution of 1688, and from the very first, the pledge of its lasting success. The union of such powerful parties was not superfluous; for such is the vice inherent in all revolutions, that the most necessary, the most legitimate, the most solid, throws into great commotions the community which it saves, and remains a long time in a perilous and precarious state.”
—pp. 81—4.

But even a political revolution, accomplished under such favourable circumstances, and according to such conservative principles, had to encounter great dangers before it could obtain a definitive settlement. The disputes between William III. and his parliaments, as well as the unpopularity of the first princes of the House of Hanover, are pointed out by the author. It was a short time ago well observed by an able Catholic contemporary,* that the mediocrity of the princes, who, since the Revolution of 1688, have sat upon the British throne, has not a little contributed to the happy working of the constitutional monarchy among ourselves. Princes of the commanding talents and energetic character of William III., would not perhaps have so tamely submitted to the fetters of the constitutional regime. Be this as it may, we should bear in mind, however, that a legislative body, like our old House of Commons, composed, as it was, of such various aristo-

* The Tablet.

cratic elements, was not likely to push its power to extreme lengths, and would consequently avoid all chances of a dangerous collision with the Crown. For moderation, pliancy, wisdom, and forethought, are, in general, the characteristics of all aristocratic governments. How different has been the condition and the fate of royalty in other representative systems, when the Lower House has been more democratically constituted, we need not stop to observe.

Seventy years elapsed before the settlement of 1688 was perfectly consolidated. The restoration of the legitimate line, as was meditated in the last years of Queen Anne's reign, would, in our opinion, without endangering the constitution, have averted from the country many formidable perils. The exclusion of a whole dynasty from the throne, for the fault of one of its members, (even supposing that fault to have merited deposition,) was an act not less impolitic than unjust, was one of those violations of public law, which not only raise up manifold obstacles to a new government, but shake the foundations of all other social institutions. The shock which that Revolution gave to the monarchical feelings of the nation, especially in Scotland and Ireland, it has scarcely recovered even to this day. For how difficult is it in public as in private life, to replace the void of lost affections! And in another respect too, the settlement of 1688 cannot be called a perfect and a final one, since, for a hundred and thirty years it doomed one of the noblest portions of the British empire—Catholic Ireland—to a sort of political Helotism. Hence, on that account, a great foreign writer, who lived not to see the happy event of Catholic Emancipation, looked on the constitution of 1688 as a sort of prolonged interim.

M. Guizot concludes his Essay with some excellent remarks on the causes which have insured the success of the great American Republic. It did not enter into his plan to point out the vices inherent in that Republic, and which, sooner or later, threaten its ruin. And with respect to the sources of its strength and durability, we are happy to say, that this eminent historian and statesman confirms by his high sanction, the views we put forth on this subject in the October number of last year. The revolt of the British American colonies was not so much a *revolution*,—that is, a fundamental, organic, change of polity,—as what Francis Baader used to call an *evolution*, that is, a partial, external, modification of the government.

“The old social order of things,” says our author, with an exquisite good sense, “was not an object of fear, detestation, and destruction; attachment to ancient laws and customs, an affectionate reverence for the past, formed, on the contrary, the pervading sentiment of the nation; the colonial regime, under the protection of a distant monarchy, was transformed, without effort, into a republican regime, with the bond of a federal government.”—
p. 89.

Thus did the Anglo-Saxon race succeed in bringing two Revolutions to a successful issue. These Revolutions, and especially the first, succeeded because, as we have shown, they were defensive; they were made, *not against, but in behalf of* ancient laws and institutions; they were directed, (to use the words of a great writer, Frederick Schlegel, on another occasion,) “they were directed to the attainment of certain specific rights, and aimed not at sweeping, unqualified, and universal change.” Nor can it be said that their Protestantism was the cause of that success. The principle of resistance to arbitrary power, in behalf of those fundamental rights, which form the best guarantee of the stability of the throne, as well as of the liberty of the people, was recognized and acted on in the ages of faith. The alliance between Church and State proclaimed anew by the Revolutionists of 1688, was an old Catholic principle, deformed though it had been by Protestantism. And the political liberties and institutions, which they so jealously defended against the imputed designs of James, had been founded by our Catholic ancestors, and had grown up under the shelter of the Catholic Church.

May we then ever know how to prize and preserve this precious, dear-bought heritage! May we never from ignorance, levity, or the spirit of reckless innovation, lay unhallowed hands on the ark of our country's constitution! May we not, when the monarchical element of that constitution has been so weakened, when its aristocratic element, once its main strength, has been of late years so rudely shaken, its clerical element so sunk and degraded,—may we never be tempted by specious theories, to give an undue, exorbitant extension to the democratic element of the legislature. Never was there a time when any such preponderance would be fraught with so much peril;—a time when, in neighbouring countries, misrule

rides the air, and society itself is trembling on its foundations; when in these realms vice, impiety, and civil insubordination are so rampant; when religious indifference is so widely spread through all classes, which, however apathetic it may now seem, would at the first blast of the revolutionary trump, display a distempered energy and a destructive vitality! A true, lasting, political reform, must be preceded by a moral reform; and Catholicism alone, by bringing about the inward regeneration of our people, can achieve the outward regeneration of the State.

ART. II.—1. *Eastern Churches*; containing Sketches of the Nestorian, Armenian, Jacobite, Coptic, and Abyssinian Communities. By the Author of "Proposals for Christian Union." London: James Darling, 1850.

2.—*Curzon's Monasteries in the Levant*. London: Murray, 1849.

3.—*Lettres Œdifiantes—Missions d'Égypte*. 4 vols. Paris: Auguste Desrer. 1838.

4.—*Lane's Modern Egyptians*. New edition. 3 vols. London: C. Knight, 1846.

EGYPT has ever been considered one of the most interesting of countries, by antiquarians, philosophers, and scholars, as well on account of its physical characteristics, as of the monuments of its early learning and civilization. For the Christian, however, it possesses an interest entirely peculiar. It was early converted to the Christian Faith. St. Mark is said to have first planted the cross in Egypt, and to have been the first Bishop of its metropolis. The reputation, too, which it enjoyed for science and philosophy in Pagan times, was well sustained by Christian Egypt. The schools of Alexandria, established for the twofold object of teaching the gospel and philosophy, were not surpassed, if equalled, by any in Christendom. For more than two centuries they were the pride and glory of the East; they were conducted by men as illustrious for sanctity as for intellectual acquirements; the superiority of Egyptian scholars in the stricter sciences was so universally acknowledged, that the Council of Nice committed to them, the (at that time) difficult computation, of the day on which the festival of Easter should be celebrated; and the Patriarch of Alexandria was directed to inform the

Holy See thereon, and the Pope was subsequently to inform the bishops of the West.

Eutyches, the originator of the heresy which bears his name, was the cause of the destruction of a Church once so illustrious. His chief supporter was Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, by whose audacity, violence, and tyranny, the new doctrine gained a temporary triumph, in the cabal held at Ephesus, in the year 449. But the triumph was of short duration. In two years after, six hundred and thirty-six bishops, at the summons of St. Leo the Great, assembled at Chalcedon to protect the faith. Dioscorus was convicted of many atrocities at Ephesus; he was deprived of all ecclesiastical authority, banished to Gangra in Paphlagonia, where he died in exile. In the second session of the Council, held Oct. 10, when the Pope's letter to St. Flavian was read, distinctly declaring the unity of person in the twofold nature, the Fathers, with one voice, cried out, that this was the ancient faith, and anathematized its opposers. In the fifth session the faith was defined, and a decree passed, which was signed by all the fathers.

Nevertheless the greatest confusion prevailed through the East even after the Council, and particularly in Palestine and Egypt, so deeply did the spirit of controversy pervade those Churches. Detesting Nestorianism, and venerating its opponents, they thought that the decrees of Chalcedon were favourable to Nestorius. During the celebration of the Council, a monk named Theodosius, a vehement follower of Eutyches, hastened to Palestine, and spread the report that Nestorianism was triumphant. This caused so much excitement, that Juvenal, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, on his return from the Council, had to hide himself from the fury of the populace. At Alexandria a very powerful party of the clergy and the laity adhered to Dioscorus. They reported that Cyril had been condemned, and denounced the Council of Chalcedon as unworthy of trust. Nor was this opposition confined to Alexandria. It spread through Syria, Palestine, Armenia, Abyssinia, and all Egypt. The mass of the Egyptian population became unhappily opposed to the truth, and dissension prevailed on every possible occasion; the imperial authorities endeavouring to force submission to the Council, and favouring its adherents, while they resolutely deprived its opponents of all offices and emoluments.

The election of a Patriarch was a constant source of contention. Each party being anxious to have the post occupied by one of its own members, the result very frequently was disorder and bloodshed, in which the Egyptians almost always were the sufferers. It is admitted on all sides, that they were treated with unnecessary severity; owing to which, as well as their native obstinacy, the breach became daily wider, and the feud less reconcilable. In the year 455 Proterius, an orthodox priest, was made Patriarch of Alexandria. He was murdered, with six priests, in his church, and A. D. 457, Timotheus Œlurus (the Cat) was elected by the Eutychians. He again was banished in 460, and the Catholic Salophakialus obtained the vacant see. Œlurus returned in 476, and the orthodox Patriarch was forced to fly. Again in 477 Salophakialus returned to his post; and Œlurus terminated his turbulent existence by poisoning himself. But his party were in the ascendant, and they selected Peter Mongus [the Stammerer] to succeed him. The heretical party maintained their ascendancy until the year 538, when the Emperor Justinian sent the abbot Paul, (recommended by the Papal See), as Patriarch, the Catholics having been nearly sixty years without a bishop in Alexandria.

The succession of orthodox Patriarchs was kept up till the Monothelite Cyrus, A. D. 630. The Eutychians also had their Patriarchs, who were obliged to live sometimes in exile, afraid to appear in public save on rare occasions. Coptic writers give accounts of sanguinary persecutions on the part of the Imperial authorities; and it is stated that, in the year 551, one hundred years after the Council of Chalcedon, when Apollinarius was sent as Patriarch, the enormous number of two hundred thousand people perished in all Egypt, through his orders. The natural consequence was disaffection to the Imperial sway; and when the Arabs entered Egypt in the year 638, they found a powerful alliance in the minds of the people. The Egyptians preferred the Moslem yoke to that of the Emperors, they made terms for themselves, obtained possession of all the churches, drove out the Melchites* or Catholics. In the course of time they met their reward; they suffered under their new masters; they gradually decayed in riches, numbers, and rank; and out of a population supposed to

* The Catholics were called Melchites or Imperialists, from the Arab word Melek, which signifies King.

have been six or seven millions, their acknowledged descendants scarcely count two hundred thousand souls. The present population of all Egypt, as given by the most recent writers, is computed

Arab Mahometans	1 750 000
Copts... ..	160 000
Turks	10 000
Syrians	5 000
Jews	5 000
Armenians	2 000
Greeks	5 000
	Total, 1 937 000

The origin of the word Copt is variously explained. Some derive it from Coptos, once a great city in Egypt. Some from the two last syllables of the Greek *Αιγυπτος*. Others from *Κεπτοι*, circumcised, the Copts using circumcision. Others again from the term Jacobite,* a phrase including all the nations who profess the Monophysite doctrines, for the sect exists in Armenia, Nubia, Abyssinia, Egypt, &c. Whatever the origin of the word, the Coptic Church is one of peculiar interest, as its dogmas accord with those of the universal Church, save and except on *the nature of Christ*: and on this, as well as on almost all doctrinal matters, the great majority of the clergy and laity are most profoundly ignorant. Their discipline varies, of course, from ours, and their mode of administering the sacraments is curious, and well worthy of being recorded.

Almost all recent travellers have a word or two on the Copts: few, however, have taken any trouble to enquire into their belief, their practice, or ritual. The ancient travellers, like Pococke, are much safer instructors than the author of "Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant,"

* They are called Jacobites from Jacob Baradai, a bishop and monk, who, in the dress of a mendicant, traversed an immense portion of the East, re-establishing the errors and fortunes of the followers of Eutyches. He ordained, it is said, as many as 80,000 priests; and in 539 he consecrated a Monophysite Patriarch at Antioch, who exercises supremacy over the Asiatic Eutychians, as the Patriarch of Alexandria does over the Africans of the same sect. The Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch has had an unbroken chain of successors to the present day.

There are at present two Coptic bishops and fifty Coptic priests in communion with the See of Rome. The number of the laity converted is very small.

the author of "Mehemet Ali and Egypt," or even of the latest brochure, "Eastern Churches." Lane's *Modern Egyptians* contains more information on the subject, in a supplemental appendix, than all the rest; and yet his information has been obtained second-hand, from what he terms "a Copt of a liberal and enlightened mind," to whom he is indebted for the facts he relates.

We have long intended to add to the series of *Sketches of Oriental Christians*, which has appeared in our *Journal*, a popular account of this singularly interesting community; and we are induced to take the present opportunity of laying before our readers a brief summary of their creed, their ritual, and their practice. It is derived from the most authentic sources, but we do not think it necessary to burden the page with references for all the facts upon which we shall rely.

The Copts form about one-fourteenth of the entire population; they are the undoubted descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and are said to resemble very much the figures and faces found on paintings and sculpture. They have three Liturgies, those of St. Basil, St. Cyril, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, all of which have been translated from the Greek into the Coptic. The Liturgy of St. Cyril, used at Alexandria in the fifth century, agrees entirely, except on one point, the single nature of Christ, with the Liturgies of the Greeks, the Armenians, the Syrians, &c. &c., with whom they have had less religious intercourse than even with Roman Catholics. The Coptic clergy is composed of the Patriarch (el-Batrak) of Alexandria, although ordinarily he resides at Cairo, eleven or twelve bishops, very many priests, deacons, subdeacons, lectors, clerks, and monks. At the death of the Patriarch, the bishops and chief priests assemble to elect a successor. He is always chosen from among the monks, who have made vows of perpetual chastity. He is never dispensed from any of his obligations, and so rigid are the "rules," that he is obliged to be awakened every quarter of an hour. If, during the election, the suffrages are so divided, that they cannot agree in their choice, a number of names of those deemed eligible are written on slips of paper and placed on the altar. At the end of three days, Mass being offered, that God may assist them to a worthy selection, a child, who is a deacon,* draws one of the papers, and the

* Mr. Lane says, the drawing the slip of paper is done by a priest.

owner of the name becomes Patriarch. He is conducted to Alexandria, and formally installed in the chair of St. Mark. The Patriarch has considerable property at his disposal, and it is supposed to be used only for religious purposes.

The bishops are greatly dependant on the Patriarch. He elects them at his pleasure; they are bound to continence, and generally chosen from among the monks, though not from necessity;* and they collect, in their various dioceses, the contributions destined to the support of the Patriarch.

The priests are not bound to celibacy, though some are unmarried. Generally speaking, the Copts are not over anxious to enter the priesthood. A married man may be ordained priest, (and they are mostly married), but he cannot marry again if his wife dies. At the age of thirty, they are taken from their shops, or other less dignified employments, to be ordained priests. If they can read Coptic even without understanding it, it suffices. The Mass and divine office are read in that language.† The office consists of matins, the hours, vespers, and complin. It is longer than that of the Roman breviary. It is, however, always the same; the bishop's office longer than that of the priest; and the Patriarch's is the longest of all. Children are ordained deacons at the age of six or seven years; their attendance is always required, as mass is never said without one or more deacons being present. Whatever be the merits or demerits of the Coptic clergy, they are much respected by their flocks, who bow reverentially to them, and are much gratified if paid any mark of attention. The discipline in the monasteries is very strict. The monks and nuns are very numerous, and the number of churches and convents said to be nearly one hundred and fifty.

The Coptic Church, like the Roman, has seven sacraments; but their mode of administering them differs greatly from our practice. The ordinary method of baptising children is as follows.

The father and the mother and child, dressed as carefully

* The Patriarch consecrates the single Bishop which the Abyssinians possess. He is called the Abunna.

† The Epistles and Gospels are read for the congregation in the vernacular.

as circumstances permit, present themselves at the Church gate, where the officiating priest prays over them for a considerable time. On entering the church the child is anointed with six unctions of oil, blessed for exorcisms, and again by thirty-six others in different parts of the body with their usual blessed oil. The baptismal fonts are blessed by the priest, who thrice signs them with the sign of the cross with chrism, recites prayers; and when this is completed, the child is baptized by three immersions. At the first, but a third part of the body is immersed, the priest saying, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father;" at the second, two-thirds of the body are immersed at the words, "I baptize thee in the name of the Son;" and the whole body is immersed at the words, "I baptize thee in the name of the Holy Ghost."

Immediately after, confirmation is administered. Baptism is performed before Mass, and at the conclusion, Communion is given to the infant under the species of wine only; it is done by the priest dipping his finger in the chalice, and introducing it into the child's mouth.

If the child be so delicate that it cannot safely undergo the long ceremonies and the three immersions, the priest dips his hands into the font, rubs the body of the child three times, each time only moistening the third part of the child, and repeating the form of Baptism as I have before stated. They never administer Baptism except in church, and if the child cannot be brought there, the priest goes to the house, and after reciting the prayers over the father and the mother, and anointing the child six times, he asks the sponsors if they believe in one God; being answered in the affirmative, he recites some prayers, gives his blessing, and retires. They believe that the faith in one God and three persons, and the desire of Baptism manifested by the sponsors, supplies the place of the sacrament. One of their ancient Canons says: "If, after the last Unction, the child should die, be assured that the Unction holds the place of the Baptism." If the child born be a boy, the woman cannot leave her house for forty days; if a girl, for twenty-four days. Often in their anxiety to gather some money for a merry-making, and respectable clothing, the child's baptism is deferred for five, six, or seven months.

Confirmation is always administered after Baptism, by the same priest or bishop. Whoever the celebrant may be,

long prayers are recited. The thirty-six anointings of the infant are repeated on the same parts of the body, but in this instance they are done with chrism or meiron. At the unction of the forehead and eyes, the celebrant exclaims, "Chrism of the grace of the Holy Spirit;" of the mouth and of the nose, "Chrism, pledge of the kingdom of heaven;" of the ears, "Chrism, society of the eternal and immortal life;" of the palms and the back of the hands, "Unction holy to Christ our God, and character ineffaceable;" of the heart, "Perfection of the grace of the Holy Ghost, and shield of the true faith;" of the instep and the knees, the Priest says, "I have anointed you with holy chrism, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." A white garment is then put on, with a cincture and a crown placed on the head.

As regards the Sacrament of Penance, their belief agrees with ours, but their mode of administering it differs considerably. They believe themselves bound to auricular confession, and to declare their sins according to their number and species, and at the conclusion of the confession, the Priest recites a prayer over the penitent. This prayer is generally said in the commencement of their Mass for Remission of Sins, but on the occasion of the administration of confessional penance, it is confined in its meaning to the penitent alone, some words being changed for that purpose. The Confessor adds a second prayer, which they call the Benediction, and which corresponds with that which we pronounce after absolution. The Ritual differs also from ours, inasmuch as, that with the Greeks they use the deprecatory form of absolution. On enquiring from the Coptic priests, whether, on the administration of this sacrament, they expressed anything in absolute terms, they answered, that before departing, the penitent says: "My Father, I have sinned; give me absolution." And the Priest answers him: "Be you absolved from all your sins."

The penances they impose, generally consist of prostrations and prayers, making a special offering of some of the numerous fasts to which they are previously bound. They do not impose additional fasts, lest it might reveal the degree of the penitent's guilt; and they give absolution to sinners without hesitation; never deferring it, as we do, from prudence or necessity. Relapsing sinners are always

absolved, if they declare themselves determined to offend God no more; the Confessor deems that he has done his duty by asking the penitent if he is truly contrite, and would deem himself culpable in doubting the truth of the sinner. They allege in defence of this facility, that the Redeemer ordered St. Peter always to receive sinners asking pardon for their crimes. The mercy of God is their great resource; they entrench themselves behind this on all occasions, when attacked either on their practices, or their errors in doctrine. They do not fail, however, to manifest firmness with regard to public sinners, whom they compel to perform their penances before they give absolution, and if at enmity with their neighbours, to be reconciled without delay. The Sacrament of Penance, however, is by no means so much frequented among them, as it is with us. Females even, when devout, receive the sacraments of the Eucharist and Penance but once or twice in the year, alleging as an excuse, their poverty, their occupations, and their afflictions. Young people of both sexes, do not commence to confess before sixteen or eighteen years of age, which is generally about the time they marry. The little deacons who assist at Mass and receive communion are not obliged to confess. No one, Priest or Bishop, excites the people to frequent the sacraments, and hence, pass their lives heedless of them, and sunk in apathy. It is asserted, that one obstacle to frequent confession is, that the priest, from his poverty, requires remuneration; this, however, is not sufficiently proved.

Extreme Unction is administered thus: The Priest, after giving absolution, is assisted by a deacon. He commences by incensing the penitent; he blesses a lamp of oil, at which light is kindled; he then recites seven prayers, which are interrupted by as many lessons, taken from the epistle of St. James, and other parts of scripture. They are read by the deacon; then the priest, taking oil from the lamp, anoints the penitent on the forehead, saying: "God heal thee, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." They anoint in like manner all the assistants, lest the evil spirit, leaving the anointed man, might enter any of them. According to their ritual, there may be seven priests to administer this sacrament, and then each priest has a light, and repeats one of the prayers. If it be a bishop, with six priests assisting him,

the bishop alone kindles the seven lights, and repeats the seven prayers. They do not deny that St. James has recommended this sacrament for the sick; but they distinguish three sorts of maladies,—those of the body, which are diseases,—those of the soul, which are sins,—and those of the spirit, which are afflictions; and they believe the Holy Unction to be valuable for all three. The ceremony is always the same, whether performed in the church or at their dwellings.

They recognise no Holy Orders except those of Deacons, Priests, and Bishops. Sub-deacons are not deemed to be in Holy Orders; they do not enter the sanctuary, but stand at its gate, and read the epistles; nor have they any minor Order, except that of Lector. Ordination, whether of holy or minor Orders, always terminates with Communion, and an exhortation from the officiating Bishop to the newly-ordained, regarding their special duties, and the careful performance of them. When ordaining Lectors, the Bishop signs them with the sign of the cross, in blessed oil, and presents to them the book of the Gospels, which they place on their breast. The ceremony is the same for Sub-deacons, except that a cincture is passed round the shoulder, in the same manner as the Deacon carries the stole with us. After the signs of the Cross are made on the foreheads of those to be made Deacons, with blessed oil, and the cincture passed round the shoulder, the Bishop *imposes hands* on the head; making the sign of the cross, he says: "We call you to the holy Church of God." The Archdeacon pronouncing the name of him who is ordained, says aloud: "Such a one Deacon of the Holy Church of God." And the Bishop, renewing three times the sign of the cross, says: "We call you N. N., deacon, to the Holy Altar of the Holy, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The ordination of Priest differs little from that of Deacon. The word priest is substituted for deacon; but there is this difference, that before Communion, the Bishop, holding the Host at one side, causes it to be held at the other by the new priest; he pronounces the confession of faith, and the new priest pronounces it with him. He then gives him Communion, under the two species; and after having recited some words from the Gospel of St. John, he breathes on him, saying,

“Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall remit, they are remitted; whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.” The Copts believe that the essential part of the ordination of a Priest, consists in the holding of the Host. The consecration of a Bishop is similar to the ordination of the Priest. It differs only when the consecrating Bishop says: “We appoint you, N. N., Bishop to the Church of true believers of such a town or district, which serves Jesus Christ. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” Subsequently he places the Gospels on his head, holds the Host, makes the profession of faith, receives the Communion, and the power of forgiving sins.

The veneration of the Copts for the most Holy Sacrament is very great; the materials are prepared by them with much care. The wheat, or flour, must be of a superior quality, and purchased with money belonging to the Church, or presented by some person of respectable station. During its preparation, or making into bread, the sacristan recites prayers. The oven in which it is baked must be within the precincts of the church. They will not use bread for the Holy Sacrifice unless it has been prepared in this manner. With regard to the wine they have fallen into a serious abuse.* They do not, unless from necessity, use the natural wine, but they select a certain quantity of large, well-preserved raisins, which they mix with an equal weight of water. They steep it for seven days in winter, and four days in summer, after which they squeeze out the juice, strain and preserve it, to be used afterwards as required.

The following extracts are from the Liturgy of St.

* M. Poucet Medecin et bon chimiste, qui a voyagé en ce pays la, tacha de me rassurer, en me disant, que l'eau qui penetre le raisin le retablit en son suc naturel, et que par consequent ce qui en est exprimé est le suc naturel du raisin même, et un vin veritable: il ajoutoit, que c'est le meme, ou que l'eau ait passé au travers de la peau du raisin, ou qu'elle y soit entree par la detour de la racine, du cep et des sarmens de la vigne. Avec ce raisonnement chimique ou physique qu'apparemment les Coptites n'ont jamais fait, je persiste à reprover leur coutume sur laquelle, neanmoins ils ne se font pas le moindre scrupule.—*Lettre du P. Bernat, Missionnaire Jesuite, 1713.*

Basil, the one which is used ordinarily by them. The other Liturgies* are used once or twice in the year.

“O Lord, make us worthy, by the power of Thy Holy Spirit, to perform this ministry, and to offer to Thee this sacrifice of blessing. Grant that our *sacrifice* may be accepted by Thee, for our sins and for the follies of Thy people. * * * * O Lord Jesus Christ, we beg and entreat Thy goodness. O Lover of Mankind, look down on this bread and on this chalice, which we have placed on Thy sacerdotal table; bless them, sanctify them, and consecrate them: *Change them*, so that indeed this bread *may become Thy holy body*; and that which is mixed in this chalice, Thy precious blood.”†

The following form for consecrating the bread, is spoken by the celebrant in a loud voice.

“And He left this great adorable Sacrament, and He wished to be delivered unto death for the salvation of the world. He took bread in His pure, holy, stainless, blessed life-giving hands: He raised His eyes to heaven, to You, all-powerful God the Father, and He gave thanks. [Here the congregation answer, Amen.] And He blessed it, [again they answer, Amen,] and He consecrated it, [the people say, Amen,] and He broke it and gave it to His holy disciples, who were pure, saying; ‘Take ye, eat all of you. This is My body, which shall be broken for you and for many, which shall be given for the remission of sins: Do this in remembrance of me!’ [The people answer, Amen.]”

At the consecration of the cup, the celebrant says,—

“In like manner, He took the cup after he had supped, and He mixed therein wine and water, and He gave thanks. [The people: Amen.] He blessed it. [People: Amen.] He consecrated it. [People: Amen.] And He tasted it, and He gave it also to His holy disciples and apostles who were pure, saying, ‘Take and drink you all, this is My blood of the New Testament, which shall be poured out for you and for many, and which shall be given for the remission of sins: Do this in memory of me!’”‡

* Those of St. Cyril and St. Gregory.

† We may judge from the above extracts, the truth of the assertion of a writer in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, “The *Moderns* have adopted Transubstantiation.” True, they believe in Transubstantiation, but their belief is as ancient as their Church.

‡ In the Catholic churches they must use wine, but in the others they use what they call Zebib, which is a sort of raisin wine. It keeps for seven years, and tastes like wine that is turned a little sour. They keep the Zebib in a jar, and stop it close so that no wind can come to it.—*Pococke's Description of the East, &c.*

Immediately before Communion, when the Host has been divided, the deacon in a loud voice says, "Bow your heads before the Lord;" and the celebrant turning towards the congregation with the Host on the patena, says, "Behold the bread of the Saints." The assistants answer, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." One or two deacons are always in attendance, they receive at the Mass at which they assist. Priests and deacons who do not communicate, are not permitted to enter the "Heykel," or sanctuary. The people receive the Communion in the following manner. The celebrant turning to the congregation with the Holy Sacrament, says—"Behold the bread of the Saints! Let him who is free from sin approach. But let him who is stained with sin retire, lest God strike him with his lightning; for me I wash my hands of his sin." The males approach the sanctuary and communicate under both species. The women remain in their place, which is entirely distinct and screened, and the priest celebrant gives them communion in the species of bread alone, on which however (previous to his communion) he has made the sign of the cross, once with his fingers moistened in the chalice, and secondly with the Host slightly moistened in the same manner. They do not preserve the sacrament consecrated as we do, but Mass is said at any hour, day or night, when the Viaticum is required. The Viaticum is administered only under the species of bread. The profession of faith made by the priests and the laity, runs thus:—

"The holy body and precious blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of our God. Amen. The holy and precious body and true blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of our God. Amen. The body and blood of Emmanuel, our God, this is reality and truth. Amen. I believe, I believe, I believe and I confess even to the last moment, that here is present the vivifying body which Thy only Son, our Lord and our God, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, took of our Lady, the Mother of God, the pure, the holy, the immaculate Mary. It has been united to His divinity without confusion, without admixture, without change. He nobly confessed it before Pontius Pilate, and He delivered it for us on the tree of the cross, by His will alone. I believe that the Divinity has not abandoned the humanity for a single moment. Amen."

The ancient Coptic Liturgies are filled with evidence of their belief in the real presence of our Redeemer; and it is

consoling to think that all the Eastern Churches, though differing among themselves, and with us, on some particular dogma, unite in deep and reverential belief of the most august dogma of our faith.

Matrimony is accounted a sacrament. It is performed by the priest, and all the accompanying prayers make mention of the graces conferred thereby. When two parties agree to marry, the priest ("Kasees") goes to their dwellings, questions the parties, and betroths them. Subsequently they go to church, and after confession, the priest asks if they accept one another for husband and wife, and if the answer is in the affirmative, Mass is said and they receive Communion. Divorce is permitted not alone in case of adultery, but it is asserted, for dissensions, sickness, and through mutual consent.* The marriage must be dissolved by the sentence of the Patriarch,† nor can they lawfully contract another marriage without similar permission. It is seldom refused. But should it so happen, refractory parties do not hesitate to contract a civil marriage before the Moslem Kadi, and their subsequent chastisement consists in being excluded for some time from the Sacraments.‡

In all warm climates, fasting is less irksome than to people in colder countries. They are much more rigid in mortifying the appetite than European Christians. They observe four Lents; the first commences the Monday after Sexagesima, and lasts till Easter; but as they never fast on Saturday, they have only forty clear fasting days. They abstain during this penitential season from eggs, milks, whitemeats, fish, or flesh. They are allowed a small collation. The second Lent continues forty-three days for the clergy, and only twenty-three for the laity.

* The Copts will contract a temporary marriage, and have it performed by the priest with the usual ceremonies.—*St. John. Mehemet Ali and the Egyptians.*

† Lettres *Ædifiantes Missions d'Égypte.*

‡ Divorce is obtained only for the cause of adultery on the part of the wife. The husband and wife may be separated if she have committed a theft or other heinous crime. But in this case neither he nor she is at liberty to contract another marriage, though they may be again united to each other.—*Lane's Modern Egyptians*, vol. iii.

The third commences after the Octave of Pentecost, and terminates with the feast of SS. Peter and Paul. The fourth commences fifteen days before the Assumption. The blessing of chrism is with them a very expensive affair. It is performed by the Patriarch, assisted by a bishop or bishops. It is composed of oil, balsam, and aromatics. It is blessed only once in twenty-four or thirty years. The materials are mixed by the Patriarch and bishops, with prayers which occupy the whole day. It is then given to the various bishops. The Abunna of Abyssinia gets on the day of his consecration a supply which must last him for his life.

In their symbol, they do not say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; yet they deny it not. They have almost the same canon of Scripture as we have. They do not reject any of the sacred writings which we receive as canonical. They pray, they give alms, and perform other good works, in order that God may have mercy on them, and pardon those who have departed this life without satisfying His justice; but to the belief in Purgatory they have added many absurdities. They respect and venerate images; they prostrate themselves before them; they touch them with their hands, their foreheads, and eyes. And thus their almost complete accord with our Church on all but one point, after a separation of over twelve hundred years, is indeed extraordinary.

They use circumcision, but their priests assert that they do not regard it as a religious obligation, but merely a custom of the country to which they conform. It has been discussed much whether the Copts adopted this custom from the Jews or from their Moslem countrymen, and without any very decisive conclusion on either side. Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Clement of Alexandria, tell us, that the ancient Egyptians circumcised their children; but Origen says in his book against Celsus, that circumcision was forbidden to Christians; and we do not find that, previous to their separation from the true Church, they were reproached for this unchristian practice.

They have also a custom commemorative of the Baptism of Christ, which prevails still more in Abyssinia. On the day of Epiphany large vessels are placed in the churches, which, having been filled with water, the priest blesses. Children are plunged into them. Some adults also immerse themselves, but more generally they are contented

with washing their hands and faces. In the rural districts (we are told) that the river is blessed, and full scope given, to those who wish to plunge therein. Some writers have asserted that this usage is regarded as a second baptism, particularly in Abyssinia; but it would appear without sufficient evidence, certainly as regards the Egyptians.

In private life their habits and manners are quite oriental, nearly similar to their Moslem countrymen. Their females are as reserved and secluded. Marriages with those differing from them in religion are prohibited, and are held invalid. Their dress differs from the rest of the nation only in the colour of the turban, which is blue or white; while those of every one else are red or white.

The ancient Egyptian or Coptic is now quite a dead language. It fell gradually into disuse. In Lower Egypt it was spoken in the tenth, in Upper Egypt so late as the fourteenth century. The Arabic is the vernacular. All those who have been at school are, more or less, taught to read the Coptic. Their prayers are mostly said, and a few books are written in it, but the Arabic characters are used. They are said by recent travellers to be licentious in their morals, but this requires proof greater than hasty assertion. They were oppressed for a very long period, but at present they enjoy the same immunities as their countrymen; many of them have become wealthy and attained rank; in Cairo, where they number over ten thousand souls, they are goldsmiths, masons, cabinet-makers, tailors, weavers; in the rural districts they are generally devoted to agriculture.

Their unhappy separation from the Church of Christ began, as we have seen, in the fifth, and was consummated by the conquest of Egypt in the seventh century. On more than one occasion efforts have been made to induce them to re-enter the unity of the Church, but as yet without success. The obstacles to their conversion are numerous; the principal difficulty is their ignorance, and the tenacity with which all orientals adhere to belief, customs, and usages. But as schools have been recently established and multiplied, and as the intercourse with Europe is daily increasing, we may hope for better results. Their respect for the successor of Peter has never been entirely effaced. The Patriarch is proud of being the successor of St. Mark. and recognises the Pope as the successor of the Chief of the Apostles; one of their greatest festivals is that of the

apostles Peter and Paul; and they acknowledge the primacy of Peter, but not his supremacy. Let us hope that this respect and veneration may be the seed, which, having remained dormant, through the long night of ignorance and sullen obstinacy, may at last germinate, and produce worthy fruit; that the Church in which Origen flourished, where Cyril taught, where Athanasius combated for the divinity of our blessed Redeemer, which peopled the desert with solitaries, which can boast of Macarius, Anthony, and Paul, which, even in its fallen and degraded state, preserves its respect and veneration for the saints, deep and tender devotion for the Virgin Mother, but above all, heartfelt adoration for the most holy Sacrament of the Altar, may be restored to the Church. "Then will she learn from her own experience, that in the holy Catholic and Roman faith, is all sustenance for the high intellectual and moral life of a people; that it alone possesses the great secret for inheriting both earth and heaven, all that can sweeten and compose to order the uncertain wanderings of the human existence, and all that can exalt with innocence, as a preparation for everlasting beatitude, the dignity and happiness of man." *

ART. III.—1. *Fifteenth Report of the Inspectors of Prisons of Great Britain.* 1850. Northern and Eastern District. Presented to both Houses of Parliament.

2.—*Ditto.* 1850. Scotland.

3.—*Fourteenth Report of the Inspectors of Prisons.* 1850. Home District.

4.—*Report on the Discipline and Construction of Portland Prison, in its Connection with the System of Convict Discipline.* By LIEUT. COL. JEBB, C.B., Surveyor-general of Prisons. 1850.

5.—*Pauper Education.* In a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart., M.P. By the Rev. C. H. RICHSON, M.A. Second Edition. 1850. London: Rivingtons.

* Digby, *Mores Catholici*, vol. iii.

6.—*Prison Discipline.* By the Rev. J. FIELD, (Chaplain of Reading Gaol.) 2 vols. London: Longman and Co.

IN casting our eyes on the voluminous, though carefully digested prison statistics which stand at the head of this article, and which are the fruitful results of Lord John Russell's recent Committee of Enquiry, two absorbing thoughts occupy the mind. The first is, the strong conviction that, after years of studious investigation, numberless and expensive penal experiments, both at home and in the colonies, and the alternate fluctuation between rude severity and morbid over-leniency, criminal jurisprudence, in relation to the prevention of crime, has made no decided and positive advance in the moral portion of the question, since the close of the eighteenth century. That period may be regarded as the dawn of a more enlightened system of punishment, when may be detected the first faint gleams of that theory of sociology which is becoming one of the prominent characteristics of the present day, and the important element which will eventually leaven and purify the unorganized masses of our criminal populations, unless strangely misapplied and unwisely elaborated. The second is, the painful certitude that crime—juvenile crime especially—is on the increase. Notwithstanding our boasted wider diffusion of knowledge, in spite of the wonderful development and appliances of art and science, though the omnipotence of man's intellect is nobly symbolized in the electro-telegraph triumphing over time, and the steam engine, that creator of social intercourse, that conqueror of space and distance,—yet in the very midst of all this manifestation of power we are forced to acknowledge, that crime has not diminished in the ratio of civilization, whilst we must also confess with shame, that man, when asserting his superiority in the domain of science, when impressing the marks of his ever-active mind on the outward forms of the material world, has neglected or failed to grapple with the monstrous anomaly that meets us in every turn and avenue of life. The mechanical philosopher may point in pride to his gigantic tube which spans the ocean-stream; the microscopic physiologist may reveal to us the delicate embryos of all human organism; the chemist may, by his powerful analysis, reduce into obedience the stubborn elements of nature, and subordinate them to the daily uses of society; yet in all this material

advancement the spiritual has been unheeded and passed by, and at the very heart of modern civilized society the same fatal germs of crime and immorality still spring up, which we are too prone to consider as the opprobrium of a by-gone generation.

Here then is sufficient food for the most profound reflection. For since all the physical sciences have progressed towards perfection with a species of mathematical certainty, since institutions that humanize and refine have arisen in every portion of our vast empire, and since the cry for the diffusion of religious truth has become louder and more energetic every day, there must surely exist some antagonism in our social system, which has continued to neutralize these beneficial aims, some canker, which is widely spreading beneath the gloss and surface of all this modern refinement, and which has escaped the notice of the philanthropist, and has never entered into the calculations of the politician. If, on the one hand, man has become god-like, by subduing all creation to his energy and power; if, on the other, in the very fulness of this intellectual marvel, man, spiritually speaking, remains imbruted in the same debasing crime as in the ages of positive barbarism, it is time for us to tear aside the veil, and endeavour to solve into something like moral certainty the causes of this strange and abnormal discrepancy. The fact has gone forth; crime is on the increase; time therefore presses, and it is the paramount duty of every one who loves his fellow creature, his religion, and his God, to endeavour to arrest the advancing pestilence by his exertions in the cause of morality.

Though for our immediate purpose it would occupy too much space to trace the various gradations of penal science in this country, yet it is hardly possible to give clearness to, or estimate the value of, the systems of the present day for the punishment or prevention of crime, without bestowing a hasty glance on the methods adopted by the Publicists of the eighteenth century in order to check the turbulent and adventurous career of vice and profligacy, and improve the criminal whilst stigmatising the act. A stern and Draco-like fiat of blood, the expiation of the scaffold, that ultimatum of condign and speedy punishment, which even now finds a solitary champion in the "latter-day" dogmatism of Mr. Carlyle, was too

long the characteristic of the criminal code of England. The enquiring reader will find the slow, yet gradual transition from the mere satisfying of private revenge to the protection of public safety, as the object of our Penal Statutes, well traced by Lord Hailes in his "Historical Law Tracts," vol. i., tract i.* To seize and punish was an act so cheap and simple, that all the finer philosophy of reformation and prevention, all the suggestions of moral and social analogy, were overlooked or disregarded. The criminal had outraged society; society, by the arm of the executioner or the lash of the torturer, smote the criminal, and justice flattered itself that in this expeditious and inexorable shedding of human blood, it had accomplished its task and satisfied the claims of duty. If a more reflective and enquiring spirit in these *ferrea secula* of our penal jurisprudence, dared call in question the expediency of such indiscriminate *physical* suffering, he would no doubt have been answered in the brute-force argument style so much patronized by Mr. Carlyle—

"Revenge, and the natural hatred of scoundrels, and the ineradicable tendency to *revancher* oneself upon them and pay them what they have merited, this is for evermore intrinsically a correct, and even a divine (!) feeling in the mind of every man.....Criminal caitiff, as a palpable deserter from the ranks where all men, at their eternal peril, are bound to be; palpable deserter, taken with the red hand, fighting thus against the whole universe and its laws—we send thee back into the whole universe, solemnly expel thee from our community; and will, in the name of God, not with joy and exultation, but with sorrow stern as thy own, hang thee on Wednesday next, and so an end."—(Latter-day Pamphlets.—No. 2, Model Prisons.)

The promulgation of this anti-christian doctrine was soon discovered to be an inadequate means; the prisons overflowed, the lash resounded, the gibbet fluttered its victim in the wind; yet the dread example did *not* deter. Then sprung up the theory—as terrible in reality as the unavailing expenditure of human life itself—that the heart of the criminal was incurable; that reformation was out of

* A complete idea also can be formed of the state of punishment, as a comparative test, in Europe during the middle ages, from "Grimm. Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer," b. v., c. 3.

the question; that death had no terrors; that pity, therefore, was an insult to justice, and all attempts at reformation a sheer outrage to injured society. Even Government, which should have been the first to repudiate so illogical and irreligious a dictum, forgetting its duty and avoiding its responsibility, relapsed into the fatal lethargy, and all attempts at forming any moral rationale of punishment, of framing any code of social ethics, or even of investigating and computing the intense stimulus to vice which is furnished by ignorance and the want of the means of education, or the stern and blinding necessity of circumstances, were laid aside as useless, and the wretched victim of vicious parents and corrupt association, was left to himself, until his wants and passions flung him hopelessly into the grasp of inexorable law.

It is true, indeed, as far as regards the government of the period, that the tendencies of the age were decidedly material; that foreign wars and territorial aggrandizement prominently occupied the thoughts of the statesman and moralist; that even the constitutional liberty of the subject was incomplete and partial, inasmuch as religious freedom was a mere fiction; that philosophy in all its branches was the slave of a sensual theory; that, in fine, all the higher and more exalting purposes of being, the ennobling expression of æsthetical beauty in poetry and art, were either merged in, or deeply obscured by the universal spirit of commerce, the unceasing impulses of gain. But if Government was forgetful of this primal duty, did not the clergy of England's political church (the existence of Catholics was hardly recognised, and therefore, amidst scorn and persecution, comparatively powerless for the mighty work) stand forward and endeavour to ameliorate the unhappy position of the offender, and by endeavouring to reform him by the force of the moral and social law, to humanise and temper, in some degree, the harsher cruelty and sanguinary tendency of the penal law? Did they not arrest the headlong course of juvenile depravity, shocked to behold the flower blighted before half its bloom was displayed, and afflicted to view the young life of society thus diseased, and wasted, and corrupted, the child emulating the man in rampant viciousness, and the man descending to the level of the child in his ignorance of God and duty? The morals of the period embodied in its literature, the horrors of the pestilential dungeon to which no Inspector

ever descended, the undisguised licentiousness of the upper classes of society, the recklessness of the uneducated child of beggary and want—

“ Sur un front de quinze ans c'est le vice endurci, ”—

all these respond a decided “ No. ” The amelioration of the penal code did not originate with them. To an illustrious layman, the philanthropic Howard, we are indebted for the first real attempt at purification. He it was who awakened public attention to the gigantic evils of prison discipline; and by his evidence before the House of Commons, stimulated the Government to something like inquiry. His own sacrifices and vast personal experience, formed the commencement of a new era in the history of criminal jurisprudence and sanatory reform.* Developed still more by Beccaria in Italy, Montesquieu in France, and Blackstone in England, Paley gave the powers of his logical mind to its investigation, and expanding the ideas of the Italian Publicist, or rather amalgamating them with his own, he produced the celebrated *ninth* chapter of his “ Moral and Political Philosophy, ” in which the important subject of “ crimes and punishments, ” is treated in a lucid and at the same time a common-sense manner. The very first phrase, “ the proper end of human punishment is not the satisfaction of justice, but *the prevention of crimes* ”—is the sum of the whole question, and the formula by which must be elaborated any beneficial and lasting plan at the present day. His remarks on the effi-

* Plans for the establishment of Penitentiaries, strongly recommended by Judge Blackstone, the Hon. Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, and so well advocated in more recent times, by Sir Samuel Romilly, (8th June, 1810.) were all rejected by the then Government. It has been questioned whether Howard was favourable to strict separation of prisoners. The conclusion at which his contemporaries arrived, will, however, be seen by the following inscription on the foundation-stone of the New Bailey Prison at Manchester :—“ That this may remain to posterity a monument of the affection and gratitude of his country to that most excellent person, who hath so fully proved the wisdom and humanity of the separate and solitary confinement of offenders—this prison is inscribed with the name of Howard. ”—Lieut.-Col. Jebb's Report, p. 14. Dixon's “ John Howard and the Prison World of Europe, ” 1850. Howard's work, “ The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, ” was first published in 1775.

cacy of *solitary* imprisonment as a reforming punishment, in the same chapter, is the essence of what a few years ago was written by Dr. Whately,* as well as of the practical and valuable expositions of Captain Maconochie. (Crime and punishment. The Mark System.) He, moreover, clearly established the necessity of some harmony in punishment, so that a slight offence should not be visited with the same severity as one of an atrocious nature; and while tacitly arguing against the maxim of the Roman law, "*in maleficiis voluntas spectatur, non exitus,*" which seemed to be the basis of the severe criminal code of England, he did much to bring about those reforms of later times which have rendered it less sanguinary, and thereby removed the opprobrium resulting from the frequency of capital punishments.

But, in praising Paley, it would be unjust to pass by Montesquieu. To him may be applied his own fine critical eulogium of Tacitus—"qu'il abrégéait tout, parcequ'il voyait tout." (De l'esprit des Lois. liv. xxx, c. 3.) He produced in England, much more than in France, a grand and permanent effect by the publication of his great work, the "Spirit of the Laws." The train of just and philosophic thought so visible throughout this work, has rendered it remarkable. At the time of its appearance, the progress of industry and the increase of the population in Europe, the rapid development of the commerce of the Europeans and their colonies in both hemispheres, had of necessity produced successive changes, and had almost entirely overturned the relations which had existed formerly between different orders of citizens. Power was no longer the immediate result of riches and influence, and could no longer base its pretensions on mere institutions alone; obedience had ceased to be the necessary consequence of dependance, and was required to be made in the name of the law alone. These institutions and laws, which were the expression of an order of things which time had either altered or abolished, no longer harmonizing with the manners, customs, or interests of society, became a subject of equal embarrassment to those governments whose sole means of power they constituted, as well as to the people, whose only guarantee they were against trou-

* Two Letters to Earl Grey, &c. Compare also, Colonel Arthur's Letters to the Archbishop of Dublin.

bles and disorders. The necessity was at once felt of modifying the constitutions of states; and it can be well conceived with what avidity such a book, at such a period, was perused and studied; presenting as it does a compendium of the experience of centuries in regard to the science of legislation and government. In the sixth book, Montesquieu details, in various consecutive chapters, the rationale of crime and punishment; and such remarks were extremely valuable at a period when nations were exposed to the two perils of real constitutional government, a tyrannical oligarchy, and a turbulent democracy.

From the time of Paley the question of criminal reformation has been agitated in various ways; but from the troubled state of the period, coupled with the idea that the rigours of transportation, superadded as a pendant to capital punishment, were sufficient as a means to satisfy justice, the moral and ethnic character of the argument was rarely touched upon. Relaxation from foreign war, and comparative domestic tranquillity having supervened, those interested in the cause of humanity, had leisure to investigate the problem of criminality; and in studying the imperfect prison-statistics of that day, were enabled to bring before successive cabinets and the public, the errors and inadequacy of the existing system. In Jeremy Bentham, the inconsistencies of penal judicature found a stern and uncompromising denouncer. In the silence of his philosophic retreat, unbiassed by the desire of worldly gain or worldly glory, he laboured to cleanse the Augean stable, and remove the more prominent anomalies of the criminal code. He found still existing therein the same vindictive spirit, slightly modified, a modernized species of *lex talionis*, the same defectiveness of the means of repressing crime, and the same lukewarmness in all attempts at salutary reformation, which had been the constant source of grief and vexation to so many before him. All was confusion in principle, inconsistency in action.

“*Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum.*”

By his efforts, though slowly and reluctantly, society became convinced that governments were at fault; for the first time it was clearly seen that moral and social offences could be rationally treated by moral and social science alone; that the whole process of sanguinary and expeditious punishment, without reference to this end was vain,

ineffectual, abortive. At length the real element of redemption, the *principium* of prison discipline—reformation—was fairly introduced into the theory of criminality; and this purifying remedy, this *φάρμακον της ψυχης* (to use a fine expression of Plutarch,) has been energetically insisted on by the followers of Bentham, and is one of the prominent ideas which run through the whole of the criminal reports prefixed to this article.*

To a reflecting mind, it is somewhat curious to observe that this theory of reformation, one so natural and simple, should only have been practically developed in comparatively recent times, and then only when the other two favourite schemes had signally failed in diminishing the statistical aggregate of crime. The efforts of the moralist, statesman, and publicist, in their investigations on criminality, may be expressed in the following series. *Retribution*: an amount of pain, irrespective of any moral effect to be produced on the offender, for an amount of crime. *Example*: that gibbets and galley-chains, and the sight of suffering and degraded co-partners in guilt, might deter for the future, the wretched being whose ignorance, and evil passions unrestrained, make callous to all such terrible apparatus. *Reformation*: the appliance of a milder code; the enlisting of morality, and all the best and holiest sympathies of religion and humanity in the cause of spiritual misery and physical want, and that primal source of all crime—ignorance; the keeping alive that sacred fire of hope, which softly whispers to us that no human being, the image of his Creator, though profaned and darkened by the clouds of sin, is beyond the power of repentance and change; and though each offence be as red as scarlet, yet the saving waters of religion can make them whiter than snow. Religious education, therefore, the school, and the advice and example of zealous and devoted men, in whom the Catholic Church, our beloved mother, is now, and ever has been, fruitful. “*Magna parens virum!*” will be found a cheaper machinery of prevention than the prison, the hulk, or the scaffold. Having thus briefly traced the state of this important question to the present time, we will

* Compare Bentham's *Théorie des Peines*, edited by Dumont, with M. Leon Faucher,—*Letters on Prison Reform*.—*Journal General des Tribunaux*, and the *Système Penitentiaire* of M. M. de Beaumont and de Tocqueville.

rapidly analyze the various statistical reports, which is the real purport of this article.

Mr. John Williams, Inspector of Prisons for the Home District, commences his voluminous, though admirable report in the following manner:—"Referring to the accompanying General Digest of Gaol Returns, I regret to observe that the number of prisoners for the year 1848 has exceeded that of 1847 by no less a number than 19,488." We must remark that the Home District includes the counties of Middlesex, Surry, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Kent, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, and Essex. He thus proceeds: "There is an increase in all the classes of summary convictions in 1848 over 1847, with the exception of military and larceny prisoners. The increase on each class, between 1847 and 1848, without reference to the estimated population, is as follows: Game Laws, 31.2, Revenue Laws, 40.9, Bastardy Laws, 34.4, Vagrant act, 23.6, Malicious trespass act, 23.8, Police acts, 16.1, Assaults, 23.7, Want of sureties, 37.4, Reputed thieves, 23.2, and all not included in the proceeding classes, 30.1 per cent. The last class, (not before included,) contains for 1848, the new headings, 'Poor Law Acts,' 5.360, and the Juvenile Offenders Act,' 1.381,' (6,741 prisoners,) which occasions the increase under the last-mentioned heading. The increase on the total of England and Wales amounts to 6.8 per cent, with reference to tried prisoners, in 1847-8, and summary convictions 24.9 per cent."—*p.* 3.

With regard to the North Eastern District, comprising the counties of Cambridge, Chester, Derby, Huntingdon, Lancaster, Lincoln, Nottingham, Norfolk, Rutland, Suffolk, and York, Mr. Inspector Hill observes:

"The average number of prisoners in my district last year, was even greater than in the year 1848; the numbers being 6,010 in 1848, and 6,254 in 1849. Part of the increase, however, is owing to there having been a greater number of transports in the prisons, waiting for removal, in 1849 than in 1848; and it is satisfactory to be able to state, that since trade has improved, the number of prisoners has diminished."

This statement refers to Wakefield district only.

In speaking of Scotland, Mr. Inspector Kincaid writes:

"I regret to remark, that there has been no diminution in the amount of crime in this district. I showed in my last report, that

after a considerable annual increase during the preceding three years, the criminal convictions in Scotland amounted in 1848 to 17,402; they have during the past year swelled to 19,209; and if we take the number of committals instead of convictions, they amount to the number of 25,953."—p. 6.

This was written, January 31st, 1850.

The connection between pauperism and crime is now generally admitted,* and when we take into consideration the annual charge upon the country for establishments for the suppression of crime, computed to amount to £2,079,204, the following table, compiled by Mr. Symons, (Minutes 1847-8-9. p. 223,) will assume a most significant importance, inasmuch as every rate-payer will at once see that it should be his moral and political aim to reduce this heavy and unsatisfactory burthen.

“Number of paupers relieved, including children, in the following years, with the ratio per cent. of total number to the whole population in England and Wales.

Years.	Total number of paupers.	Ratio per cent to population	No. of persons committed for trial for thefts.	Amount of poor-rates collected.
1845	1,470,970	8.8	29,977	£ 6,791,006
1846	1,332,089	7.9	21,542	£ 6,800,623
1847	1,721,350	10.1	25,303	£ 6,964,825
1848	1,876,541	10.8	26,082	£ 7,817,430

There is another important table, (Digest of Criminal Returns, p. 174, Home District Report, 1850,) which throws considerable light on the sources of vice and crime, and manifests also that something more than police courts, prisons, and ragged schools, are necessary to arrest this dark and mischievous state of things, and root out this evil which has so long preyed on the general economy of society. To use the words of Inspector Kincaid, in his letter to the General Board of Scotland, in 1847:—“I cannot too often press this important fact on the notice of magistrates and communities, to show that if they would keep their prisons empty, the work of reform must be commenced out of doors; communities, by *compelling worthless parents to do their duty*, and by the aid of

* See Neison. Statistics of Crime. Minutes of Committee of Council on Education, 1847-8, vol. 2, p. 308.

industrial schools, protecting neglected children; and magistrates, by never committing them to prison until it has been clearly shown that every proper attempt to reclaim them had been made in vain.”*

“Table No. 7, showing the state of instruction of the total number of prisoners for trial, or tried at the Assizes and Sessions in England and Wales, in the course of the year 1848.

Adult Offenders— <i>i. e.</i> , prisoners of 17 years of age and upwards. Juve- nile offenders— <i>i. e.</i> prisoners under 17 years of age.	Can neither read nor write.		Can read only.		Can read or write, or both imperfectly.		Can read and write well.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Total Adult.....	6412	1952	4631	1699	8402	1495	2168	270
Total Juvenile.....	934	198	658	150	830	115	113	8
Total Adult and Juvenile	7346	2150	5289	1849	9232	1610	2281	278
Grand Total of both sexes.....	9496		7138		10,892		2559	

The number of criminals executed and transported in England and Wales during the year 1848, was as follows: Executed, nine males and two females,—11. Transported for periods varying from seven years to punishment for life: total, males, 2806; females, 401,—3207. In these general summaries, there is no specification of the different religions of the various criminals. There is, however, a return, (Home District, p. 31.) from the House of Correction at Westminster, Tothill-fields, of the different religious persuasions of the prisoners, from June 1, 1848, to May 31, 1849.†

* Compare also a valuable paper read by J. Fletcher, Esq., at the Statistical Society, March 18th, 1850, “On the Police of the Metropolis, and its uses in the repression of Juvenile crime.”

† The Governor remarks in his evidence, “The ordinary proportion of Catholic prisoners to Protestants, during late years, has been about half of the former to the latter; it was formerly one third, but has thus increased since the great increase in the commitments of Irish paupers under the Vagrant Act.

RELIGIONS.	Jun 1848	Jul. 1848	Aug 1848	Sep 1848	Oct. 1848	Nov 1848	Dec 1848	Jan 1849	Feb 1849	Mar 1849	Apr 1849	Ma. 1849
Church of England	424	386	393	438	488	499	592	436	579	532	501	443
Roman Catholic	279	263	241	242	275	281	261	272	296	299	281	291
Dissenters.....	16	13	15	19	12	16	17	17	22	20	17	11

It is, after all, a questionable matter whether the present discipline of prisons, more improved, more simplified and severe though it be, is really the instrument of any ultimate good, as far as the prevention of crime and the amelioration of the criminal is concerned. The words with which Mr. Inspector Hill concludes his Report of the Northern and Eastern districts, have a painful signification indeed. "It will appear from the statement I have been compelled to make, that in the majority of prisons in my present district, there can be no rational hope that the inmates are morally benefited by their imprisonment, or that they even leave the prison in as good a state as they entered it." This inference is confirmed in a still more forcible manner by the statement of the Chaplain of the Great Yarmouth prison, (p. 42.) "Under all the circumstances of this prison, it is a fearful task to attempt to effect the moral improvement of the prisoners. A boy of good character would be probably ruined by being sent to the prison. He would pass most of his time in idleness,*

* As curiosities of prison literature, we beg to append the following facts, collected from the various Reports. It will be particularly interesting at the present moment, when the cries of the distressed needlewomen, the wrongs and miseries of that wretched class of tailors called "sweaters," and the starvation of thousands of houseless Irishmen, form so melancholy a feature in this era of advanced civilization, to see that prisoners, whose diet is abundant and carefully inspected, who have air-warmed cells, surgeons and chaplains, for their bodily and spiritual wants, do, in some prisons, in mid-winter, consume 14 hours out of the 24 in bed, yet such is the case.

Beccles House of Correction, (Report, p. 91.) "No artificial light is supplied, and the prisoners consequently pass a great deal of time in bed; in mid-winter, about fifteen hours out of the twenty-four."

County and Borough Prison, Boston, Lincolnshire, (Report, p. 135.) "Even in summer, the prisoners pass nearly eleven hours out of the twenty-four in bed, and in winter still more time is lost in sloth."

and in corrupting society. If a prisoner be disposed to penitence and serious reflection, he is mocked and jeered by his associates.....I think it a great evil that men and boys should ever be put together in prison; both are injured; the men are ashamed to show penitence before the boys, and the boys are tempted to brave the matter out in the presence of the men.”

There is a curious passage, closely bearing on the same subject, in Mr. Inspector Kincaid's Report on Scotland. (p. 18.) Speaking of the unsatisfactory condition of the prison of Edinburgh, in which the association of prisoners make it a nursery for crime rather than a house for correction or reformation, he says:

“It has been a subject of remark in previous reports, that this prison forms an exception, the females generally out-numbering the males; and I have just received from the intelligent governor, Mr. Smith, some statistical information on that head, which cannot fail to be read with painful interest.

“It appears from the Parliamentary Report of the population at last census, that the excess of females over males in Edinburgh was upwards of 15000, and that 800 females are annually committed to prison for the first time. This is a lamentable state of things, but not much to be wondered at when we consider that such an excess of females exists in a city containing, probably, not more than 150,000 inhabitants, and that 10,000 of those females are between the age of fifteen and thirty-five, the period of life at which all the energies or passions of women are most strongly influenced; and as there are no manufactories, or other employment, to which a large

Nottingham County Prison, (Report, p. 179.) “There is no artificial light, and consequently the prisoners pass far too much time in bed; the time in mid-winter being about fifteen hours out of the twenty-four.”

Cambridge Borough Prison, (Report, p. 203.) “Artificial light is not provided; in mid-winter the prisoners pass not less than fourteen hours out of the twenty-four in bed.” In the Cambridge County Prison the time is fifteen hours out of the twenty-four. (Report, p. 209.)

Even in Middlesex, (Borough Compter, Report Home District, p. 8,) we find: “the women rise at six, breakfast at eight, dine at one, sup at half-past five, and are locked up at six. I think, considering that gas has been introduced into all the wards, the prisoners ought to be kept up until a later hour. I know nothing which tends more to the confirmation of indolent habits, than this long lying in bed, &c.”

portion of them can possibly turn themselves to useful account, however desirous they may be to do so, it can scarcely be wondered that so many should sink into misery and want, and from indigence to crime."

To turn, for a moment, to an analogous subject of comparison,—the unions and workhouses; these disclose a state of things more melancholy to behold than even the prisons themselves. The Rev. Mr. Richson, in his able pamphlet at the head of this article, has dwelt in indignant terms on these hot-beds of incipient debauchery and moral delinquency. The reporters on pauper education are still more painfully emphatic. Mr. Ruddock, in his Report, (p. 68,) publishes a letter from the chaplain of one the workhouses in his district, (the South of England,) which is worthy of the most serious consideration.

"During the time I have been chaplain to this Union, now twelve years, I do not remember more than two or three instances of girls from the school who have conducted themselves well, and remained in their places of service, many, no doubt, I have altogether lost sight of; but many, I am sorry to say, when they have been provided with places, almost immediately return to the workhouse, or what is worse, they take to abandoned courses, as our streets at night but too fully testify, and become utterly lost. These periodically enter the House, and serve as a sort of nest-egg of corruption and contamination to the others. It is probable that some of the boys may have turned out well. I do not remember, however, more than two; whilst, I grieve to say, that no less than seven, after undergoing various degrees of punishment, for thefts and other offences, were transported. This is a melancholy tale to tell, but I see no end to it so long as the present incomplete system of workhouse education is pursued."

Mr. Tufnell contributes his evidence to the same unhal- lowed position of the poor. In his Report on the *Metropolitan district*, (p. 6, 7, &c.) he says:

"One of the most serious evils from placing all classes of paupers in one workhouse, arises from the contamination of morals, owing to the intercourse between the adult and the young.....The character of able women in workhouses is well known to be the lowest of the low; and where girls who have been brought up in these establishments take immoral courses, I have little doubt the contamination could, in most cases, be traced to some such intercourse."

Mr. Bowyer, in his Report on the *Midland district*, states: (p. 84.)

“The accounts I received of the conduct of the girls on leaving the workhouse, were invariably favourable or unfavourable, in the same measure as their separation from the able-bodied women was effectual or the contrary; but from enquiries I have made, I am led to fear that a large proportion of those belonging to urban unions, fall into prostitution.”

Mr. Brown, (*Northern District*, p. 161) and Mr. Symons (*Wales and the Western District*, pp. 231, 2, &c.) continue this painful though conclusive testimony. The latter gentleman writes:—

“The deficient means which exist, even in the best regulated workhouses, for dissevering the children from the corrupting association of the adult paupers, constitute a formidable impediment to the moral and intellectual training of the children. It is impossible to overstate this evil; it is a perpetual and active source of demoralization; it is irremediable so long as the children remain in the workhouses.”

Here, then, are facts, convergent and positive, put forth under the sanction of government, by the government reporters. If such is the dreadful gulf yawning at the feet of the protestant children, who are supposed to receive the especial attention of the superintendants and chaplains of these workhouses, what must be the position of the unfortunate Catholic poor? It is indeed true, that by 4 & 5 Will. IV., c. 76, sec. 19, it is enacted,

“That no rules, orders, or regulations of the Commissioners, nor any bye-laws at present in force, or to be hereafter made, shall authorise the education of any child in such workhouse, in any religious creed other than that professed by the parents or surviving parent of such child, and to which such parent or parents shall object; or, in the case of an orphan, to which the godfather or godmother of such orphan shall object; provided also that it shall and may be lawful for any licensed minister of the religious persuasion of any inmate of such workhouse, at all times of the day, at the request of such inmate, to visit such workhouse for the purpose of religious instruction.”

It is true that the commissioners, in their “General Consolidated Order,” art. 122, have carried out this 19th section of the act;* yet it is no less true, that under this

* Lumley, Note on 4 and 5 Will. IV. c. 76, sec. 46; and notes on General Consolidation Order, p. 66, &c.

seeming guise of the fullest religious freedom, the Act is reluctantly carried out, and many obstacles are thrown in the way of the Catholic and his pastor, by the ever-during hate of Catholicism, and the “*veteris vestigia flammæ*” of the bigotry and intolerance of past days. The attention of the public is not as yet sufficiently alive to these appalling statistics of the moral abandonment existing in workhouse and prison; because the machine progresses noiselessly, they fancy that all is well. These details of thousands of souls spiritually and morally wasting and corrupting, is a theme not sufficiently piquant for their curiosity; it needs some atrocious act of some ruthless offender to cause reflection to vibrate for a moment, and even then, if they pause and consider, they shrink back from the hideous spectacle, shift all responsibility on others, and *hope* that crime will diminish, and that poverty will disappear. The Howards, the Frys, the Chisholms, are bright particular stars, that beam but too rarely over this gloomy chaos of human depravity. Yet at the present hour, when from all parts of the empire the stream of pauperism is swelling into London, and the fever-blood of crime seems to be pouring through every vein and artery of the greatest commercial city of the world,

*ἵνα συμπαντα
κακὰ κακῶν ξυνοικέι.*

a propitious opportunity is offered to commence this moral reform in the tender germs of society, those wretched children, whom want and misery have made dwarfish in mind as well as in body, and who progress into manhood in the commission of crime and the enduring of punishment, a burden to the State, and a torment to any penal colony. The plan of Mr. Sheriff Watson of Aberdeen, the distinguished founder of the “*Industrial Schools*,” for reforming the troops of vagrant children that prey upon the public, is worthy the most serious consideration. In a recently published letter he says:—

“The importance of industrial school training is now universally acknowledged; and if it were faithfully and systematically carried out, would form a centre of attraction to all classes of the community. The poor would learn that they were loved, esteemed, and trusted; and the rich would feel that it was more blessed to give than to receive, and it would soon become manifest that the widows’ prayers and the orphans’ thanks, were of more avail in warding off

national convulsion, than all the purchased batons and bayonets of the empire."*

One of the most interesting features in these various and voluminous reports, are the extracts from the "Remark-Books" of the different chaplains attached to the prisons. The system of religious instruction followed by them, its effects upon the uneducated criminals, their confessions of the causes and curious mechanism of their crimes, is amply detailed, and furnishes new data for the essential work of reformation. The following sketch of a boy's career in vice, communicated by the chaplain of the Giltspur Street Compter, is full of painful incident, and demonstrates the similar progress of thousands.

"James L.'s father was a soldier, and died when he was very young, leaving his mother unprovided for, with James, who was the only child. The only means of her support was obtained by begging in the streets. She died about nine years ago, and was buried by the parish of Whitechapel. James consequently was left very young without any one to look after him; he soon fell among thieves, and was taken to Wentworth Street, Whitechapel, to a house where he was boarded and lodged for six months, when he was taught to pick pockets, or, as he calls it, 'paltroning.' He

* The Liverpool Industrial Schools opened at Kirkdale, May, 1845, at a cost of £32,000, which was borne by the Parish, forms a grand feature in the cause of education and morality. It was found that the juvenile pauperism of Liverpool was so largely on the increase, that the workhouses were incapable of accommodating it. Schools, where the young children might be located apart from the adult paupers, and educated in religion, reading, and the common and useful trades, were opened, and commenced with about 300 to 400 scholars. At present they contain 1123 inmates, 640 boys, and 483 girls. The annual cost to the parish for their support, &c., is about £10,483. Mr. Rushton, the able and humane magistrate of Liverpool, in a valuable letter addressed to the Town Council on the 28th of February last, on the question of Juvenile Crime in the Town of Liverpool, states:—"he knows of no institution which has done more good—whether the good be estimated by the blessings it has conferred upon the inmates, or by the evil it has prevented to the community." He also says: "By the 3 and 4 Victoria, cap. 90, the Lord Chancellor of England may assign the persons of all children convicted of felony, to the custody of any persons who are willing to take charge of them until they are 21 years of age. Children of this description, if taken, could easily be reformed. The worst juvenile criminals are always the most clever and intelligent; stupid children make bad thieves."

says that there were twenty more boys kept besides himself for the same purpose, by a man and a woman who lived by their plunder. Daily the woman dressed herself, put a bell in her pocket, also a purse containing sixpence, any of the pupils who could pick her pocket without causing the bell to tingle, got the sixpence as a reward for his dexterity. Thus he remained until he was a proficient pickpocket. His first attempt in the streets was in the Whitechapel Road; he picked a lady's pocket of a purse containing five pounds two shillings. The next was in Lombard Street; he robbed a gentleman of one hundred and fifty pounds in bank notes, which he immediately took to a Jew in Petticoat Lane, who gave him £20 in gold for the notes: this person also receives all kinds of valuable plate, and has a furnace for melting it down as soon as he receives it. He shortly after this left London for Nottingham, taking with him a quantity of counterfeit half-sovereigns; a companion went with him, the one carried the bad money, and the other passed it off in the following manner. He would go into a shop, ask for some trifling article worth a shilling, and give a good half-sovereign. After the money was examined, he would say, I am afraid the article is too dear: he would make the excuse, I had better go and ask my master whether he would give the price; in a few minutes return in a hurry, and say he must have it, throw down a bad half-sovereign, which the shopkeeper would take without a second examination. That is what he calls 'shuffle-pitching,' and often by such a transaction, he would try 'ringing changes.' When he got the change from the shopman, he would pull a bad half-sovereign out of the sleeve of his coat, bite it between his teeth, ask the shopman if it was a good one, and in this way cheat the tradesman a second time. Thus he went on through the country, Manchester, Liverpool, and on to Wales, back to London. Left London, travelled through the country, and went to Ireland. During his travels he was once committed to Dublin prison, once to Kilmainham, three times to Carmarthen, South Wales, twice to Liverpool once to Nottingham, twice to Southwall, twice to Chester city, twice to Chester Castle, once in Stafford jail, twice to Cardiff, three times to Brixton, three times to the Compter, once to the city Bridewell, once to Tothill-fields, once to Kingston-on-Thames, and in Newgate. The number of times he has been in the hands of the police and station-houses he cannot reckon up. It was while he was in the Compter prison he became so unhappy he could not sleep at night, which led him to ask your assistance to get him out of the awful life he was leading. The crimes he has committed would fill a volume; of which, he has told me, he is deeply sensible of his awful guilt."—Home District Report, p. 4.

This was a youth of nineteen years of age; to his long eventful history we will subjoin, for the sake of contrast, the case of J. H., sixty-five years of age, who was commit-

ted for three months' hard labour to Bridewell for stealing a ragged quilt worth two-pence. The chaplain makes the following remarks on this disciple of the modern Proudhon school:—

“Can read and write; he has an annuity of 12s. a week, but it has not been paid to him for the last eleven weeks. He says necessity compelled him to do what he did, and that he believes if people can't live by honest means, they must live by dishonest; and that Providence has so constituted us, that we must be fed, and that in a land of plenty we are at liberty to take for this purpose what is not given us.”—p. 10.

The method of conveying religious instruction is after a fixed routine, in which the memory, rather than the understanding, seems to be called into play, degenerating, in many instances, into mere learning by rote. The Rev. Mr. Field, chaplain of Reading gaol, and author of “*Prison Discipline*,” whose system has been adopted by the Berkshire magistrates, subordinates labour and punishment to mere religious teaching. He says:—

“It has been my earnest desire that the very letter of the Holy Scriptures should be deeply impressed on the minds of prisoners; and I have been surprised, as well as pleased, at the readiness and accuracy with which considerable portions have been committed to memory. Several at this time can repeat the Four Gospels, and some will, ere long, have learnt the whole of the New Testament by heart.”

This, indeed, is a cold and formal method of imparting the real value of religious truth, that stirring of the soul, that inward resuscitation, that thrilling of every fibre, until repentance becomes an ardent burning, an unquenchable longing, such as we see every day in the poorest of our Catholic chapels, in the zealous and fervent ministration of a priest, who has no object in view but the honour of God and the salvation of souls, no government patronage to expect, but the simple reward that is afforded by the conscientious fulfilment of his sacred task. Truly this ostentatious exercise of memory, so highly lauded by the author of “*Prison discipline*,” recalls the words of St. Anselm, when characterising Abelard: “*Vana eruditio, doctrina sine spiritu, folia sine fructu.*” Beautiful indeed is that precept of our world-enlightening Catholic creed, by which every action, in silent humility, is referred to God alone, and by which every hour of our lives is sanctified by

the thought that there is a sweet intercommunion of blessed spirits between heaven and earth, cheering on and watching over the virtuous, softly tempering and correcting the falterer in duty, and evoking the sincere aspirations of the penitent heart, not contented with a frigid and unsalutary lip-service. It is indeed the realization of the spiritual sentiment of Novalis, "Unser ganzes Leben ist Gottesdienst."

In analysing these criminal Reports, there is one fertile source of crime which everywhere protrudes its ghastly form,—a vicious self-indulgence, which it is of paramount importance to grapple with and subdue,—drunkenness. The chaplain of Aberdeen Prison remarks:—

"During the quarter, (June to September, 1849), two hundred persons have been convicted and imprisoned; the prompting cause of their offences have been,

Drunkenness	143
Idleness and bad company	25
Covetousness	14
Poverty	12
Irritability, &c.	6
Total,	<hr/> 200

Quarter after quarter the same lamentable fact comes out, that drink is the cause of about two-thirds of all the offences committed." —Report, Scotland, p. 2.

The chaplain of the Preston House of Correction, in his elaborate Report, confirms the above statement. He writes:—

"Though it may be almost unnecessary to say, that ignorance and irreligion are the causes which lead to crime, and that in proportion as they are removed, crime will disappear; it may be useful to advert once more to the intermediate or secondary causes, brought into activity by the primary ones just named, and so generally admitted—viz: idleness, parental neglect, desecration of the sabbath, and mingling with all other causes, yet *predominating above them—drunkenness!* I believe that but for this besetting sin, the population of North Lancashire would exhibit virtues of the highest order. This opinion is justified by the present state of things. Suffering under difficulties almost unprecedented in their history, their conduct involves moral phenomena of a significant, and, in many respects, of a most hopeful character. Never within the term of my chaplaincy, have the combined evils of scarcity of food and scarcity of employ pressed so heavily on them as during the last winter; and never—to the credit of thousands of sufferers—

have offenders, pleading distress for their faults, been fewer in number. On several former occasions I have adduced evidence to show, that our population is much more capable of facing the temptations which press upon them, when straitened by poverty, than those which beset them when they can indulge in drink. An examination of the records which I have kept for many years, assures me, that the offences for which distress is *pleaded*, are exceeded five-fold by those in which drunkenness is *admitted*. During the last year I have examined more carefully the alleged pleas of distress, in order to note the *fact* rather than the *excuse*; and the tables in the appendix (Nos. 13 and 14) show, that while only *seventeen* felonious offences could be attributed to distress—that being, in many cases, the consequence of drink or idleness—one hundred and *seventeen* were undoubtedly caused by drunkenness.”

There is hardly a page of criminal statistics which does not afford the same testimony. The pertinacity displayed, and the ingenuity exercised by various individuals, females for the most part, in order to introduce this fatal poison into the prisons, in spite of the certain heavy fine attendant on discovery, strangely exemplifies the force of this ruling passion for drink. To select one instance out of a thousand:—

“—— August 14, 1849. A box arrived per train to-day, addressed to a debtor, J. M., and apparently containing nothing but wearing apparel; the turnkey discovered that the box had a false bottom, under which were concealed two tin canisters of spirits.”—Lancashire Gaol Report, p. 237.

There is another important point to which it is necessary to advert before terminating this article,—the return which penal labour produces, to meet in some degree the costly and exorbitant expenditure for prisons and reformatory establishments. The conflicting opinions which prevail as to the most advantageous mode of employing criminals in gaols, render it extremely difficult to form an exact estimate. Any one conversant with the subject, will not fail to observe that there subsists, as it were, a cycle of systems, each, until very lately, recurring and predominating for a time. The *Social*, as exemplified in Cold-bath-fields, the *Separate*, in Pentonville prison, are the two grand plans into which are gradually merging the incoherent varieties which have so long occupied public attention. In the general summary of Table 24, appended to the Report of the Home District, (pp. 177—8.) we find that

the daily average number of prisoners in England and Wales in the course of the year, is,

Males	13 857
Females... ..	2 770
Total,	16 627

The total expenditure of the above prisons in the course of the year 1848, was £462 936 15s. 6½d. Average total cost per head per annum, £27 16s. 10d. Average total cost per head per day, 1s. 6½d. The profits arising from productive labour in the prisons of England and Wales during the same period were £15 407 16s. 10½d. Average earnings of each prisoner per annum, 18s. 6½d. Convicts, of course, are not included in these tables; but in his admirable Report on the Prison of Portland, Lieut. Col. Jebb has prefaced his account of the value of convict labour, (which will enable our readers to compare it with that of other kinds of criminals), by some very important remarks.

“There can be no question that, if it be necessary, from any cause, to carry into effect probationary periods of discipline in this country, and that in consequence, a body of 10 000 or 12 000 men are to be maintained by Government, they ought to be usefully employed. This, as a matter of *Finance*, will not, in the opinion of some, be regarded as the least of the questions to be considered, and by all will be acknowledged to be of some importance.

“If the least amount of money paid for the maintenance of convicts, who by sentence of the law are placed at the mercy and disposal of the Crown, were to be the test of a good system, it were easy to make them profitable to the State. A handful of soldiers to quell open mutiny, and a small but resolute staff of turnkeys to lock and unlock the strong rooms in which the men might be secured, would not cost much, and on suitable works the value of their labour would certainly exceed the cost of such maintenance.

“But in this Christian land, such modes of discharging the responsibility of acquired authority, will never again be tolerated; and in realising all that is possible in order to reduce the cost, the moral discipline and industrial training must be provided for, no matter what the expense. And it is satisfactory to reflect that the more judicious the arrangements for obtaining the willing industry of the convicts, the more effectually will those objects be promoted. It may, therefore, turn out that the administration of a reformatory system may also be found to be the cheapest, as well as the best.”—p. 32.

From the 1st January to December 29th, 1849, there was a daily average of 490 prisoners, and deducting those

at school, sick, &c., amounting altogether to about one-fifth of the whole, also loss by wet weather, the amount which was earned for or saved to Government, was £.8,051 14s. 7½d., about £.16 per man. In the estimates for 1850—1, the total value of the labour is estimated at £.15,000, or about £.18 per man.—pp. 34, 54.

Here we end. Though this spectacle of the degradation of our common human nature, this view of the sublimely-gifted human soul bowed down and crushed beneath the weight of sin and crime, has awakened many a painful thought and bitter reflection during our investigation of these prison-statistics; yet there is an echo of joy and exultation swelling in our bosom, because we see at hand the ready instrument of reformation and redemption in the zealous ministers and spiritualising doctrines of the church of all nations—the Holy Catholic Church! If in the day of her gloom and adversity she could effect so much, now that the stormy clouds that darkened her whole horizon are rolling away and gradually unfolding a heaven of purer and more serene beauty, can we for a moment fancy that her noble efforts will be inadequate in this crisis of opinions, in this struggle of classes which has succeeded that of races? Oh! No. Already have her schools expanded on every side, and in them is found the ‘*divinum particulum*’ of *religious* education, which will purify and ennoble each succeeding generation. This then is the propitious moment for stronger and wider union in the cause of Catholic education, for it is the moment of the manifestation of the spiritual cause of the poor entering into alliance with the highest philosophy of the age. Already are the numerous and watchful pioneers of infidelity girding themselves for the propagation of their ideas of secular knowledge, whilst endeavouring to wrest from the only legitimate dispensers of truth and morality,—the spiritual guides and pastors of the church,—their due share in this momentous task.* It therefore, behoves us more than ever to arise, to awake and prevent such unhallowed dismemberment. For what would our children gain? We

* In conjunction with Mr. Fox’s bill on Education, the recently published pamphlet of Bishop Ullathorne should be read. The Catholics, too, are much indebted to Lord Arundel and Surrey, for his Christian speech on the second reading of this bill in the House, April 17th. That of Lord John Russell, was coldly moral.

will answer in the words of Socrates, confounding the Sophists of his own day at a similar conjuncture:—"You are providing for disciples a show of wisdom, but not the reality. For hearing a variety of information, without any real instruction, they will seem to possess general knowledge, while in reality the greater part will have no knowledge at all, and consequently will be intolerant of others, and very troublesome people to deal with, having an affectation of wisdom and nothing more." The teacher now, must be like the true Poet, the elevator of the generation he addresses into a higher sphere of thought; the man of heavenward aspirations and deep-seated and unfaltering faith. In these, the Church has never been wanting even in the midst of her bloodiest trials. Now, while an anarchy of civil principles is overshadowing the glory and happiness of the continental states; while at home the political Church of England is shaken to its centre by the speculations of its followers, who, sincere in the pursuit of truth, yet stop in their mid-career, and cling to any fallacy that is flung to them by the surging waters of an unrestrained and precipitous theory of private interpretation;* the Catholic Church of England must now add another benefit to all those it has already conferred on society, by extending the sphere of religious education, by forming a new and vigorous race, who by action and by example, will tend to neutralize the discrepancies of penal jurisprudence, and from the anomalies of present systems, consolidate one majestic and harmonious whole of virtue, intelligence, and independence.

ART. IV.—1. *Nineveh and its remains : with an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezedis, or Devil Worshipers ; and an inquiry into the manners and arts of the Ancient Assyrians.* By AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, Esq., D.C.L. London : John Murray. 1849.

* "Ad quameunque disciplinam, velut tempestate delati, tanquam ad saxum adhærescunt."—Cicero, Quæst. Acad. 4.

- 2.—*Monuments of Ninive*, by the same author. London: Murray. 1849.
- 3.—*Monument de Ninive decouvert et decrit*, par M. P. E. BOTTA, mesuré et dessiné par M. E. FLANDIN; ouvrage publié par ordre du Gouvernement. Guide, &c., &c., Editeurs. Paris, 1849—50.

THESE three works have been brought out in a style of beauty and magnificence which does honour to the presses of England and of France. M. Botta's work is by far the most magnificent book of the kind we have ever seen. The illustrations are splendidly executed; and the vast collection of cuneiform inscriptions which it contains has been printed in so elegant a manner, as to make the whole page resemble a picture. We have not yet seen the entire of M. Botta's work, which has been issued in numbers; but what we have seen is so vast, that it has been divided for convenience into five great volumes, of which the letter press occupies a very inconsiderable portion.

My Layard has published two works. The greater of these is one magnificent volume, which is occupied by illustrations of the monuments which he discovered, and by cuneiform inscriptions. In point of execution, this volume is almost equal to M. Botta's work; but it can bear no comparison with it in regard to magnitude. Mr. Layard's other work occupies two handsome octavo volumes, and contains a history of his discoveries and adventures in Assyria, with numerous beautiful illustrations. It must not be forgotten when comparing these works, in regard to the style and magnificence with which they have been brought before the public, that the results of M. Botta's labours and discoveries have been published by the French government; whilst those of Mr. Layard owe their appearance to the private enterprise of John Murray.

We have, however, been attracted to these works, far more by the subject of which they treat, than by the splendid dress in which they appear; for whatever throws even the faintest light upon the history of Ninive, "the great city of three days' journey," must be of the deepest interest. It was the only heathen city to which the Almighty sent an inspired prophet, before the Saviour of all mankind came upon earth, and broke down the wall of separation between Jew and Gentile. Here Jonas preached more than twenty-six centuries ago, and proclaimed in the name of the Most High, "yet forty days and Ninive shall be destroyed." The Ninivites then "did penance, fasting in

sackcloth and in ashes; and God, being patient and merciful, and of much compassion, and easy to forgive evil, was turned away from his fierce anger, and they did not perish." But two centuries later, Ninive was taken and totally destroyed by the combined armies of Cyazeres, king of Persia and Media, and Nabopolassar, king, or Assyrian governor of Babylon. When Xenophon passed through Assyria twenty-two centuries ago, the very name of Ninive seems to have been forgotten; and Mr. Layard is of opinion, that the ruined city which the Greek author calls Larissa,* and near which the ten thousand encamped, was even then the tomb of the palaces of the Assyrian kings.

Both Babylon and Ninive are mentioned in the tenth

* Anabasis, Lib. 3, cap. 4, No. 52. We are of opinion, not only that Ninive was buried in the earth in the time of Xenophon, but that its very name was forgotten, and that its memory would have totally perished had it not been mentioned in the sacred scriptures. It is impossible to conceive how Xenophon could have mistaken the name of Ninive for Larissa, to which it bears no resemblance. Besides, there is another city mentioned in the tenth chapter and twelfth verse of Genesis called Resen, which stood between Ninive and Chale. It is well known to every Hebrew scholar, that the syllable La is frequently used instead of the article. For instance, (4 Kings, xvii, 6, and xviii. 11), we are told that when the King of the Assyrians took Samaria, he carried away Israel and placed them in Hala and Habor; whereas, (1 Paralip. v. 26,) the places to which they were brought are called *Lahela* and Habor. In the same manner, prefixing La, Resen becomes Laressen, which is almost identical with Larissa. We think Mr. Layard must not have known these philological grounds when he pronounced them to be inadequate. (Vol. 1. p. 5, note.) The philological argument receives a strong confirmation from a fact stated in the scripture and by Xenophon. The inspired writer calls Hala and Habor, the cities in which the king of Assyria placed Israel, "the cities of the Medes," (4 Kings, xvii. 6); and Xenophon says in the place already referred to, that the Medes anciently inhabited Larissa. We think it however extremely probable, although Ninive and Resen, or Laressen, were certainly distinct, but neighbouring cities at the time of their foundation, (Gen. x. 12,) that Ninive extended to, and in time swallowed up, Resen; and that although the latter retained its proper appellation within its own precincts, it was everywhere else considered a part, and known by the name of Ninive. The cities of London and Westminster form a very apt illustration of this theory.

chapter of the book of Genesis. It is there stated, that the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod, the stout hunter, was Babylon. The similarity of the names of the famous tower of Babal, and of the city of Babylon, the coincidence of the dates, and of the sites—for both were built in the plains of Sennaar, (Gen. 10 and 11), renders it extremely probable, that the tower which had been left unfinished on account of the confusion of tongues, was made the centre around which Nimrod built his mighty city. It is the common opinion that Nimrod is the Belus* of profane history, and that the Babylon mentioned in Genesis is the renowned city commenced by Belus, enlarged by his daughter-in-law, Semiramis, and adorned by Nebuchodonosor. Nimrod signifies a rebel, an apostate, and the person to whom the name is given in the sacred scripture, is well worthy of the appellation, if it be true, as is generally asserted, that he is the author of idolatry in relation to God, and of tyranny amongst men. Baal, or Bel, which is manifestly the same as Belus,† signifies lord; and it is probable that this name was given to Nimrod, either on account of his conquests whilst he was living, or after his death, when he began to be worshipped as a god. Indeed, Baal was a common name of the Pagan deities; and, for the sake of distinction, the name of the place where they were worshipped, or some other local appellation, was generally added to it; as Beel-Zephan, Beel-phegor, Beel-Zebub, Baal-Berit, Beel-Samen, Baal-Sehamaim, Baal-Herith, and many others.

There is a dispute amongst the learned, as to whether Nimrod is to be considered the founder of Ninive, as well as of Babylon. All the scripture says of the matter is, “out of that land (of Sennaar) came forth Assur and built Ninive, (Gen. x. 11.) We think the most probable reading of the passage is, “out of that land (of Sennaar) he (Nimrod) came forth into Assur, and built Ninive;” because, in the sixth verse of the same chapter, the sacred writer says that “the sons of Cham were ¹Chus and Mesraim;” and he continues to enumerate the descen-

* This is the opinion of Jerome, Augustine, and of many other ancient fathers of the church.

† See the 14th chapter of Daniel, where Belus, the god of the Babylonians, is called Bel.

dants of Chus, until, in the eighth verse, he mentions Nimrod. He then briefly gives the history of that famous person until the thirteenth verse, in which he returns to Mesrain, the brother of Chus, and mentions his posterity. According to this interpretation, Assur, or Assyria in the text, is the name of a country, and not of a man. It is not improbable that the country may have derived its name of Assyria from Assur, the son of Sem, and grandson of Noe. What we have just said is very strongly confirmed by a verse from the prophecy of Micheas. Speaking of Assyria, he says, "And they shall feed the land of Assur with the sword, and the land of Nimrod with the spears thereof; and he shall deliver us from the Assyrian." (Micheas v. 6.) In this passage Assyria is called the land of Nimrod, into which "the stout hunter" therefore penetrated, and most probably laid the foundations of "the great city." Although there were cities called Ninive in Syria and Persia, the word Assur, according to the interpretation which we have given to it, proves that the city mentioned in Genesis was that which stood upon the banks of the Tigris in Assyria.* If therefore we suppose that the deluge occurred in the year of the world 1656, and the confusion of tongues, and subsequent dispersion of the human race about 1800, A. M., Ninive must certainly have been founded before the year 1850, A. M.; and consequently more than twenty-one centuries before Christ.

It is not a little instructive to contrast the simple narrative of the scripture, which so well accords with what we are inclined to believe of those early times, with the ridiculous fables of profane authors, who pretend that Ninus † not only built Ninive, but also perfected it in a few years. Its length was one hundred and fifty stadia (about

* Profane writers ascribe the foundation of Ninive to Ninus, the son of Belus, or Nimrod. But in this, as in many other instances, Ninus may have called himself the founder of Ninive, because he enlarged and adorned what his father had begun. Moreover, Nimrod was called Ninvah, (Calmet Comment in Gen. x. 8,) which every one conversant with the laxity of early oriental writing, will consider sufficiently near Ninive, or Nineveh, to identify the two names.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. He frequently asserts that Ninive was built on the banks of the Euphrates, which is certainly false, for it stood upon the Tigris.

eighteen miles and three quarters); its breadth, ninety stadia (eleven miles and a quarter); and its circumference 480 stadia (sixty miles.) The walls were one hundred feet high, and so broad, that three chariots could go abreast upon them without inconvenience. The number and equipments of the armies of Ninus and his renowned consort, Semiramis, are equally absurd. Armies which, according to the relation of Ctesias,* consisted of 1,700,000 foot, 200,000 horse, and about 16,000 chariots, armed with scythes, were brought into distant countries, and opposed by equal armies in less than four hundred years after the deluge. Compare with these wild fables an incident related in the history of Abraham, (Gen. xiv.), which occurred nearly two centuries later. Nine kings led their followers to battle. We do not indeed find the name of the king of Ninive among them; but Amraphel, king of Sennaar, was one of the four invaders who routed the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and their three allies, and carried off all *their victuals*. Lot being among the captives, Abraham took with him three hundred and eighteen well appointed men, pursued the victors, attacked them by night, and put them to flight. On neither side did the spoils consist of camels, elephants, and chariots; but of captives, flocks, and victuals.

With one brief exception,† we have no further mention of the Assyrians in sacred scripture until after Ninive was taken by Arbases and Belesis, the revolted governors of Media and Babylonia. This event, which occurred about the year of the world 3257, (A.C. 747), caused the famous king Sardanapalus to seek a voluntary death rather than fall into the hands of the conquerors; and thus ended the first Assyrian empire. Not only their history, but the very names of the sovereigns who reigned in Ninive from Semiramis to Sardanapalus—a period occupying nearly twelve centuries—have been hitherto utterly unknown.

* Quoted in Rollin's Ancient Hist. vol. i. p. 106, Bohn's edition.

† 4 Kings, xv. 19, 20, where it is stated that Manahem, king of Israel, gave Phul, king of the Assyrians, 1000 talents to establish him in his kingdom, a.m. 3233, before Christ 771. It has been conjectured that this is the king of Ninive who repented with the entire city at the preaching of Jonah, and that he is the father of Sardanapalus, called, according to the custom of eastern nations, Sardan-pul; that is, Sardan, son of Pul. (Rollin Hist. of Assyrians.)

Indeed, the scanty notices of this renowned empire which occur in profane authors during this wide interval, have been chiefly, if not entirely, borrowed from the fragments of Ctesias;* and, unlike those which relate to Ninus and Semiramis, the absence of truth is not even compensated in any degree by the brilliancy of the fiction. We are indeed told that Troy was a dependancy of the Assyrian empire in the time of Priam, and that Teutames, the twentieth king after Ninyas, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, sent large succours to the Trojans. But so remarkable a fact could not, if true, have escaped Homer, who is a far more ancient author than any of those who relate it. From this period they pass at once to Sardinapalus, the last king whose luxury and effeminacy have furnished a fertile theme for the eloquence of all writers of Assyrian history. Some modern authors have endeavoured to rescue the memory of this prince from the infamy which has been heaped on it for so many ages; and even Mr. Layard labours to show that the very manner of his death is uncertain. We do not deny that some of the more romantic features of his reign had no existence, save in the imaginations of those who describe them; but the period approaches too near the time of authentic history, and the authors who relate the principal events of his inglorious life and unhappy death, are too grave and numerous to allow us to question their truth.

There were three kingdoms formed out of the ruins of the first Assyrian empire. Arbaces became king of the

* Mr. Layard copies the well-known passage of Aristotle, in which that author pronounces Ctesias to be unworthy of credit. Like Xenophon, he was of the number of the Greeks who followed Cyrus the younger in his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon, and therefore lived about the year 400 a.c. Being taken in the battle of Cunaxa, he lived for many years at the court of Artaxerxes, who appointed him his chief physician. He wrote the history of Persia in twenty-three books. The first six contained the history of the Assyrians from Ninus and Semiramis to Cyrus the elder. He tells the story of Teutames related in the text; but not only Plato, his contemporary, who says that Troy was a dependancy of Assyria in the time of Priam (*De legibus lib. 3*); but Homer, who lived at least two centuries before him, says nothing of these Assyrian warriors, although, as every body knows, he minutely describes all those who fought in those wars which shall live for ever in his imperishable song.

Medes, Relesis of the Assyrians of Babylon, and Ninus the Younger of Ninive. The last is supposed to be the same as Theglathphalasar, king of the Assyrians, who, on the invitation of Achaz, king of Juda, came to aid him against the kings of Syria and Israel, defeated them, took Damascus, the capital of Syria, slew its king, put an end to that kingdom, and added a considerable portion of Palestine to his dominions. (4 Kings, xvi., 7.) His successor, Salmanasar, took Samaria, made its king, Hosea, a prisoner, and destroyed the kingdom of Israel, after it had lasted 250 years. The history of his son, the famous Sennacherib, his victories over the kings of Egypt and Ethiopia, his conquests in Judea, his siege of Jerusalem, and the manner in which God delivered it by the sword of the destroying angel, who slew 185,000 of the Assyrians in one night, are familiar to every one conversant with sacred Scripture. (4 Kings, xviii., xix.) He commenced his reign about the year 717 before Christ, and seven years afterwards, perished miserably, by the hands of two of his own sons, Aramelech and Sarasar, whilst he was worshipping in the temple of his god, Nesrock. (4 Kings, xix. 37.) He was succeeded by another of his sons, called Esarhaddon.

The book of Judith also supplies us with a brief history of one other king of Ninive, who is called Nebuchodonosor. He is certainly a different person from that Nebuchodonosor who destroyed Jerusalem, because the latter is called king of Babylon, (4 Kings, xxiv., 1.) whereas the Nebuchodonosor mentioned in Judith, is called "king of the Assyrians, who reigned in Ninive, the great city," (Judith i., 5.) This prince defeated and made prisoner Arphaxad, king of the Medes, who is supposed, from the resemblance of the names, as well as from other circumstances, to be the same as Phraortes, or Aphraartes, the son of Dejoces, who commenced his reign about, A.M. 3347, B. C. 657. It is said that Nebuchodonosor caused the captive king to be put to death in a most cruel manner. Such conduct is quite consistent with the character of the man who commanded his general, Holofernes, to destroy all the gods of the earth, that he only might be called god. (Judith xi., 13.) The death of Holofernes by the hand of Judith, and the destruction of the Assyrian army, enabled Cyaxares, who had succeeded to the throne of Media on the death of his father Arphaxad, to turn his arms against

Ninive, and with the aid of Nabopolassar, king or governor of Babylon,* to capture and destroy it so utterly, that, as we have already seen, its very name seems to have been unknown two hundred years before the christian era, even by those who dwelt amid its ruins. Until the publication of "*Ninive and its Remains*," its very site was unknown, and, although Mr. Layard's arguments for the identification of the site have considerable weight, and, indeed, appear to us to be conclusive, yet they are not such as to preclude all cavil. We shall see that M. Botta evidently inclines to an opposite opinion.

Our utter ignorance of everything connected with Ninive, is well expressed by Mr. Layard, (Introduction, pp. 20-2.)

"It is indeed," he says, "one of the most remarkable facts in history, that the records of an empire, so renowned for its power and civilization, should have been entirely lost; and that the site of a city as eminent for its extent as its splendour, should for ages have been a matter of doubt: it is not perhaps less curious, that an accidental discovery should suddenly lead us to hope that these records may be recovered, and this site satisfactorily identified.

"The ruins in Assyria and Babylonia, chiefly huge mounds, apparently of mere earth and rubbish, had long excited curiosity from their size and evident antiquity. They were the only remains of an unknown period,—of a period antecedent to the Macedonian conquest. Consequently they alone could be identified with Nineveh and Babylon, and could afford a clue to the site and nature of those cities. There is, at the same time, a vague mystery attaching to remains like these, which induces travellers to examine them with more than ordinary interest, and even with some degree of awe. A great vitrified mass of brick-work, surrounded by the accumulated rubbish of ages, was believed to represent the identical tower, which called down the divine vengeance, and was overthrown, according to an universal tradition, by the fires of heaven. The mystery and dread which attached to the place, were kept up

* On the death of Sardinapalus, as already related, Babylon was separated from Ninive, and erected into a separate kingdom, and we know that they remained separate until after the reign of Sennacherib, (compare 4 Kings, xix., 37, and xx., 12.) Babylou, therefore, retained its independence from 747 B. C. until about 700 before Christ. But whether or not it was again subjected to Ninive, before the destruction of the latter in the year 606 B. C., and, consequently, whether Nabopolassar was its king, or only its governor, are facts which we have, as yet, no certain means of knowing.

by exaggerated accounts of wild beasts, who haunted the subterraneous passages, and of the no less savage tribes who wandered amongst the ruins. Other mounds in the vicinity were identified with the hanging gardens, and those marvellous structures which tradition has attributed to two queens, Semiramis and Nitocris. The difficulty of reaching the site of these remains, increased the curiosity and interest with which they were regarded; and a fragment from Babylon was esteemed a precious relic, not altogether devoid of a sacred character. The ruins which might be presumed to occupy the site of the Assyrian capital, were even less known, and less visited, than those in Babylonia."

We are very far from asserting, that the scanty and meagre details which we have ourselves given concerning Ninive, can be said to belong to authentic history, with the exception of those which are immediately derived from the inspired writings. As an instance of the discrepancies of profane authors regarding Assyrian history, we may mention that Herodotus says the first Assyrian empire lasted little more than five centuries, although the accounts which we have followed, and which we consider far more probable, assign to it a duration of nearly fourteen hundred years. The uncertainty of almost everything relating to Assyrian history—the total loss of every national record of the earliest and one of the most extensive empires that ever existed,—of the people who first excelled in arts, in arms, and in profane letters, is calculated to teach us the vanity of all earthly glory. The country which was the cradle, not only of science and of arts, but of the human race itself;—which was filled with great and renowned cities before man ever placed his foot on our ungenial shores, has been a kind of desert for nearly a thousand years, unpeopled, save by the inhabitants of a few miserable villages, and the wandering Arabs who make an annual descent upon it for the double purpose of feeding their flocks and robbing the inhabitants. In that country, which was once so rich and fertile, and which yielded almost spontaneously the necessaries and even luxuries of life in such abundance, that the ancients thought it must have been the seat of the earthly Paradise, the inhabitants eke out a wretched existence upon a scanty supply of millet, to which the addition of even sour milk, Mr. Layard assures us, is an unwonted luxury. Wheaten bread, flesh meat, a handful of raisins, or a few dates, are such rare delicacies, that when an Arab gets them he makes

a feast, to which he invites all his friends,* and he no sooner becomes master of a few shillings, than he sets about purchasing a new wife. The descendants of a mighty people, who ruled over the greater portion of Asia, who dwelt in sculptured palaces and rode in splendid chariots, now consider themselves happy when they can earn a few pence per day from a curious European stranger, by digging among the rubbish which has covered the palaces of their ancestors for more than twenty centuries. It is strange, that though the country abounds with traditions regarding Nimrod, no tradition or memory of the buried palaces existed among those who actually lived on their roofs. War, tyranny, and above all, the frightful extent to which polygamy is still carried in this most delightful portion of the earth, have long since reduced it to a desert, whilst Christian Europe, many parts of which the ancient Assyrian would have thought totally unfit for the habitation of man, and the original inhabitants of which consisted, for the most part, of outcasts who could not get a dwelling-place elsewhere, or of those who were driven from more favoured climes by the impulsive stream of a more warlike population, has continued for nearly two thousand years the seat of the most warlike, the most civilized, and the most renowned population in the world. The stream of population still flows westward, and Europe herself is now sending forth her millions, who are spreading themselves far and wide along the vast valley of the Mississippi, and over the steppes of California, ignorant and reckless whether theirs be the first habitations which were ever erected there, or whether their foundations are laid on the summits of ruined cities. So may Europe, if the world should last long enough, become a desert and a new race, or perhaps the wretched descendants of her present inhabitants may dwell in huts built on the rubbish which shall bury the palaces of their ancestors. But her religion is divine, her glory and greatness immortal, because they are embalmed in the imperishable records of Genius. In these, at least, her memory will live for ever. But hitherto it was believed that no record of Ninive remained. We knew that she had been a great and renowned city—that she was for centuries the heart of a great empire, and of a

† *Ninive and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 362.

mighty people. But all else connected with her was only a day dream, a splendid but unsubstantial vision.

The following extracts from Mr. Layard will show the utter ignorance of the Arabs regarding the buried city, and will at the same time convey an idea of some of the earliest of his discoveries :

“In two days the workmen reached the top of a slab, which appeared both to be well preserved and to be still standing in its original position. On the south side I discovered, to my great satisfaction, two human figures, considerably above the natural size, sculptured in low relief, and still exhibiting all the freshness of a recent work. In a few hours the earth and rubbish were completely removed from the face of the slab, no part of which had been injured. The ornaments delicately graven on the robes, the tassels and fringes, the bracelets and armllets, the elaborate curls of the hair and beard, were all entire. The figures were back to back, and furnished with wings. They appeared to represent divinities presiding over the seasons, or over particular religious ceremonies. The one whose face was turned to the east, carried a fallow-deer on his right arm, and in his left hand a branch, bearing pine flowers. Around his temples was a fillet, adorned in front with a rosette. The garments of both, consisting of a stole falling from the shoulders to the ankles, and a short tunic underneath, descending to the knee, were richly and tastefully decorated with embroideries and fringes, whilst the hair and beard were arranged with study and art. The limbs were delineated with peculiar accuracy, and the muscles and bones faithfully, though somewhat too roughly marked. An inscription ran across the sculpture.

“The corner-stone led me to a figure of singular form. A human body, clothed in robes similar to those of the winged men, already described, was surmounted by the head of an eagle or of a vulture. The curved beak, of considerable length, was half open, and displayed a narrow-pointed tongue, which was still coloured with red paint. On the shoulders fell the usual curled and bushy hair of the Assyrian images, and a comb of feathers rose on the top of the head. Two wings sprang from the back, and in either hand was the square vessel and fir cone.

“On the morning following these discoveries, I rode to the encampment of Sheik Abd-ur-rahman, and was returning to the mound, when I saw two Arabs of his tribe urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching me they stopped. ‘Hasten, O Rey,’ exclaimed one of them, ‘hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! We have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God;’ and both joining in this pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents. On reaching the ruins, I descended into the new trench, and found the

workmen, who had already seen me as I approached, standing near a heap of baskets and cloaks.—The Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed, and disclosed an enormous human head, sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of a figure, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art scarcely to be looked for in the works of so remote a period.....One of the workmen, on catching the first glimpse of the monster, had thrown down his basket, and had run off towards Mosul as fast as his legs could carry him.....Whilst I was superintending the removal of the earth which still clung to the sculpture, a noise of horsemen was heard, and presently Abd-ur-rahman, followed by half his tribe, appeared on the edge of the trench. When they beheld the head, they all cried together, ‘There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet!’ It was some time before the Sheikh could be prevailed upon to descend into the pit, and convince himself that the image he saw was of stone. ‘This is not the work of men’s hands,’ exclaimed he, ‘but of those infidel giants of whom the Prophet—peace be with him!—has said that they were taller than the highest tree; this is one of the idols which Noah—peace be with him—carved before the flood! In this opinion, the result of a careful examination, all the bystanders concurred. As I had expected, the report of the discovery of the gigantic head, carried by the terrified Arab to Mosul, had thrown the town into commotion. He had scarcely checked his speed before reaching the bridge. Entering breathless into the bazaars, he announced to every one that Nimrod had appeared. The news soon got to the ears of the Cadi, who, together with the Mufti and Alema, went in procession to the Governor, Ismail Pasha, who, not remembering whether Nimrod was a true believing prophet or an infidel, sent a message that the remains should be treated with respect, and by no means be further disturbed. The operations had actually to be discontinued until the sensation in the town somewhat subsided, and then the works being resumed, a pair of winged human-headed lions were discovered.”—vol. i. pp. 62—8.

The remainder of this article we shall divide into two parts. In the first we shall, as far as practicable, allow Mr. Layard to describe his own discoveries regarding Ninive and ancient Assyria; and here we shall treat the author very tenderly, because his book is really most interesting, and casts a light, albeit as yet dim and uncertain, upon that most enchanting portion of the world’s history. In the second part, our task will be less agreeable, for we

shall be obliged to point out the inaccuracies, the hasty conclusions, and the misrepresentations of the author. We regret this the more, because when we find an author speaking of subjects which fall within our own cognizance in a manner which shows that he either misunderstands or misrepresents them, our faith is shaken in him when he speaks of things which we do not know, and which he can himself but very imperfectly understand. He would have acted much more wisely for his fame, although perhaps not so prudently for his pocket, if he had not discovered the fossil remains of Protestantism amid the rubbish of Assyria, especially as he has not sent any specimens of this genus to the British Museum. But this part of Mr. Layard's work we shall examine a little farther on; our present business regards his antiquarian researches. The chief interest of Mr. Layard's discoveries is, of course, derived from their connection with Ninive; and it is therefore a matter of the greatest moment to ascertain that he has been opening the palaces of the great city which had been buried for three or four thousand years.

"Let us inquire," says Mr. Layard, "whether the site of Nineveh is satisfactorily identified. That it was built on the eastern banks of the Tigris, there can be no doubt. Although Ctesias and some who follow him, place it on the Euphrates, the united testimony of Scripture, of ancient geographers, and of tradition, most fully proves that that author, or an inaccurate transcriber or commentator of his text, has fallen into an error. Strabo says, that the city stood between the Tigris and the Lycus, or Great Zab, near the junction of these rivers; and Ptolemy places it on the Lycus. This evidence alone is sufficient to fix its true position, and to identify the ruins of Nimroud.

"The tradition, placing the tomb of the prophet Jonah on the left bank of the river opposite Mosul, has led to the identification of the space comprised within the quadrangular mass of mounds, containing Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus, with the site of ancient Nineveh. These ruins, however, taken by themselves, occupy much too small a space to be those of a city, even larger, according to Strabo, than Babylon. Its dimensions, as given by Diodorus Siculus, were 150 stadia on the two longest sides of the quadrangle, and 90 on the opposite, the square being 480 stadia, or about sixty miles. In the book of Jonah, it is called 'an exceeding great city of three days journey;' the number of inhabitants, who did not know their right hand from their left, being six score thousand. I will not stop to inquire to what class of persons this number applied; whether to children, to those ignorant of right and wrong, or to the

whole population. It is evident that the city was one of very considerable extent, and could not have been comprised in the space occupied by the ruins opposite Mosul, scarcely five miles in circumference. The dimensions of an eastern city do not bear the same proportion to its population, as those of an European city. A place as extensive as London or Paris, might not contain one-third of the number of inhabitants of either. The custom, prevalent from the earliest period in the East, of secluding women in apartments removed from those of the men, renders a separate house for each family almost indispensable. It was probably as rare, in the time of the Assyrian monarchy, to find more than one family residing under one roof, unless composed of persons very intimately related, such as father and son, as it is at present in a Turkish city. Moreover, gardens and arable land were enclosed by the city walls. According to Diodorus and Quintus Curtius, there was space enough within the precincts of Babylon, to cultivate corn for the sustenance of the whole population, in case of siege, besides gardens and orchards. From the expression of Jonah, that there was much cattle within the walls, it may be inferred that there was also pasture for them. Many cities of the East, such as Damascus and Ispahan, are thus built; the amount of their population being greatly disproportionate to the site they occupy, if computed according to the rules applied to European cities. It is most probable that Nineveh and Babylon resembled them in this respect.

“The ruins hitherto examined have shown, that there are remains of buildings of various epochs, on the banks of the Tigris, near its junction with the Zab; and that many years, or even centuries, must have elapsed between the construction of the earliest and the latest. That the ruins at Nimroud were within the precincts of Nineveh, if they do not alone mark its site, appears to be proved by Strabo, and by Ptolemy’s statement that the city was on the Lycus, corroborated by the tradition preserved by the earliest Arab geographers—Yakut, and others, mention the ruins of Athur, near Selamiyah, which gave the name of Assyria to the province; and Iban Said expressly states, that they were those of the city of the Assyrian kings who destroyed Jerusalem. They are still called, as it has been shown, both Athur and Nimroud. The evidence afforded by the examination of all the known ruins of Assyria, further identifies Nimroud with Nineveh. It would appear from existing monuments, that the city was originally founded on the site now occupied by these mounds. From its immediate vicinity to the place of junction of two large rivers, the Tigris and the Zab, no better position could have been chosen. It is probable that the great edifice, in the north-west corner of the principal mound, was the temple or palace, or the two combined; the smaller houses were scattered around it, over the face of the country. To the palace was attached a park, or paradise as it was called, in which was preserved game of various kinds for the diversion of the king.

This enclosure, formed by walls and towers, may perhaps still be traced in the line of low mounds, branching out from the principal ruin. Successive monarchs added to the first building, and the centre palace arose by its side. As the population increased with the duration and prosperity of the empire, and by the forced immigration of conquered nations, the dimensions of the city increased also. A king founding a new dynasty, or anxious to perpetuate his fame by the erection of a new building, may have chosen a distant site. The city, gradually spreading, may at length have embraced such additional palaces. This appears to have been the case with Nineveh. Nimroud represents the original site of the city. To the first palace the son of its founder added a second, of which we have the ruins in the centre of the mound. He also built the edifice now covered by the great mound of Baasheikha, as the inscriptions on the bricks from that palace prove. He founded, at the same time, a new city at Kalah Sherghat. A subsequent monarch again added to the palaces at Nimroud, and recorded the event on the pavement slabs in the upper chambers of the western face of the mound. At a much later period, when the older palaces were already in ruins, edifices were erected on the sites now marked by the mounds of Khorsabad, and Karamles. The son of their founder built the great palace at Kouyunjik, which must have exceeded those of his predecessors in extent and magnificence. His son was engaged in raising one more edifice at Nimroud; the previous palaces, as it has been shown, having been long before deserted or destroyed, when some great event, perhaps the fall of the empire and destruction of the capital, prevented its completion. The city had now attained the dimensions assigned to it by the book of Jonah, and by Diodorus Siculus. If we take the four great mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles, as the corners of a square, it will be found that its four sides correspond pretty accurately with the 480 stadia, or 60 miles of the geographer, which make the three days' journey of the prophet. Within this space there are many large mounds, including the principal ruins in Assyria, such as Karakush, Baasheikha, Baazani, Husseini, Telzara, &c. &c.; and the face of the country is strewed with the remains of pottery, bricks, and other fragments."—Vol. ii, pp. 242—8.

M. Botta insinuates an objection to the identification of all these ruins with Nineve, because in neither of two routes which he pursued, could he discover any traces of the great walls and towers which surrounded the city—and that each of those ruins appears to be isolated from the others. Mr. Layard has answered this difficulty without, of course, having seen M. Botta's work, which was not then published. He observes that "the buildings"

(and probably the greater portion of the walls also) “ were constructed almost entirely of sun-dried bricks, and like the houses now built in the country, soon disappeared altogether when once abandoned and allowed to fall into decay. The largest palaces would probably have remained undiscovered, had not slabs of alabaster marked the walls. There is, however, sufficient to indicate that buildings were once spread over the space above described; for, besides the vast number of small mounds every where visible, scarcely a husbandman drives his plough over the soil without exposing the vestiges of former habitations.” This reasoning we consider quite conclusive against M. Botta. The latter indeed suggests, that the small mounds every where visible, are mere inequalities caused by the heat of the sun. But the sun did not make the pottery and bricks which are every where visible in the smallest mounds, and it must be remembered that Nimroud and Khorsabad were also considered, for perhaps nearly two thousand years, as mere natural elevations by many, or at most, as marking the site of an encampment. M. Botta acknowledges that it is equally difficult to trace any vestiges of the walls of Babylon on the site which it occupied. Being, therefore, convinced, that Mr. Layard has satisfactorily established that all these ruins mark the site of Nineve, and consequently that he has been excavating amid its long lost palaces, we shall allow him to proceed a little farther with his story.

“ Having thus pointed out the evidence as to the site and extent of Nineveh,” he proceeds, “ it may not be uninteresting to inquire how it was built, and what knowledge the Assyrians possessed of the science of architecture.

“ The architecture of a people must naturally depend upon the materials afforded by the country, and upon the object of their buildings. The descriptions already casually given in the course of this work, of the ruined edifices of ancient Assyria, are sufficient to show that they differ in many respects from those of any other nation with which we are acquainted. Had the Assyrians, so fertile in invention, so skilful in the arts, and so ambitious of great works, dwelt in a country as rich in stone and costly granites and marbles as Egypt or India, it can scarcely be doubted that they would have equalled if not excelled, the inhabitants of those countries in the magnitude of their pyramids, and in the magnificence and symmetry of their rock temples and palaces. But their principal settlements were in the alluvial plains, watered by the Tigris

and Euphrates. On the banks of those great rivers, which spread fertility through the land, and afford the means of easy and expeditious intercourse between distant provinces, they founded their first cities. On all sides they had vast plains, unbroken by a single eminence until they approached the foot of the Armenian hills.

“The earliest habitations, constructed when little progress had been made in the art of building, were probably but one story in height. In this respect, the dwelling of the ruler scarcely differed from the meanest hut. It soon became necessary, however, that the temples of the gods, and the palaces of the kings, depositories at the same time of the national records, should be rendered more conspicuous than the humble edifices by which they were surrounded. The means of defence also required that the castle, the place of refuge for the inhabitants in times of danger, or the permanent residence of the garrison, should be raised above the city, and should be built so as to afford the best means of resistance to an enemy. As there were no natural eminences in the country, the inhabitants were compelled to construct artificial mounds. Hence the origin of those vast, solid structures, which have defied the hand of time; and with their grass-covered summits and furrowed sides, rise like natural hills in the Assyrian plains.

“Let us picture to ourselves the migration of one of the primitive families of the human race, seeking for some spot favourable to a permanent settlement, where water abounded, and where the land, already productive without cultivation, promised an ample return to the labour of the husbandman. They may have followed him who went out of the land of Shinar, to found new habitations in the north; or they may have descended from the mountains of Armenia; whence came, according to the Chaldean historian, the builders of the cities of Assyria. It was not until they reached the banks of the great rivers, if they came from the high lands or only whilst they followed their course, if they journeyed from the south, that they could find a supply of water adequate to the permanent wants of a large community. The plain, bounded to the west and south by the Tigris and Zab, from its fertility and from the ready means of irrigation afforded by two noble streams, may have been first chosen as a resting place; and there were laid the foundations of a city, destined to be the capital of the eastern world.

“The materials for building were at hand, and in their preparation required neither much labour nor ingenuity. The soil, an alluvial deposit, was rich and tenacious. The builders moistened it with water, and adding a little chopped straw that it might be more firmly bound together, they formed it into squares, which when dried by the heat of the sun, served them as bricks. In that climate the process required but two or three days. Such were the earliest building materials; and they are used to this day almost exclusively in the same country. This mode of brick-making is

described by Sanchoniathon; and we have an allusion to it in Exodus; for the Egyptians, to harass their Jewish captives, withheld the straw, without which their bricks could not preserve their form and consistency.

“Huts for the people were speedily raised, the branches and boughs of trees from the banks of the river serving for a roof.

“The inhabitants of the new settlement now sought to build a place of refuge in case of attack, or a dwelling-place for their leader, or a temple to their gods. It was first necessary to form an eminence, that the building might rise above the plain, and might be seen from afar. This eminence was not hastily made, by heaping up earth, but regularly and systematically built with sun-dried bricks. Thus a platform, thirty or forty feet high, was formed, and upon it they erected the royal or sacred edifice.

“Sun-dried bricks were still the principal, but could not, in this instance, for various reasons, be the only materials employed. The earliest edifices of this nature appear to have been at the same time public monuments, in which were preserved the records or archives of the nation, carved on stone. In them were represented, in sculpture, the exploits of the kings, or the forms of the divinities; whilst the history of the people, and invocations to their gods, were also inscribed in written characters upon the walls.

“It was necessary, therefore, to use some material upon which figures and inscriptions could be carved. The plains of Mesopotamia, as well as the low lands between the Tigris and the hill country, abound in a kind of coarse alabaster or gypsum. Large masses of it everywhere protrude in low ridges from the alluvial soil, or are exposed in the gullies formed by winter torrents. It is easily worked, and its colour and transparent appearance are agreeable to the eye. Whilst offering few difficulties to the sculptor, it was an ornament to the edifices in which it was placed. This alabaster, therefore, cut into large slabs, was used in the public buildings.

“The walls of the chambers, from five to fifteen feet thick, were constructed of sun-dried bricks. The alabaster slabs were used as panels. They were placed upright against the walls, care being first taken to cut on the back of each an inscription, recording the name, title, and descent of the king undertaking the work. They were kept in their places and held together by iron, copper, or wooden cramps and plugs. The cramps were in form of double dovetails, and fitted into corresponding grooves in two adjoining slabs. The corners of the chambers were generally formed by one angular stone, and all the walls were either at right angles or parallel to each other.

“The slabs having been fixed against the walls, the subjects to be represented upon them were designed and sculptured, and the inscriptions carved. That the Assyrian worked after the slabs had been fixed, appears to be proved beyond a doubt, by figures and other parts of the bas-reliefs, being frequently finished on the

adjoining slab; and by slabs having been found placed in their proper position, although still unsculptured, in one of the buildings at Nimroud.

“The principal entrances to the chambers were, it has been seen, formed by gigantic winged bulls and lions, with human heads.* The smaller doorways were guarded by colossal figures of divinities, or priests. No remains of doors or gates were discovered, nor of hinges; but it is probable that the entrances were provided with them. The priests of Babylon made fast their temples with doors, with locks, and bars, lest their gods should be spoiled by robbers, and the gates of brass of Babylon are continually mentioned by ancient authors. On all the slabs forming entrances, in the oldest palace of Nimroud, were marks of a black fluid, resembling blood, which appeared to have been daubed on the stone. I have not been able to ascertain the nature of this fluid, but its appearance cannot fail to call to mind the Jewish ceremony of placing the blood of the sacrifice on the lintel of the doorway. Under the pavement slabs, at the entrances, were deposited small figures of the gods, probably a protection to the building. Sometimes, as in the early edifices, tablets containing the name and title of the king, as a record of the time of erection of the building, were buried in the walls, or under the pavement. The slabs used as a panelling to the walls of unbaked brick, rarely exceeded twelve feet in height, and in the earliest palace of Nimroud were generally little more than nine, whilst the human-headed lions and bulls, forming the doorways, vary from ten to sixteen. Even these colossal figures did not complete the height of the room; the wall being carried some feet above them. This upper wall was built of baked bricks, covered by a thin coat of plaster, on which were painted various ornaments. It could generally be distinguished in the ruins. The plaster which had fallen was frequently preserved in the rubbish, and when first found, the colours upon it had lost little of their original freshness and brilliancy. It is to these upper walls that the complete covering up of the building, and the consequent preservation of the sculptures, may be attributed; for when once the edifice had been deserted, they fell in, and the unbaked bricks, again becoming earth, encased the whole ruin. The principal palace at Nimroud must have been buried in this manner, for the sculptures could not have been preserved as they were, had they been covered by a gradual accumulation of the soil. In this building I found several chambers without the panelling of alabaster slabs. The entire wall had been plastered and painted, and processions of figures were still to be traced. Many such walls exist to the east and south of the same edifice, and in the upper chambers.

* Specimens of these and a vast number of other curious remains have been placed by Mr. Layard in the British Museum.

“The roof was probably formed by beams, supported entirely by the walls; smaller beams, planks, or branches of trees, being laid across them, and the whole plastered on the outside with mud. Such are the roofs in modern Arab cities of Assyria. It has been suggested, that an arch or vault was thrown from wall to wall. Had this been the case, the remains of the vault, which must have been constructed of baked bricks or of stone, would have been found in the ruins, and would have partly filled up the chambers. No such remains were discovered. The narrowness of the chambers in all the Assyrian edifices, with the exception of one hall at Nimroud, is very remarkable. That hall may have been entirely open to the sky; and, as it did not contain sculptures, it is not improbable that it was so; but it can scarcely be conceived that the other chambers were thus exposed to the atmosphere, and their inmates left unprotected from the heat of the summer sun, or from the rains of winter. The great narrowness of all the rooms, when compared with their length, appears to prove that the Assyrians had no means of constructing a roof requiring other support than that afforded by the side walls. The most elaborately ornamented hall at Nimroud, although above 160 feet in length, was only 35 feet broad. The same disparity is apparent in the edifice at Kouyunjik. It can scarcely be doubted that there was some reason for making the rooms so narrow, otherwise proportions better suited to the magnificence of the decorations, the imposing nature of the colossal sculptures forming the entrances, and the length of the chambers, would have been chosen. But still, without some such artificial means of support as are adopted in modern architecture, it may be questioned whether beams could span 45, or even 35 feet. It is possible that the Assyrians were acquainted with the principle of the king-post of modern roofing, although in the sculptures the houses are represented with flat roofs; otherwise we must presume that wooden pillars or posts were employed; but there were no indications whatever of them in the ruins. Beams, supported by opposite walls, may have met in the centre of the ceiling. This may account for the great thickness of some of the partitions. Or in the larger halls a projecting ledge, sufficiently wide to afford shelter and shade, may have been carried round the sides, leaving the centre exposed to the air. Remains of beams were everywhere found at Nimroud, particularly under fallen slabs. The wood appeared to be entire, but when touched it crumbled into dust. It was only amongst the ruins in the south-west corner of the mound, that any was discovered in a sound state.

“The only trees within the limits of Assyria, sufficiently large to furnish beams to span a room 30 or 40 feet wide, are the palm and the poplar: their trunks still form the roofs of houses in Mesopotamia. Both easily decay, and will not bear exposure; it is not surprising, therefore, that beams made of them should have entirely disappeared after the lapse of 2,500 years. The poplar now

used at Mosul is floated down the Khabour and Tigris from the Kurdish hills; it is of considerable length, and occasionally serves for the roofs of chambers nearly as wide as those of the Assyrian palaces.

“It has been seen that the principle of the arch was known to the Assyrians, a small vaulted chamber of baked bricks having been found at Nimroud; but there have been no traces discovered of an arch or vault on a large scale.

“If daylight were admitted into the Assyrian palaces, it could only have entered by the roof. There are no communications between the inner rooms except by the doorways, consequently they could only receive light from above. Even in the chambers next to the outer walls, there are no traces of windows. It may be conjectured, therefore, that there were square openings or skylights in the ceilings, which may have been closed during winter rains by canvass, or some such material. The drains, leading from almost every chamber, would seem to show that water might occasionally have entered from above, and that apertures were required to carry it off. This mode of lighting rooms was adopted in Egypt; but, I believe, at a much later period than that of the erection of the Nimroud edifices. No other can have existed in the palaces of Assyria, unless, indeed, torches and lamps were used; a supposition scarcely in accordance with the elaborate nature of the sculptures, and the brilliancy of the coloured ornaments; which without the light of day would have lost half their effect.

“The pavement of the chambers was formed either of alabaster slabs, covered with inscriptions, recording the name and genealogy of the king, and probably the chief of his reign, or of kiln-burnt bricks, each also bearing a short inscription. The alabaster slabs were placed upon a thin coating of bitumen spread over the bottom of the chamber, even under the upright slabs forming its sides. The bricks were laid in two tiers, one above the other; a thin layer of sand being placed between them, as well as under the bottom tier. These strata of bitumen and sand may have been intended to exclude damp; although the buildings, from their position, could scarcely have been exposed to it. Between the lions and bulls forming the entrances, was generally placed one large slab, bearing an inscription.

“I have already alluded to the existence of a drain beneath almost every chamber in the older palace of Nimroud. These were connected with the floor by a circular pipe of baked clay, leading from a hole, generally cut through one of the pavement slabs, in a corner of the room. They joined one large drain running under the great hall, and from thence into the river, which originally flowed at the foot of the mound.

“The interior of the Assyrian palace must have been as magnificent as imposing. I have led the reader through its ruins, and he may judge of the impression its halls were calculated to make

upon one who, in the days of old, entered for the first time the abode of the Assyrian king. He was ushered in through the portal guarded by the colossal lions or bulls of white alabaster. In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chace, the ceremonies of religion, were pourtrayed on the walls, sculptured in alabaster, and painted in gorgeous colours. Under each picture were engraved, in characters filled up with bright copper, inscriptions, describing the scenes represented. Above the sculptures were painted other events—the king, attended by his eunuchs and warriors, reviewing his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were enclosed in coloured borders of elaborate and elegant design. The emblematic tree, winged bulls, and monstrous animals, were conspicuous amongst the ornaments. At the upper end of the hall was the colossal figure of the king in adoration before the Supreme Deity, or receiving from the eunuch the holy cup. He was attended by warriors bearing his arms, and by the priests or presiding divinities. His robes, and those of his followers, were adorned with groups of figures, animals, and flowers, all painted with brilliant colours. The stranger trod on alabaster slabs, each bearing an inscription, recording the titles, genealogy, and achievements of the great king. Several doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, or by the figures of guardian deities, led into other apartments, which again opened into more distant halls. In each were new sculptures. The ceilings above him were divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, each compartment being surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. Square openings in the ceiling admitted the light of day. A pleasing shadow was thrown over the sculptured walls, and gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrances. Through these apertures was seen the bright blue of an eastern sky enclosed in a frame, on which were painted, in vivid colours, the winged circle in the midst of elegant ornaments, and the graceful forms of ideal animals. He who entered them might thus read the history and learn the glory and triumphs of the nation.”—vol. ii. pp. 242—65.

Mr. Layard is not content with having proved that he has been excavating among the ruins of Ninive, but he thinks that he has plausible reasons to conjecture that he has explored the identical palace of the founder of the “Great City.” (vol. ii. pp. 228—231.)

We would be glad to discuss this matter, and also to examine what success has attended the efforts to decypher the cuneiform writing with which every slab and stone in

the country is covered. We have already stated that Mr. Botta has published a vast quantity of this kind of writing, and Mr. Layard has placed in the British Museum an obelisk, sculptured on the four sides with twenty bas-reliefs, above, below, and between which there is an inscription 210 lines in length. We have only space to refer to Mr. Layard's description of the different kinds of cuneiform writing, and to his detail of the various modes of decyphering which will be found in vol. ii. of *Nineveh and its Remains*, p. 154, and following. He considers that he has discovered the names of ten kings, and consequently has got historical data to prove, not only that Nineveh must have been founded, but that some of the palaces which he has explored, must have been built at least 900 years before Christ. Because Nineveh was destroyed six hundred years before Christ; and by allowing that the houses he entered were all palaces, and the inscriptions the names of kings, and moreover that each of these kings reigned 30 years, it is clear that the first of them must have ascended the throne, and that the palace which he erected, and on the slabs of which he caused his name to be inscribed, must have been built 900 years before our Saviour came. But the truth is, that nothing whatever is as yet known about Assyrian writing; and we have only to reflect for a moment, how totally a mistake as to the meaning of a single word, will often pervert the meaning of a whole passage, to know the worth of translations from a language, not a single letter of whose alphabet is yet satisfactorily known.

We must now come to the second, and by far the least agreeable portion of this article, because we shall here be obliged to deal with Mr. Layard in a manner very different from that in which we have passed over even what we considered his errors in the first. It is indeed very singular, and we may venture to add, somewhat unfortunate, that no Protestant, especially in these countries, can write upon any subject whatever, without taking a fling at Popery. The child's spelling-book, the boy's geography, and the young gentleman's logic, all devote a very respectable portion of their space to vilify "the faith their fathers held to God." Poor Goldsmith was right when he said that "the Europeans sell even their lies to great advantage." He assigns the first rank in this, as in most other manufactures, to the English. "It is a proverb in China," says

the Citizen of the World, (vol. i. let. 5,) "that an European suffers not even his spittle to be lost; the maxim, however, is not sufficiently strong, since they sell even their lies to a great advantage. An English dealer in this way, for instance, has only to ascend to his workshop, and manufacture a turbulent speech, averred to have been spoken in the senate; or a report supposed to be dropt at court; a piece of scandal that strikes at a popular mandarine, or a secret treaty between two neighbouring powers. When finished, these goods are baled up and consigned to a factor abroad, who sends in return two battles, three sieges, and a shrewd letter, filled with dashes, blanks, and stars of great importance." Travellers have been proverbial in all ages, for bringing home with them a large quantity of this kind of merchandize. We have no notion, therefore, of criticizing, according to the standard of probabilities, such amusing little romances as that which Mr. Layard relates of his own heroism, vol. i. pp. 367—8. Accompanied by only three persons, he entered at noon-day a numerous encampment of well-armed Arabs, handcuffed and carried away the valiant chief of these wild and warlike children of the desert; and by this chivalrous exploit has rendered his name as terrible in Assyria as that of another warlike Englishman, commonly called *Cœur-de-Lion*, of whom perhaps Mr. Layard may have heard, formerly was in Palestine. But when a writer, relying on the distance of the place where he lays the scene of his story, grossly exaggerates and distorts facts in order to calumniate an individual, a community, or a church, it becomes a positive duty to expose his ignorance, his prejudice, or his malice. M. Botta's work, at least what we have seen of it, is entirely free from polemical discussions, and we cannot help thinking that Mr. Layard would have acted much more wisely if he had imitated his example.

The usual stereotyped sneers against the Catholic Church may be found vol. i. c. 5, and indeed in some other parts of Mr. Layard's "*Nineveh and its Remains*;" but as they are unsupported by a single particle of evidence, and may, moreover, be read in any of the speeches delivered at an evangelical meeting, we do not think it necessary to go so far as Assyria for such wretched and contemptible garbage. We shall therefore pass on at once to vol. i. c. 8, where the author attempts to prove that the Nestorians, or as he prefers to call them, the Chaldæan

Christians, were originally Protestants! The first and largest portion of the chapter contains a very useless parade of learning. It is a mere extract from Assemani, Gibbon, and Mosheim, giving a history of the Chaldæan missions. Passing over this part of the chapter, we shall transcribe the remainder, in order that we may avoid even the possibility of being charged with unfairness in stating the grounds on which Mr. Layard asserts that the Nestorians were originally Protestants. We hope to be able to treat the matter seriously, but the very enunciation of it appears to us so ridiculous, that we are forced to smile whilst we write, Early Chaldæan Christian Protestants! Here are Mr. Layard's proofs.

“But however this may be, it should be remembered that it is only with *this* fundamental heresy (about the personality of Christ) that the Roman Catholic charges the Chaldæan. It is not denied, that in other respects they have retained, to a great extent and in all their purity, the doctrines and forms of the primitive Church. Mosheim, whose impartiality can scarcely be doubted, (!) thus speaks of them: ‘It is to the lasting honour of the Nestorian sect, that of all the Christian societies established in the East, they have preserved themselves the most free from the numberless superstitions which have found their way into the Greek and Latin Churches.’ It is, therefore, highly interesting to a Protestant, to ascertain in what respects they differ from other Christian sects, and what their belief and observances really are.

“They refuse to the Virgin those titles, and that exaggerated veneration, which were the origin of most of the superstitions and corruptions of the Romish and Eastern Churches.

“They deny the doctrine of Purgatory, and are most averse, not only to the worship of images, but even to their exhibition.

“The figure of the cross is found in their churches, and they are accustomed to make the sign in common with other Christians of the East; but this ceremony, however, is not considered essential, but is looked upon rather in the light of a badge of Christianity, and as a sign of brotherhood among themselves, scattered as they are amidst men of a hostile faith.

“In the rejection of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, they agree with the Reformed Church; although some of the earlier writers have so treated of the subject, as to lead to the supposition that they admit the actual presence. Any such admissions, however, are undoubtedly at variance with their present professions, and with the assertions that I have, on more than one occasion, heard from their Patriarch and priests.

“Both the bread and wine are distributed amongst the communicants, and persons of all ages are allowed to partake of the sacred

elements. Christians of all denominations are admitted to receive the holy Sacrament, whilst Chaldæans are allowed to communicate in any Christian church.

“With regard to the number and nature of their sacraments, their books are full of discrepancies. Nor were the statements I received from the Patriarch and various priests, more consistent. The number *seven* is always mentioned by the earliest Chaldæan writers, and is traditionally retained to this day; but what these seven sacraments really are, no one seems to know. Baptism is accompanied by confirmation, as in the Armenian church, when the *meiron*, or consecrated oil, is used; a drop being placed on the forehead of the child. This confirmation, or consecration, appears to have originated in the custom of giving extreme unction to an infant, in the fear that it might die soon after immersion. Through the ignorance of its origin, this distinct sacrament came to be considered an integral part of baptism; but neither extreme unction nor confirmation appears to have been recognized as a sacrament by the Chaldæans. Auricular confession, which *once* was practised as a sacrament, has *now* fallen into disuse.

“A doubt also exists as to whether marriage is to be considered a sacrament. In the early ages of the Chaldæan Church, the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, within which intermarriages were prohibited, were numerous and complicated. Ebedjesus enumerates sixty-two; but the laws on this subject, if ever very strictly observed, have been greatly relaxed. The Patriarch has the power of pronouncing a divorce, and is the sole judge of the sufficiency of the grounds. The five lower grades of the clergy, including the archdeacon, are allowed to marry. In the earlier ages of the Church, the same privilege was extended to the bishop and archbishop, and even to the Patriarch.

“Ordination is a sacrament. Oil is only used in the ordination of the Patriarch. In other instances, prayers are said over the candidates, with an imposition of hands, and with the tonsure of so much of the hair from the crown of the head, as when grasped in the hand rises above it. The early age at which the clergy, including bishops, priests, and deacons, are ordained, has long formed a ground of reproach against the Chaldæan Church; which, in this respect, differs not only from all other Eastern churches, but acts in direct opposition to its own statutes.

“The fasts of the Chaldæans are numerous, and they are very strictly observed, even fish not being eaten. There are 152 days in the year in which abstinence from animal food is enjoined; and although during the time I was carrying on my excavations, I frequently obtained from the Patriarch a dispensation for the workmen, they never seemed inclined to avail themselves of it. The feasts are observed with equal strictness. On the Sabbath no Chaldæan performs a journey, or does any work. Their feasts and

fast days commence at sunset, and terminate at sunset on the following day.

“The Patriarch is always chosen, if not of necessity, at least by general consent, from one family. It is necessary that the mother should abstain from meat and all animal food, some months before the birth of a child who is destined for the high office of chief of the Chaldæan Church. The Patriarch himself never tastes meat. Vegetables and milk constitute his only nourishment. He should be consecrated by three Metropolitans, and he always receives the name of Shamoun, or Simon; whilst his rival, the Patriarch of the converted Chaldæans, in like manner always assumes that of Usuf, or Joseph.

“The language of the Chaldæans is a Shemitic dialect, allied to the Hebrew, the Arabic, and the Syriac, and still bears the name of Chaldee. Most of their church books are written in Syriac, which like the Latin in the West, became the sacred language in the greater part of the East. The dialect spoken by the mountain tribes varies slightly from that used in the villages of the plains; but the differences arise chiefly from local circumstances; and it is a singular and interesting fact, that the Chaldæan spoken near Mosul, is almost identical with the language of that very remarkable tribe, the Sabæans, or Christians of St. John, as they are vulgarly called, who are found in the districts near the mouths of the Euphrates, and in the province of Khuzistan, or Susiana; and are probably the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Babylonia and Chaldæa.

“It will be seen from the foregoing remarks, that there are some most striking points of resemblance between the Chaldæan Christians and the members of the Protestant Church. These coincidences are the more deserving of attention, inasmuch as they confirm many of the doctrines of the Reformed religion, and connect them with those of the primitive church. The peculiar doctrine which has brought upon the Chaldæans the accusation of heresy—even admitting it to the fullest extent—can only be charged against them as an innovation. Their ignorance of the superstitions of the Church of Rome, and their more simple observances and ceremonies, may be clearly traced to a more primitive form of Christianity received by them before its corruption. Isolated among the remote valleys of Kurdistan, and cut off from all intercourse with other Christian communities, they have preserved, almost in its original purity, their ancient faith. Corruptions may have crept in, and ignorance may have led to the neglect of doctrines and ceremonies; but on the whole, it is a matter of wonder, that after the lapse of nearly seventeen centuries, the Chaldæans should still be what they are. There are no sects in the East, and few in the West, who can boast of such purity in their faith, or of such simplicity in their forms of worship.

“The Protestants of America have, for some time past, taken a deep interest in the Chaldæans. Their missionaries have opened schools in and around Oroomiah. A printing-press has been established, and several works, including the Scriptures, have already been issued in the vernacular language of the people, and printed in a character peculiar to them. Their labours have, I believe, been successful. Although members of the Independent Church, they profess to avoid any interference with the ecclesiastical system of the Chaldæans; admitting, I am informed, that Episcopacy is the form of government best suited to a sect circumstanced as the Chaldæans are.”—vol. i. pp. 265—9.

We shall presently see how far these assertions are true; but taking the whole passage as it stands, it must be somewhat consoling to the Catholic to know, on the admission of Mr. Layard himself, that the Nestorians who were anathematized by the whole church fourteen centuries ago, and cut off from her communion for destroying the mystery of the incarnation by making two Christs, one the son of Mary, and the other the Son of God—a heresy so pestilent and absurd, that no Protestant sect, in its rage for innovation, or in its desperate efforts to find a doctrine contrary to the faith of the Catholic church, professed by any ancient christian community, has ever dared to adopt this one, and to insert it in its motley creed. Yet Mr. Layard assures us there are no sects in the east who can boast of such purity in their faith as these Nestorians. The Greek church is as bad as the Latin, and, indeed, all the eastern christians, with this one bright exception, are handed over to Rome. “It is,” says Mr. Layard, adopting the language of the *impartial* Mosheim, “to the lasting honour of the Nestorian sect, that of all the christian societies established in the east, they have preserved themselves most free from the numberless superstitions which have found their way into the Greek and Latin Churches.” The church of Christ, as described in scripture in the Apostles’ creed, and in the earliest ecclesiastical writers, ought to be universal; but protestants, as well as the sectaries of all ages, never think of looking for the true church in any great christian community, but invariably discover it concealed in some obscure corner. Hence we find that protestant writers, by what would appear to be an instinct, invariably take the part of the heretics, even against the ancient Catholic Church. But let us hear Mr. Layard’s opinion of these protestants of Asia, of this

solitary sect which has escaped the contamination of the Greek, Eastern, and Latin churches. "With regard," he says, to the *number and nature* of their sacraments, *their books* are full of discrepancies. Nor were the statements I received from *the patriarch and various priests more consistent*. The number *seven* is always mentioned by the earliest Chaldæan writers, and is traditionally retained to this day; *but what these seven sacraments really are, no one seems to know.*" Such are the protestants of Asia according to the testimony of Mr. Layard; such is the sect which he prefers to the Latin, Greek, and all the Eastern churches; such are the people whom he constitutes the judges of speculative doctrines, a people so ignorant even of the most practical and important matters of religion, that they do not know the nature, or even the number, of their own sacraments!

But let us see what are the doctrines of these "protestants of Asia." Mr. Layard is a most reluctant witness whenever he is obliged to admit that they are in accordance with those of the Catholic church, and consequently his testimony on this subject may be received without scruple.

Regarding the number of sacraments, he makes the following most important admission: "*The number seven is always mentioned by the earliest Chaldæan writers, and is traditionally retained to this day.*" Could any admission be stronger than this? The Protestants of Asia must have a very different belief regarding the number of the sacraments from the Protestants of Europe. He adds, indeed, as we have already seen, that no one seems to know what these sacraments really are. Supposing this to be true, it only proves the ignorance of the present Chaldæan Christians, which is a matter of no possible consequence in regard to the present controversy. The only question of importance is, what was the faith of the ancient Chaldæan Church? and we have the emphatic testimony of Mr. Layard, "that the number *seven* is *always* mentioned by the *earliest* Chaldæan writers, and that it is *traditionally* retained to this day. There is, therefore, no discrepancy amongst the *ancient* writers on this subject, and early tradition has uniformly transmitted the number seven. The discrepancies then of which Mr. Layard speaks, must be mere modern innovations, probably the importation of the Protestant missionaries, who have

found their way amongst the Nestorians. The very first lesson which the Protestant missionaries must teach their brethren of Asia is, that all their ancient books and traditions are wrong; that the number of the sacraments is not seven, but two; that they must abandon the faith which they had imbibed, according to Mr. Layard, (vol. i., p. 241.) when Christianity was first introduced amongst them; and that event, according to the same authority, must have taken place either in the time of the apostles, or of their immediate successors.

“Baptism,” Mr. Layard says, “is accompanied by confirmation in the Armenian Church, when the *meiron*, or consecrated oil is used,—a drop being placed on the forehead of the child. This confirmation, or consecration, appears to have originated in the custom of giving *extreme unction to an infant, in the fear* that it might die soon after immersion. Through the ignorance of its origin, this distinct sacrament came to be considered an integral part of Baptism; but neither Extreme Unction nor Confirmation appears to have been recognized as a sacrament by the Chaldæans.” Now this is really an amusing passage. Confirmation *does not appear* to have been recognized as a sacrament by the Chaldæans; and yet they, in common with the Greek, the Armenian, and all the other oriental Churches, administered it to infants immediately after Baptism. Again, this confirmation appears to have originated in the custom of *giving Extreme Unction to an infant in the fear that it might die soon after immersion*, although the Chaldæans appear not to have *recognized Extreme Unction as a sacrament!* As to the sapient conjecture that Confirmation originated in the custom of administering Extreme Unction to children, it is a simple absurdity, for all the oriental Churches confirm infants immediately after baptism, but never administer to them Extreme Unction in any circumstances. But that the ancient Chaldæan Church believed both Extreme Unction and Confirmation to be sacraments, is evident, because she admitted seven sacraments, and Mr. Layard does not tell us how this number was made up without Confirmation and Extreme Unction. He would gladly get rid of Auricular Confession, but his attempt to do so is one of the saddest upon record. “Auricular Confession,” he says, “which *once was practised as a sacrament, has now fallen into disuse.*” Here is a distinct admission

that the ancient Chaldæan Church, whose primitive doctrines are, according to Mr. Layard, Apostolic,—believed Auricular Confession to be a sacrament, and practised it also. The observation that it has *now* fallen into disuse, merely proves that some modern Chaldæans have neglected the practices of their ancient Church. There were in the Christian Church, even in the time of St. Paul, persons who did not live up to their professions; and we greatly fear that such persons are still to be found in every christian community. Mr. Layard himself admits that the neglect of a doctrine, even amongst the Chaldæans, is no argument against either its truth or its antiquity; for he expressly states that “ignorance may have led to the neglect of some doctrines and ceremonies.” At all events, we fear that the *ancient* Chaldæans, who believed auricular confession to be a sacrament, and practised it as such, cannot be looked upon as having been very staunch Protestants.

“A doubt exists,” according to our author, “as to whether marriage is to be considered a sacrament.” But if marriage was not anciently considered a sacrament amongst the Chaldæans, why did they begin to suspect that it was one? And, moreover, as there was *no doubt* that the number of the sacraments was seven, according to the computation of the ancient Chaldæans, we are afraid that it will be very difficult to make up the number without matrimony. In the first place, therefore, these Protestants of Asia agree with the Catholic Church in the vital doctrine of the sacraments.

2. Mr. Layard admits that the christian Chaldæans not only reckon Ordination amongst the sacraments, but, moreover, that the higher grades of the clergy,—the Patriarch, Archbishop, and Bishops, are not allowed to marry. When the principle is once recognized that a Church has the right to prohibit her ministers to marry, the extent to which she enforces it is merely a prudential consideration. The authority which is capable of binding the Patriarch, Archbishop, and Bishop, could surely also bind the Priest, Deacon, and Sub-deacon. Protestants must admit this, for they say, that to prohibit any one to marry is an unscriptural tyranny, and yet we find this prohibition practised by a people who, to use Mr. Layard’s words, “have preserved, almost in its original purity, their ancient faith, and who could not have bor-

rowed the practice from their neighbours, as they were isolated among the remote valleys of Kurdistan, and cut off from all intercourse with other christian communities.”

3. The Chaldæans agree with the Catholic Church in many other important points of discipline, which are vehemently assailed by Protestants. Layard acknowledges that they have the cross in their churches, and that they make the sign upon their persons *in common with the other christians of the East*. He adds, by way of salvo, “that this ceremony is not considered essential, but is looked upon rather in the light of a badge of christianity, and as a sign of brotherhood among themselves.” Mr. Layard must be grossly ignorant of the doctrines of the Catholic Church if he does not know that the ceremony of making the sign of the cross is not essential in the Catholic Church. Protestants, however, are the only Christians in the world who are ashamed of the sign of redemption.

The Chaldæans are, like the Catholics, much addicted to fasting, and they have no less than 152 days in the year in which abstinence from animal food is enjoined. Their liturgical books are still written in Syriac, which, like the Latin in the west, became the sacred language in the greater part of the east, although, like the latter, it has become obsolete, and is no longer spoken or understood by the people. Changing Mr. Layard's words a little, we can safely venture to say, that “these coincidences are the more important, and the more deserving of attention, inasmuch as they confirm many of the doctrines of the Catholic religion, and connect them with those of the primitive church. Corruptions may have crept in, and ignorance may have led to the neglect of doctrines and ceremonies; but, on the whole, it is a matter of wonder that, after the lapse of nearly seventeen centuries, the Chaldæans should still be what they are.”

There is not, however, much in all this, to entitle them to the appellation of the Protestants of Asia, or to the following fanciful eulogium: “Their ignorance of the superstitions of the Church of Rome, and their more simple observances and ceremonies, may be clearly traced to a primitive form of christianity, received by them before its corruption.” Their protestantism, however, is contained in the following points: 1. They refuse to the virgin those titles and that exaggerated veneration which were the origin of most of the superstitions and corruptions of the

Romish and eastern churches. 2. They deny the doctrine of purgatory, and are most averse, not only to the worship of images, but even to their exhibition. 3. They reject the doctrine of transubstantiation. 4. Bread and wine are distributed amongst the communicants, and persons of all ages are allowed to partake of the sacred elements. Christians of all denominations are admitted to receive the holy sacrament, whilst Chaldæans are allowed to communicate in any christian church.

We shall begin with this fourth point, and we think it must be admitted, that, according to Mr. Layard, the Chaldæan church is sufficiently liberal and accommodating. Unfortunately, however, the statement just recorded is not true, and if the author had not an exceedingly short memory, he would not have made it; for in the very same chapter, (vol. i. p. 262), he gives the profession of faith adopted by the fathers of their church, and which is still repeated twice a day by the Chaldæans, the title of which is as follows: "The creed which was composed by three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who were assembled at Nice, a city of Bithynia, in the time of King Constantine the Pious, on account of *Arius the infidel accursed.*" Every one knows how long and how widely spread the Arian heresy was, especially in the east, and that it still has a considerable number of adherents in the christian world; and certainly, the ancient Chaldæan church, at all events, would not have admitted *accursed infidels* to the holy sacrament, nor would she have allowed her own members to communicate in their churches. Perhaps, however we can enlighten Mr. Layard on this matter, although we have not travelled so far as Ninive. The eastern christians, who, although united with the Catholic church, observe their own peculiar rites in the city of Rome, use a large quantity of bread in celebrating mass, all precisely of the kind and shape used in the holy sacrifice. A small portion is consecrated at the sacrifice, and this is given to none but the communicants. The rest is blessed and distributed indiscriminately to all who choose to take it, no matter what may be their religion. We know that this ceremony, which is in no essential way connected with the doctrines of the churches in which it is in use, is very extensively practised in the east; and we have no doubt but that Mr. Layard derived his very erroneous ideas concerning the liberality of the Chaldæans, from having seen

or heard of it. He would very naturally confound the blessed bread with the consecrated elements which constitute the holy sacrament, as both are precisely the same in appearance.

Perhaps these observations may even throw some light upon the third point, for certainly the Nestorians do not now, nor did their Church ever believe that the bread which was merely blessed and which was distributed to all in the church, was changed into the body and blood of our Lord. However, this point is so important, that we shall examine it more closely. "In the rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation," (says Mr. Layard, vol. i., p. 264,) "they agree with the Reformed Church. Although some of the earlier writers have so treated of the subject as to lead to the supposition that they admit the actual presence. Any such admission is however undoubtedly at variance with their present professions, and with the assertions that I have on more than one occasion heard from their Patriarch and priests." It will be remembered that Mr. Layard's proof of the Apostolicity of Protestantism was this—that the Nestorians, who were "isolated in the remote valleys of Kurdistan, and cut off from all intercourse with other christian communities, still retained their primitive doctrines, after the lapse of nearly seventeen centuries," and that these doctrines, which were evidently derived from the Apostles, coincided with those of Protestantism. But if they have changed their doctrines in recent times, their present profession of any doctrine will, according to the same argument, be fatal to its truth, because it must be different from the doctrine which they professed in ancient times, and which they derived from the Apostles. Mr. Layard, indeed, asserts that any admission of transubstantiation is contrary to their present professions, and to the assertions which he heard on more than one occasion from their Patriarch and priests. But what do they say about the blessed Eucharist? In what words do they express their doctrine concerning it, whatever it may be? How is it spoken of in their offices and liturgies? As Mr. Layard pretends to a great deal of learning, he must have been aware that it had been proved by irrefragable arguments, that every Christian society in the world believed in transubstantiation up to the sixteenth century, and that the reformers, as they are called, in rejecting this doctrine, departed from the universal faith of the East as

well as of the West.* Mr. Layard himself is indeed a sufficient evidence regarding the ancient faith of the Nestorians. He admits that he examined their books and their earlier writers, and what did he find in them? The real presence; nor does he dare to say that they contain a single expression inconsistent with the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. What does he oppose to this argument? The *present professions and assertions*, which he heard on *more than one occasion* from their Patriarch and priests! We do not know whether this assertion be true, or whether Mr. Layard, who mistook even blessed bread for the sacramental species, may not have misunderstood some words and ceremonies, and in his zeal to discover Asiatic protestants, have hastily set them down as unfavourable to the Catholic doctrine. But if the professions of the present Nestorian Patriarch be such as Mr. Layard represents them, he is not the first person in that high position who deserted the ancient faith of his church. Jeremias, the Patriarch of Constantinople, adopted the protestant doctrine regarding the sacraments, for which his memory was solemnly anathematized by the whole Greek church. Nor, as far as the argument is concerned, is the truth or falsehood of this assertion of the slightest consequence: for Mr. Layard admits, that the protestant professions and assertions which are at *present* made on some occasions by the Patriarch and priests touching the eucharist, are contrary to the *ancient*, and, therefore, according to himself, to the true and apostolic doctrine.

What the real doctrine of the Nestorian church *was*, regarding the Eucharist, up to the days of Mr. Layard, the reader may see unanswerably demonstrated in various parts of the *Perpétuité de La Foi*, but especially in the tenth chapter of the fifth book. We are sorry that our space does not permit us to do more than merely to glance at these arguments:

1. The ancient authors, as James de Vitry, Brocard, Sanut, along with the more modern, as Ozorius, Pratheolus, Possevin, Botter, and Gabriel Sionita, who have expressly compared the doctrines of the Nestorians, with those of the Catholic church, and drawn up catalogues of the most

* Let any one who doubts this, read the ii, iii, iv, v, and xiii, book of the inimitable work, *Perpétuité De La Foi Touchant L'Euchariste*.

minute points in which they differed, have never said or insinuated that there was the slightest discrepancy between the two churches regarding transubstantiation, although the different kinds of bread used by the two churches is duly noted and dwelt upon. De Vitry certainly knew the doctrine of the Nestorians well, for he was bishop of Acre, and afterwards legate in Palestine, in both of which places there were large numbers of that sect.

2. The Calvinist authors who have written on the different religions and religious ceremonies in the world, as Brerewood, Hornbec, and Hottinger, who are in ecstasies on the slightest appearance of discrepancy between the eastern sects and the church of Rome, especially regarding the eucharist, have not been able, after all their labour and research, to discover in any history, or even in a book of travels, (what a pity Mr. Layard did not live in those times!) the shadow of a pretext for stating that any one of them denied or doubted the doctrine of transubstantiation. Nor can it be said that the doctrines of the Nestorians were unknown, for large numbers of them lived in the Isle of Cyprus and in Syria, mixed up with other christian sects, both of the east and of the west, who were not slow to discover the most trivial differences in religious matters, and to contend with bitter recriminations, whether the eucharistic bread should be leavened or unleavened. But, regarding the doctrine itself, no disputes arose, and consequently no differences existed.

3. The Popes, from the time of Innocent IV., constantly sent missionaries to the eastern sects, amongst which they always specially named the Nestorians. As early as 1244, the Franciscans scattered themselves over the east amongst the Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, Jacobites, and Nestorians. Innocent IV. sent missionaries to the Nestorians in 1253, and Boniface VIII. in 1299. John XXII. sent missionaries to all the eastern sectaries, including the Nestorians, in 1318; and in 1328, he obliged the Dominicans to furnish him with fifty missionaries, whom he sent, with a great many Franciscans, into Turkey, Persia, and India, where the greater number of christians were then Nestorians. This was long before the Reformation took place, and the missionaries had no motive to induce them to conceal the doctrines of those amongst whom they were sent. On the contrary, those were the palmy days of the Inquisition, when the slightest suspicion of heresy was

sought out so assiduously; and these Dominican and Franciscan missionaries were the very men from amongst whom the inquisitors were selected. We know that wherever they were sent in the west, their first care was, to ascertain what were the doctrines of the heretics, especially regarding the eucharist, and we may be sure that they did not act differently in the east. They sent regular reports of their missions to the Popes, and to the heads of their orders, in which they carefully enumerated the errors of the sectaries, to whom they were sent. As far as the Nestorians are concerned, they do not accuse them of any heresy, but that which regards the personality of Christ. This can be proved in a more satisfactory way than by quoting their reports. The Nestorians were several times united with, and again separated from, the Catholic church; and, at the time of each union, they were required to abjure the doctrine of Nestorius; but never to make the least change in their professions regarding the eucharist. When the Nestorians relapsed into heresy, they never alleged any other doctrinal cause except the dogma of the double personality of Christ. Were these numerous inquisitors, who lived amongst the people, and who had such a sharp scent for heresy, unable to smell it out amongst the Nestorians? Or did the Nestorians, who came frequently to Rome during the same period, and resided there, fail to discover transubstantiation? Or did each party dissemble what they must have considered the abominable errors of the other, even after the rupture?

4. In 1274, the Nestorian Archbishop of Nisibis sent a confession of faith to Rome, in which he points out all the discrepancies between the belief of his own and the Catholic church; yet, does not say a word about the eucharist. When in 1442 Eugene IV. held at Rome some supplementary sessions to the council of Florence, many Nestorians of the Isle of Cyprus, along with their metropolitan Timothy, were reconciled with the Catholic church. The only doctrine they were obliged to renounce, was that which regarded the personality of Christ; and yet, if there had existed any discrepancy regarding transubstantiation, it must have been known to both parties, for Nestorians and Catholics were mixed together in Cyprus, much as Catholics and Protestants are in this country. Besides, the metropolitan Timothy made his confession of faith at Rome; and it actually contains a promise, that he will not

use oil in preparing the bread which is to be consecrated. Can any one believe that such minute points as this could have been discussed, and yet, that the great and essential dogma of transubstantiation would have been passed over, if both parties had not concurred in their belief regarding it? Indeed, in the partial reconciliation of the Nestorians, which took place under Julius III., we have the real presence mentioned cursorily, and as a matter upon which no discrepancy existed: "We believe," says Simon Sulacha, the patriarch whom the converted Nestorians elected, "in Holy Baptism, and in the sacrifice which is the body and blood of Christ;" and his successor, Abdjésu, in a book called *Margaritarum*, which he wrote whilst he was still a violent Nestorian, says, "By the words of our Saviour, 'the bread is changed into his body, and the wine into his precious blood.'"

5. Pope Paul V. took advantage of the return of some Chaldæans who had been at Rome, to send a profession of faith to the Nestorian Patriarch, Marcus Elias, by whom it was submitted to the Bishops of his jurisdiction, with instructions that they should take a year to consider it. They drew up a reply, and transmitted it to the Pope, by Adam, Archdeacon of the Patriarchal chamber, and Superior of the religious of Chaldæa. It is expressly stated in this document, (p. 16) that it was the object of the compilers, to state all the differences between the Nestorians and the Church of Rome. The Patriarch declares, in a letter which he gave to Father Adam, when carrying this confession of their faith to Rome, that an entire year had been spent in sending it from village to village, and that it had received the deliberate approval of every Bishop of his communion. Yet this document does not say a single word regarding the Eucharist, although the Chaldæans who had resided at Rome could not have been ignorant of the Catholic doctrine on this point. It endeavoured to show that the dispute concerning the personality of Christ, was a question about words; and, consequently, if the language in which the two Churches spoke of the Eucharist had been different, this would have been noticed. Peter Strozza, the Pope's secretary, was commanded to answer the Nestorian declaration, which he did in a manner that savoured more of harshness than of condescension. He softened down nothing, at once rejected their explanation regarding the personality of Christ, and insisted that they would

express the doctrine in the very language of the Roman Church. Father Adam submitted, and though he remained three years at Rome, said Mass frequently, and received communion from the hands of Catholic Priests, neither he nor the clergy of Rome to whom he had been sent in the name of the Nestorian Church, expressly to discuss doctrinal differences, even suspected that there was the slightest discrepancy between the two Churches on the subject of the Eucharist. Neither the private instructions which Strozza received regarding the manner of reconciling the Nestorians, which are printed in the secretary's work, "*De dogmatibus Chaldeorum*," nor the books which were given to Father Adam for the instruction of his countrymen, contain a word regarding the Eucharist, although they treat largely of the incarnation and person of Christ, of the two natures, and two wills, and of the procession of the Holy Ghost. The Pope did not act like a person who was ready to wink at errors in order to effect an apparent reconciliation, for he rejected the mode of reconciliation proposed by the Patriarch, and insisted that every proposition should be condemned which could possibly cloak an error.

After Father Adam's return, he wrote to his countrymen, imploring them to imitate his example, and *abjure their errors*. In these writings, he insists on the unity of Christ's person, and the other points just mentioned, but never once insinuates that his countrymen entertained the slightest doubt regarding the real presence or transubstantiation. On the contrary, he always speaks of these doctrines as truths universally received by the Nestorians. In a treatise entitled, "*A discourse against heretics opposed to the truth of the Roman Catholic Church*," he says: "Nestorius taught regarding the vivifying sacraments, that we are nourished by the body and blood of a pure man, who is not at all God. But this doctrine is not pleasing to God, for we eat the true body of God, but of God incarnate." It is clear, then, that the controversy between the Nestorians and Catholics, was not whether they eat the body and drank the blood of Christ, but whether they were the body and blood of a pure man or of the Man-God.

6. The Nestorian Missal never speaks of the Eucharist but by the name of the precious body and blood of Christ. The bread to be used in the holy sacrifice, must be pre-

pared in the church by a priest, who stamps it with the sign of the cross, and then pronounces various prayers over it, all of which end in this manner: "that it may be worthy to form the body of our Lord Jesus Christ."* In the celebration of the Mass, the following prayer is always said: "All ye who come to enjoy the delights of these glorious and divine mysteries, confess and *adore* together the Lord of all things, and receive with piety and faith the *body of His Son Christ, who was sacrificed* to give us life, who has atoned for our sins, and reconciled us to his Father by shedding his precious blood. And behold *he descends upon the altar from the right hand of his Father, and although he is one and indivisible, yet he is every day sacrificed* in the Church. Come, approach with respect to the *sacrifice of this body, which sanctifies all things*, and cry out to him all together, saying, 'Glory be to thee.'"

The two remaining points of Asiatic Protestantism, we shall dispose of very briefly. "They refuse to the Virgin," says Mr. Layard, "those titles, and that exaggerated veneration which were the origin of most of the superstitions and corruptions of the Romish and Eastern Churches." We ask no stronger testimony than this in favour of the Catholic doctrine. It is here admitted that the Christians of the East, with the exception of the Nestorians, agreed with those of the West in giving to the Virgin those titles and that honour which he is pleased to call exaggerated. Why this is the very doctrine for which Nestorius was anathematized, and his followers cut off from the Church, more than fourteen centuries ago. The Nestorians held that there were two Christs,—the son of Mary and the Son of Jehovah; that the former was a pure man, and the latter, God, who never took flesh. The reason why the Nestorians denied to the Blessed Virgin the titles and veneration due to the Mother of God, was because they imagined that there were two Christs. Their doctrine regarding the Virgin was a mere consecratory of their doctrine regarding the two Christs, and if Protestants take

* See these prayers in "Martene De Antiquis Euleriæ Ritibus," vol. i., lib. i., cap. iii., art. 7. The concluding words of the prayer are, "ut sit in signaculum et perfectionem *formationis* corporis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi."

the former on *the authority of the Nestorians*, they must undoubtedly receive the latter also. Those who deny the existence of two Christs destroy the sole reason why the Nestorians refused to Mary the titles and veneration of Mother of God. For our own part, we rather prefer to the authority of Nestorius that of the holy mother of St. John the Baptist, who, being filled with the Holy Ghost, exclaimed, "Whence is this to me, that the *mother of my Lord* should come unto me?" But Mr. Layard does not and cannot deny that the Nestorians venerate and pray to the saints in heaven, and especially to the holy Mother of Jesus Christ; for, in common with all other Eastern sects, they have festivals in Her honour, have churches, chapels, and altars consecrated to God under the invocation of the Virgin, and in their liturgies, as well as in their version of the Horologue,—which contains prayers for the day and for the night,—there are numberless supplications addressed to Mary.

Mr. Layard's last assertion is, that the Chaldæans "deny the doctrine of Purgatory, and are most averse not only to the worship of images, but even to their exhibition." The Nestorians, in common with all the other sects of Eastern christians, pray for the dead. After the commemoration of the living, the following commemoration for the souls of the faithful departed occurs in their liturgy. "Hear us also, O Lord, for those who have gone before us, and have died in the orthodox faith; forgive them their sins, and admit them into the abodes of peace." Similar prayers occur perpetually in the Horologue. Besides, they have Offices and Masses for the Dead, just as in the Catholic Church. They believe, therefore, that the souls of some of the faithful departed which are not damned, have still sins to be atoned for, on account of which they are not admitted into a place of rest, and that they can be assisted on their way to heaven by the sacrifice of the Mass, and by the prayers and alms of the faithful. The place where they are detained until their admission into the abodes of peace, we call Purgatory.

We have already seen that the Nestorians, in common with the other Eastern christians, have festivals in honour of the Saints, and especially of the Blessed Virgin; that they have churches and altars consecrated to God, under their invocation; and that their liturgical books and Horologue are filled with prayers to them. We also know

that they have the cross in their churches, and that they stamp its sign upon the bread to be used in the Sacrifice of the Mass. Mr. Layard also saw some tawdry representations of the Saints in their churches, which were brought there, of course, by those horrid creatures the Catholic missionaries. We can only say, that if the modern Nestorians reject the use of images, they desert the ancient, and according to Mr. Layard, the Apostolic faith of their church; for it is prescribed in the administration of Extreme Unction, in all the Eastern churches, that the blessed lamp should be placed before an image of the Virgin. It is prescribed also, that when the priest goes to the altar to commence the liturgy, he shall incense the images of the Virgin and Saints; and, in fact, there is a particular office for the blessing of an image. There is a story told by Abulfarage—a Jacobite author, who was thoroughly conversant with the doctrines of the Eastern Christians—which shows that they venerated images and kept lamps lighted before them out of devotion. He says, “That a certain Nestorian physician, being in the house of a Christian of Bagdad, saw an image of Christ and the Apostles, before which a lamp was burning. ‘Why,’ said he, ‘do you waste this oil, for this is not Jesus Christ nor his Apostles, but only their images?’ And to show his contempt, he spat upon them. This fact being reported to the Patriarch, he, with the concurrence of the bishops, excommunicated him.”

We do not indeed deny, that Mr. Layard may have met persons calling themselves Christians, who may have rejected all the doctrines which he has enumerated, but we have proved that they have departed from the faith of the ancient Chaldæan Church. If we may judge of the Chaldæans by the Christians of St. Thomas, in Malabar, who formed a part of the Nestorian Church, and were subject to its Patriarch, we can easily explain how Mr. Layard discovered all the doctrines he has mentioned, and a great many which he has not mentioned amongst the Protestants of Asia. He says, indeed, that until lately the Christians of St. Thomas were Nestorians, but that they suddenly turned round and embraced the opposite errors. This is, however, most probably a mistake; for we know that almost all the contradictory errors regarding Christ's person were taught in their books nearly three centuries ago, and whilst they were still dependant on the Nestorian Patri-

archs, and instructed by the missionaries whom they sent amongst them. We are inclined to believe that Mr. Layard is as much indebted to M. La Croze's book* as to actual observation, for what he has written about the doctrines of the Nestorians; for we find in this author, not only the errors which Mr. Layard has attributed to them, but the same reflections regarding the purity of their faith, and their isolation from the Christian world. La Croze owes his information to Geddes, † who relies entirely on the acts of the Synod assembled at Diamper, in June, 1599, by the Archbishop of Goa, for the purpose of reconciling the Nestorian with the Catholic Church. The Nestorian Archdeacon, who administered the church at Malabar, attended. He had relapsed so often, that the Archbishop required of him, before admitting him into his communion, to abjure the heresy of Nestorius—acknowledge there was but one Christian law—anathematize the Patriarch of Babylon as a Nestorian heretic, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. But no retractation or profession was required of him regarding transubstantiation, images, the invocation of saints, purgatory, the sacraments, or any other doctrine mentioned by Mr. Layard, which is an evident proof, that on all these points the chief pastor of the Nestorian Church of Malabar was quite orthodox. ‡ From the acts of the synod, however, we find that there were a vast number of Apocryphal books in circulation, which had infected the people, and even the lower orders of the clergy, with all kinds of errors, superstitions, and blasphemies.§ Among these books we find mentioned, the Infancy of our Saviour; Book of Lots of King Solomon; Book of procession of Holy Spirit; Margarita Fidei; Book of Timothy the Patriarch, &c. We do not deny that these works contain all the errors men-

* *Histoire Du Christianisme des Judes*, Par M. V. La Croze, Bibliothecaire et Antiquaire du Roi De Prusse. Alahaye, 1724.

† *The History of the Church of Malabar, &c.*, by Michael Geddes, Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum. London, 1694.

‡ See the ten articles which he was obliged to sign, and of which we have given the substance in the text, in Geddes, pp. 94, 95, 96.

§ The blasphemies which we have enumerated in the text, with a great many more, will be found in Geddes, fron. p. 102.

tioned by Mr. Layard, and that some of them found their way into the greater Breviary, and others which were used as prayer-books in the churches. But when Protestants insist that these books contain their own doctrines, and the doctrines of the Apostles, they have no right to cull out one or two points and reject all the rest. We therefore beg to cite a few points by way of specimen. They contain the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and teach that all things happen by fate and necessity. Some of them condemn holy images and the sign of the cross, because it is *unlawful to think of our Lord's passion*; whilst in others, or in other parts even of the same book, the sign of the cross is called a sacrament instituted by Christ. It is asserted at one time that the Word did not take flesh; and again, that not only the Son, but the eternal Father and the Holy Ghost, also took flesh. The angel is said to have delivered his message to the virgin, not at Nazareth, but in the temple; and it is further stated, that St. Joseph, who had another wife and children whilst he was betrothed to Mary, took her to the Rabbins, who could not tell how she had conceived; and that he often reprov'd the child Jesus for his naughty tricks whilst he was at school with the Rabbins. They say that the Evangelists, being often absent when Christ's actions were performed, do not record them truly, and hence they frequently contradict one another. Nay, Mr. Layard might have even found here the germ of his devil-worshippers, for they teach that the worse any one is in this world, the less he is tormented in hell, on account of his greater conformity and friendship with the devils; and that a woman who carries about with her the names of seven devils, is in no danger of evil. Yet these blasphemies have been imported into Europe as pure specimens of Asiatic Apostolic Protestantism!

ART. V.—*Impediments to the Prosperity of Ireland.* By W. NEILSON HANCOCK, LL.D. M.R.I.A. Archbishop Whately's Professor of Political Economy in the University of Dublin, and Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Queen's College, Belfast. London: Simms and M'Intyre. 1850.

WE look upon the publication of this work as an essential service to the country, and cannot name any other so calculated to promote its welfare. In the preface we are informed that the substance of its contents was delivered in Trinity College, in the form of lectures, "as part of the course required from Archbishop Whately's professor of Political Economy," and was afterwards read, with some alterations, at the meetings "of the Dublin Statistical Society, held in 1847, 1848, and 1849, in a series of papers which were from time to time published by the society, for the use of its members."

Our readers cannot forget, that for years we have been pressing on their attention, as the cause of the ruin of the country, the special system of modern statute law, devised by our landlord legislators, as exclusively adapted to our peculiar organizations; and which was so inconsistent with all sense, all reason, all science, all experience, and all *avowed* theory, that no people, not even the supercaucasian, nay, superhuman, Anglo-Saxon, could struggle against it. In a recent number, we pointed, with some satisfaction, to the fact, that all the professors of Political Economy in Trinity College had, in their examination before the Poor Law committee of last year, given expression to similar views, so far as they were examined. To Mr. Hancock's opinions we repeatedly referred, as in accordance with our own, on many questions of great interest to the farmers of the country. Though he expressed those opinions in a committee-room of the House of Commons, we confess that we did not suppose for a moment that they had been once ventilated within the walls of T. C. D.; since, as with that institution, the mass of the people have no more connexion than the Fellahs of Egypt had with the training-schools of the Mamelukes, we fancied that the lessons there given were adapted to the scions of landlordism, and the maintenance of the current theories, founded on the supposition of their

superior organization ; and that anything approaching to common sense would be regarded there as an outrage on the principles which are supposed to have formed the end of its institution. It is with no small degree of pleasure we have had these notions dissipated, and discovered that the principles taught, by one, at least, of its professors, are such as meet with our cordial approbation. Had that University, for the last half century, had such teachers as Mr. Hancock, the country could not be in its present shocking condition ; and if such teachers be continued there, a change must, ere the close of the century, come over its condition.

We should certainly delight to see the talents of our countrymen employed in evolving the true principles of political economy, and hoisting the landlords in their own gymnasium with their own favourite petard. Indeed, we must say, that if the true doctrines of political science are to be enunciated in any educational establishment, they are more likely to be so in an independent institution like Trinity, than in colleges under the direct control and patronage of the government, in which the professors are of necessity bound to teach the theories of their masters. For instance, while we shall be blessed with a parliament and a government of landlords, we cannot reasonably expect to hear lectures on Political Economy in any of the Queen's colleges, tracing the evils of the country to Landlord Legislation. On the contrary, the professors in these institutions will be bound to see that the Landlords are, as we have often said, a special creation of Providence, and the only persons qualified to legislate for this great, mighty, constitutional, &c., &c., country, and that our misery is attributable to our climate, or our character, our defective organization, our erroneous theology, our love of potatoes, or our want of capital, manufactures, or industrial knowledge ; in short, to anything rather than the novel landlord arrangements respecting our occupation of the soil.

In this little volume, we have a striking proof of the correctness of this assumption, in a contrast between Mr. Hancock's and Sir Robert Kane's theories. The latter, of course, (as a government Professor should,) attributes all our woes to our own mismanagement. We think we cannot do better than place *in extenso* before the reader, Mr.

Hancock's 43rd chapter, in which he thus refutes the theories of the government Professor :

“ I cannot conclude without noticing again, a theory alluded to in the commencement of this treatise, which has received the support of some of the most distinguished writers in Ireland, and is indeed very generally received amongst even the most enlightened thinkers, namely, that the state of agriculture is mainly caused by want of industrial knowledge. Sir Robert Kane has given especial encouragement to this theory in his celebrated work, ‘*The Industrial Resources of Ireland.*’ Thus he commences with taking as his motto, the saying of a distinguished foreign writer, Briavrionne, ‘*Qu’ est ce que fait la difference entre l’ Angleterre riche et florissant, et l’ Irlande pauvre et imbecile? Le savoir industriel.*’ And in his last chapter, he states the result of his investigations : ‘*The fault is not in the country, but in ourselves. The absence of successful enterprise is owing to the fact, that we do not know how to succeed. We do not want activity—we are not deficient in mental power—but we want special industrial knowledge.*’

“ Let us test this opinion by considering the successive investigations on which it is based. Sir Robert Kane commences his work by explaining the importance of fuel in the industrial arts. Let us take the three classes of fuel—wood, coal, and turf. We have seen that the scarcity of wood in Ireland arises from the law with regard to trees. Now no amount of knowledge with regard to the use of wood will lead to trees being planted, until the law allows them to be grown with profit to the cultivator. And a few instances of a tenant losing largely by his expenditure in planting, from the operation of the law, like the one I brought forward, will effectually paralyze exertion in this useful and essential branch of national enterprise, in spite of any amount of industrial knowledge. As to coals, we have seen that the laws as to leasing coal mines, had to be altered in a recent Session of Parliament—a palpable admission that the law, and not the want of knowledge, stood in the way of this kind of enterprise. And lastly, as to turf, we have seen that the law prevented the experiment of driving a flax spinning-mill by turf, from being tried in the north of Ireland. Had that mill been established, its progress would have done more to prove the truth of the speculations as to the utility of turf as fuel for industrial operations, than fifty treatises. Had it succeeded and prospered, as the calculations with regard to turf lead us to expect it would have done, the example of such success would have taught the people the value of turf more effectually than any system of education that could be devised. Until the law allows mills to be built in turf bogs, no amount of industrial knowledge can lead to an extensive use of turf in mills.

“ The next subject noticed in the ‘*Industrial Resources,*’ is water-power. The neglect of water-power in Ireland, arises partly from

the want of demand for the products of the machinery it could drive, and partly from the defective state of the law which impedes the erection of mills. The next subject noticed is minerals and mines. But we have seen that the state of the law respecting mining leases, was the impediment to this branch of industry. The Act of 1847, although not removing all the defects, will so far improve the law, as to free mining operations from the most injurious restrictions imposed upon them. But, indeed, on the subject of mines, Sir Robert Kane has himself refuted the 'Want of Industrial Knowledge' theory, for in the page preceding the one in which he ascribes the state of Ireland to our want of industrial knowledge—adding, that England is far above us in industrial knowledge—he has the following observations respecting mines; 'Numerous companies have been, from time to time, formed in England, for the purpose of developing some branch of the industrial resources of Ireland, especially our mines. They have been almost universal failures, and Ireland, as a field of enterprise, has been at a discount in the English market.' Where is the evidence of want of industrial knowledge in this statement? If the failures in Irish mines are failures of English capitalists, the fault cannot be in us, or in our want of industrial knowledge.

"The subject, however, to which Sir Robert Kane has, with great truth, attached paramount importance, is the state of agriculture. He has ascribed its present disgraceful state to the want of industrial knowledge; and has especially recommended industrial instruction as the remedy. Let us test the value of this recommendation, by taking the three most important lessons in agricultural improvement—namely, the theory of rotation of crops, the theory of thorough drainage, and the theory of farm buildings. These may be summed up in a few words; that a two years' rotation of oats and potatoes is not so profitable to the farmer as the six years' rotation recommended in agricultural treatises; that thorough drainage will repay the occupier in fourteen years at farthest; that farm buildings are an exceedingly profitable investment for the farmers, (repaying in some forty or fifty years). The whole of agricultural instruction must resolve itself into propositions similar to those I have stated; for the test of every new mode of cultivation is its profit to the person who adopts it. If more profitable to him, it is more advantageous than the old method; if less profitable, its adoption must be injurious.

"But the truth of these propositions depends on the state of the law. Thus, a two years' rotation may be more profitable than a six years' rotation for yearly tenants, who have no legal security against their rent being raised, or against being ejected before the end of six years; for should either of these events happen, the profit that would accrue to a leasehold tenant is not received by a yearly tenant. In the same way thorough drainage will not repay a tenant in fourteen years, unless he is sure of not having his rent raised, and of not being ejected without compensation before the end of the time. Farm buildings require still

greater security to make it prudent for a tenant to invest any capital in them.

“Now, when we consider that the majority of Irish tenants are yearly tenants, and the majority of the landlords are tenants for life under strict settlement; and when we know that all improvements, whether in rotation of crops, in thorough drainage, or in buildings, by law belong not to the improver, whether landlord or tenant, but become part of the freehold, and subject to all the limitations of ownership that it is subject to; it follows that, with regard to the majority of those connected with land in Ireland, whether as proprietors or occupiers, the propositions, that long rotations of crops, thorough drainage, and farm buildings, are profitable to the improver, are not, in legal strictness, true. Such undertakings never can be profitable to the majority of improvers, unless some person, over whom they have no control, consents to forego a legal right for their advantage. A few instances of parties refusing to forego their legal rights, and so preventing improvers from reaping the full profit of their labour and capital, effectually paralyzes exertion, and stops the progress of improved agriculture. Agricultural instruction depends for its success—indeed, I may say, for its truth—on the state of the law.”—Chapter 43.

This chapter may be taken as a fair indication of the theories that do and will prevail in independent institutions like Trinity, and in government offices like the Queen's Colleges. The ingenuous youth seeking truth in the groves of *Blarney*, will be taught that our social arrangements as “by law established” are perfect; while those seeking it in the groves of Trinity will learn that they are a combination of folly, ignorance, and selfishness, and the source of all our miseries, by violating the fundamental principle of “non-interference with private enterprise,” which is “in political economy what gravitation is in astronomy,” and a disregard of which,

“Either in public or private policy, leads to results quite as much at variance with common prudence, as a disregard of the law of gravitation. It leads all parties to attend to other business than their own. Landlords devise plans for encouraging manufactures, instead of applying themselves to the good management of the land. Benevolent people get up charitable loan funds and fishery companies, instead of leaving these trades to be carried on by money lenders and fishermen. In *public* affairs, politicians, instead of confining themselves to their proper business, the protection of the community from fraud and violence, and exerting themselves to have the legislation of the country framed in the best manner to effect this great object, are occupied with plans for stimulating industry, lending money for drainage or railways, encouraging particular trades, promoting emigration, or regulating the manner

in which various parties shall carry on their dealings. Thus the soundest principles of science coincide with the lessons of common prudence in teaching each person to mind his own business, and to follow the dictates of enlightened self-interest, as the best means of promoting the welfare of himself, of his country, and of the whole family of man."—pp. xx-i.

Thus, the contrast is complete between the theories of the two professors; and the more we think on the subject, the more we are inclined to believe, that as Trinity has heretofore taught the theology, the new colleges will henceforth teach the political economy, of the landlords. They certainly cannot any longer hope to have their economic heresies inculcated in Trinity, if we may judge of the spirit of future professors by that evinced by Mr. Hancock and his predecessors, Longfield, Butt, and Lawson.

The great principle which Mr. Hancock inculcates is, that the state should not interfere with private enterprise; and to those who might be ready to say, that on this theory everything should be left as it is here now, his answer is, that

“This reasoning is quite true if we suppose it applied to a state of affairs in which there is no legislative interference with the enterprise of individuals. But where such interference does exist, to leave things as they are is to perpetuate interference. Whenever, therefore, we find extensive social evils, our first enquiry should be, have there been, or are there any restrictions on private enterprise?”

After considering the state of our agriculture in past and present times, and the various causes assigned for its backward condition,—the ignorance, the perverseness, the indolence of the people, their Tartar, Spanish, and Celtic organisations, (for each has, in turn, served to explain the mystery) and *the potato*, which is the latest solution of it, he says another theory remains—that it is caused by the state of the law; and

“This,” he observes, “is the solution of the facts observed, which is suggested by the best established principles of economic science. The principle of non-interference teaches us, that in all industrial undertakings we may rely on the best results being produced by private enterprise, if it be only emancipated from the restrictions which the ignorance and folly of past generations have allowed to become sanctioned by law. Private enterprise requires no artificial instructor, nature herself is the best instructor in industrial occu-

pations ; she teaches by examples, exhibiting the result of wise conduct in the success and profit which the Almighty has annexed to human exertions when directed by ability and knowledge ; and at the same time showing the disastrous consequences of ignorance and folly, in the failure and loss which, by the same all wise providence of God, is made the inevitable consequence of human exertions misapplied or perverted. In the school of nature, the prize is gain, the punishment is loss. Such a system acting on a man's instinct of self interest, leads to results alike beneficial to the individual and to the community. Where, therefore, we find an industrial undertaking badly carried on, instead of attacking the character of the people, or recommending government instruction, we ought first to enquire whether there are any legal impediments to the free operations of private enterprise.

* * * * *

“ If, as we have seen, we should look to the state of the law for the causes of the state of agriculture, we naturally enquire whether those conditions are fulfilled which have been observed to be necessary to the success of all manufactures and trades ; namely, freedom to purchase the raw produce, security for the application of capital, and freedom to sell the manufactured article. It has been long ago demonstrated, and is admitted by every economist of reputation, that every impediment to the freedom of purchase and of sale, and every circumstance creating insecurity for the employment of capital to the extent of their operation, impede the prosperity and improvement of the manufacture or trade to which they apply. I am not venturing on a very rash hypothesis, then, in stating that we may expect the same causes to produce the same effects in agriculture which we know they produce in every trade or manufacture. The main causes, then, to which I ascribe the state of agriculture in Ireland are, *the legal impediments to the free transfer and sale of land, whether waste or improved, and the legal impediments to the application of capital to agricultural operations.*” *—pp. 32-3-4.

Mr. Hancock then goes into an examination of the various laws and practices which restrict the free transfer of land, and suggests divers measures which would be highly beneficial ; but as we recently considered this subject fully, we do not deem it necessary to follow him now. His remedies are all very good ; but they are founded on the principle of leaving the present system of entails and settlements undisturbed, and engrafting on them certain other provisions which would counteract their baleful influence. Thus, he would allow a sale of entailed

* The italics are his own.

land, placing the purchase money in chancery, subject to the same limitations and uses as the land itself. This would be no doubt a great improvement, and we should wish to see it adopted; but still, we think it better to keep the attention of the public fixed on the true measure of reform, namely, to clear the statute book of all the provisions which have created entails and settlements, and leave the alienation and transfer of land as free as it was at common law. If this were done, it would supersede the necessity of a great many of the very useful suggestions which Mr. Hancock makes for enabling both landlords and tenants to apply their capital to the improvement of the land. We concur entirely in what he says as to extent of government interference on this subject:

“Here, then, we see at once the true business of government, as pointed out by economic science. It consists not in lending money for drainage, for railways, nor for fisheries. Such can better be done by private enterprise. Neither does it consist in patronising particular manufactures, nor in attempting to regulate profits by usury laws, rents by valuations, nor wages by organization. Such interference is unjust and impolitic; but it does consist in the careful, but progressive and complete, alteration of the law, so as to make it ever conformable to the teachings of the most advanced discoveries in social science; it does consist in removing every legal impediment to our progress in wealth, happiness, and civilisation.”—p. 71.

After showing from Adam Smith and the Land Occupation Commissioners' report, that landlords are less likely to improve the land than tenants, he proceeds to consider six “of the legal impediments to the tenants expending their capital in improvements:” “first, the old feudal principle, that the ownership of improvements follows the ownership of the land; secondly, the law of agricultural fixtures; thirdly, the restraints on leasing power; fourthly, the restraints on the power of making tenant right agreements; fifthly, stamps on leases and other contracts with tenants; and sixthly, the remnant of the usury laws.” As many of our readers may think the two last very debateable topics, we shall briefly follow him through the other four. For three of these, namely, all but the second, our suggestion of a return to the common law, and so abolishing all restraint on alienations and contracts relating to land, would afford a ready remedy. His suggestion

looks more practical; but in the present composition of the legislature, is not a whit more so, as it is impossible to get a club of landlords to agree to do justice to tenants, and "to alter the rule of law, by enacting that, in the absence of any contract to the contrary, or of any notice not to make the particular improvements, all improvements shall be deemed to be the property of the person who made them; the owner of the land, on receiving possession of it, to acquire at the same time the right of enjoying all the improvements on paying the market price for them; the improver retaining a charge on the improvements for his compensation until paid."—(p. 78.) If the legislature were inclined to do anything so just and rational, they need not go annually through the farce of considering and passing through divers stages a *Landlord and Tenant Bill*, introduced for the pretended purpose of giving tenants security for improvements, and so framed, that if by any chance it were to become a statute, it could serve no purpose but that of extending their own powers, and entrapping and ruining a too confiding tenantry. They never will assent to anything of the kind; and therefore we anticipate the introduction annually by some member of the government with great pomp and solemnity, and perhaps even after a notification in the speech from the throne, of "a Bill to improve the Relations of Landlord and Tenant," until the tenantry of the realm shall insist on having a voice in the legislation which so deeply concerns, and leaving it no longer exclusively in the hands of the duly qualified geocrats, who use it for no other purpose than to extract their life-blood from them.

His suggestion respecting agricultural fixtures, is to extend to them the relaxation of the law which has been adopted with regard to trade fixtures, so that they might belong to the tenant, and be removable by him. Of the evils arising from restraints on leasing powers, and on the power of making tenant right agreements, he gives many striking instances; but the majority of our agricultural readers are so practically acquainted with them, that we need not follow him through them. It appears that they check the progress not only of agriculture, but of manufactures. Mills cannot be built in suitable localities, because leases cannot be had for terms sufficiently long, or of sufficient quantities of land. The petty special legislation devised from time to time to meet some of these evils, is almost ludi-

crous. Thus, in 1785, an act was passed, allowing persons with limited estates to give long leases for the erection of mills; but each lease could embrace only three acres. In 1800, another act was passed, extending the number of acres to 15 in favour of persons carrying on the *cotton* trade. But other restrictions were imposed, which effectually counteracted these; and then, on the linen trade becoming more profitable, there was no power to change from the one trade to the other. Is it not clear that the proper remedy for all these absurdities is to clear the statute book from them, and restore the principles of common law and common sense?

Mr. Hancock's chapters, explaining the state of the law in relation to the planting of trees, are well worthy of consideration. Sir R. Kane explains the present tree-less condition of the country, by saying, that the trees with which it was formerly so thickly covered, were cut away, in some instances, to increase the extent of arable land; in others, to deprive outlaws of shelter; in others, for exportation; and, in others, for making charcoal for the iron trade, which prevailed here about two centuries since, and, that "during all this time, no one planted. All sought their immediate profit, and cared not for the future." Mr. Hancock gives a different explanation of the phenomenon, showing that it is the result of the law, by the following system of induction:

"According to the common law, if land on which trees are growing be demised, though the trees are not excepted, they cannot be felled by the tenant, as he is only entitled to their annual fruit and shelter. Neither can they be cut down by the landlord, unless they have been excepted out of the demise, or power has been reserved to the landlord to enter and fell them, if so, the tenant has a special interest in their fruit and shade. If the tenant plant timber trees, they immediately become subject to this state of the law, and neither he nor the landlord can fell them, unless the tenant be authorized by the terms of his lease, or by the consent of the inheritor. Formerly, tenants in Ireland were, in the absence of express stipulation, authorised by the common law to cut for estovers, to be applied in repairs of buildings, any timber growing on the lands. But this power was taken away by a statute passed in the Irish Parliament, (31 Geo. III., c. 40, s. 1.)

"It requires a very slight knowledge of economic principles, to predict the effects of this state of the law. Tenants would not expend capital in planting trees, where they only got the fruit and shelter, whilst the most valuable part of the return belonged to the

landlord. Landlords could not plant without the consent of their tenants, who would of course refuse to let the ground be occupied in a manner so unproductive to them. Even where trees were planted, they were not taken care of, as the tenants had no interest in preserving them."

Before we proceed to notice Mr. Hancock's suggestion of a remedy, we think it right to state, that a being of superior order, who may be taken as the type of those transcendental Anglo-Saxon statesmen who are not "stump orators," and whose enlightened policy and profound, yet practical, genius, clearly mark them as a *heaven-organized* generation, suggests as a remedy, that each of us should go and plant one tree, and thus the island would be at once ornamented with eight millions of them. This is Mr. Carlyle's plain, real, matter of fact advice; and we know not what Germano-Latino-Anglo-Saxon hybrid epithets will be deservedly showered upon us, if we do not at once adopt it. Mr. Hancock's suggestion is of a humbler and less pretentious character. He says:—

"The remedy for this state of the law was obvious enough, to give the tenant the property in the trees; thus securing his interest in planting and preserving them. Accordingly, we find this admitted in an act of Parliament passed upwards of eighty years ago, (5 and 6 Geo. III., c. 17,) which recites, 'that it is equal to inheritors, whether tenants do not plant, or have a property in what they plant.' The act then proceeds to enact, that tenants for lives renewable for ever, shall not be impeachable for waste in timber trees or woods which they shall hereafter plant; in other words, vesting in them the property of the trees hereafter planted.

"The act then goes on to repeal the common law in another class of cases; namely, that of tenants for life or lives being impeachable for waste, or tenants for years exceeding twelve years unexpired. If a person holding for any of such interest, plant *sallow*, *osier*, or *willows*, the absolute property vests in him. If he plant other timber trees, he shall, during the term, be entitled to *housebote*, *ploughbote*, and *cartbote*; and on the expiration of the term, or the maturity of the trees, shall be entitled to the trees or the value of them, if within six months from planting he register the trees.

"But the largest class of cases, namely, that of yearly tenants, and tenants holding for terms of which less than ten years remained unexpired, was left wholly subject to the operation of the principles of the common law, condemned by the statute itself. About twenty years later another statute was passed regarding trees, (23 and 24 Geo. III., c. 39,) providing for the case of tenants

for life or lives, and tenants for years exceeding fourteen years unexpired, by enabling them to cut, sell, and dispose of the same, if registered by affidavit, within twelve months from planting. But, like its predecessor, it left the largest class of tenants under the operation of the common law.

“The principle of registration on which these two statutes have been framed, is an extremely objectionable one, as it imposes a considerable expense and trouble at the time the trees are planted, and so tends to discourage their being planted. It is further objectionable in violating the fundamental principles of legal presumption; namely, that where an event can happen in one of two ways, the law in selecting one or other as the subject of presumption, should always presume that the event happened in the more usual way, and throw the onus of proof on the party who alleges that it happened in the unusual way. Thus it is more likely that trees will be planted by the parties in occupation, or the tenants, than by the landlords. Therefore, the law should presume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary,—that all trees are planted by tenants, and throw upon the landlords the proof of any trees having been planted by them. But this system of registration does the reverse; for it presumes all trees not registered to have been planted by the landlord, and throws on the tenant not only the onus of proving that he planted the trees, but limits him to one mode of proof, and to one year after planting, to establish his case. But the largest class of tenants is denied even the scanty protection of this defective system of registration. When such is the state of the law with regard to trees, can we be surprised at the statement of Sir Robert Kane, ‘During all this time no one planted?’ The remedy for this evil is to alter the law, by enacting that all trees shall, in the absence of any contract to the contrary, be presumed to have been planted by the occupier, and shall be his property. Under such a change of the law, the future interest of the country would be made coincident with the immediate profit of the occupier; for wherever the planting of trees was wanted, it would be profitable to plant them. Thus the self-interest of the occupier, seeking his immediate gain, would lead him to do that which would be most advantageous to the community. The present scarcity of trees arises, not as Sir Robert Kane alleges, from parties ‘having sought their immediate profit, not caring for the future,’ but from those human laws which, by making the immediate profit of all parties connected with land at variance with the future interest of themselves, and of the community, have reversed the natural laws by which the all-wise providence of God has made man really secure the future interests of the community when least caring for them, and when most seeking his own immediate gain.”—pp. 120-4.

As an illustration of the practical operation of these admirable laws, he mentions the case of one tenant, who,

after planting a quantity of trees, and fencing, protecting, and taking the best care of them for upwards of forty years, considering them not only as shelter and ornament, but a crop for the benefit of his family, and paying rent, of course, for the ground on which they stood, allowed his lease to expire without cutting them down, and then found that he could not cut, as he said, "a switch off one of them;" and of another, who finding the negotiations of a lease protracted rather suspiciously, assembled the countryside, on the last day of his term, and removed every tree from] the [place. We ourselves knew, in the county of Limerick, an instance of this kind. A relative of the author of "the Collegians," had the misfortune to offend his landlord, by giving shelter to a number of tenants whom he had evicted. His place was a very pretty one, and was particularly ornamented by a very fine cluster of trees, covering nearly an acre of ground, and secluding his house from the main road, which ran close by. These had been planted by his father, about forty years before, but had not been registered, as the landlord would have affected to look on the doubt thus cast on his honour and integrity, as a positive insult. When, however, offence was given, by sheltering the outcasts, what does the reader think the landlord did? He cut down these trees, *breast high*, and so left them for years,—an eye-sore and a heart-sore. The tenant, who was a man of high spirit, was so afflicted by it, that his heart broke, and he died. Need we wonder if; after that, "*no one planted?*"

We have quoted Mr. Hancock's views on the subject of trees at such length, that we must be more concise with our remaining quotations.

The reader is already aware that he attributes the neglected state of the mineral wealth of the country entirely to the law. In a former number, we noticed the fact, that the mining laws of this country differ from those of every other on earth, and that throughout the civilized portions of the continents of Europe, Asia, and America, it is part of the general fundamental law, that any one may open a mine without the consent of the owner of the land, on paying him a certain portion of the profits, and the State a certain other portion, and that this very law prevails in Cornwall, and the other ancient mining districts of England. Mr. Hancock, who does not appear to be aware of the existence of this custom in England, accounts by the

peculiar state of the law here in other respects, for our backwardness in mining pursuits. Here it is waste for any tenant under any circumstances, except an express demise of mines, or even any landlord who has not more than a life interest, to open or work mines. Then the other laws, relating to the ownership, renting, and transfer of real property, generally impede the opening or working of our mines. Mr. Hancock says :

“ An attempt was made in the Irish Parliament to remove some of the impediments, by enabling tenants for life, and others under disabilities, to grant leases of coal mines on certain terms, and other mines under other limitations. But these terms and limitations were so strict as to restrain the benefits conferred to a few of the most fertile mines, as none others could be profitably worked on the terms. Thus the leases of coal mines were not to exceed 41 years, and the rent was not to be less than two-pence for every ton of coal. For other mines, the leases were not to exceed 31 years, and the rent not to be less than one-tenth part of the ore to be raised out of the mines, without regard to the expense of laying the ore on the bank.

“ The scientific prediction, that such a state of the law must impede the operation of mining industry, is fully corroborated by evidence on the subject. Thus, Mr. Purdy, the Secretary of the Mining Company of Ireland, states—‘ That the limit of rent, namely, one-tenth of the gross produce of the mine, clear of all expenses attending the raising of ores, and preparing them for smelting, is more than *double* the average amount of rent payable at the copper mines of Cornwall ;’ thus presenting a complete barrier to the Irish mines entering into competition with mines of equal fertility in Cornwall ; and accordingly he states,— ‘ This limit, as regards the amount of rent, has, in many instances, prevented the working of mines in Ireland ; and, in others, has occasioned unhappy differences between landlord and tenant, which may be remedied without injustice to any interest, by providing that, in lieu of one-tenth of the gross produce, there shall be substituted the improved value.’ One of the greatest objections to the old system of tithes as a species of taxation, was the impediment they presented to all improvement, by being a tenth of the gross produce. They were accordingly commuted into a certain annual sum ; and yet the principle condemned in the case of tithes, was allowed to paralyse mining industry.

“ The mining leases are subject to another restriction not noticed by Mr. Purdy, namely ; that if not worked within one year after the lease being granted, or if at any time during the lease, six men are not employed for one hundred and fifty days, the lease is forfeited. This risk of forfeiture is an additional disadvantage at-

tending mining speculations ; because the circumstances of the market may be such as to render it unprofitable to work the mines continuously. It must also have operated most injuriously in disputes between the lessees and the landlords—as once the lessees had laid out a large capital in the mines, the landlord was directly interested in enforcing every condition most strictly against them ; since, if he could, by so doing, only succeed in making the mine unprofitable to them, the works must fall into his hands.

“A recent writer, contrasting the opportunities of mining speculations in Cork and Cornwall, asks—‘What has the Cornish man, by nature, and under government, that the Cork man has not? He has a poorer and more sterile country from nature, than the Cork man ; and the government taxes his dogs, his horses, his windows, his servants, his carriages, his armorial bearings, his income ; and lets the Cork man off scot-free in all these respects, to keep cur-dogs to hunt, when he had better be working, and permits the gentry to assume an appearance of wealth which they have not, free from all taxation.’ He then ridicules the absurdity of the difference arising from the state of the law, and describes the productiveness of the Cork mines as being of the most extraordinary description :—‘Veins of the richest copper mines in the world, openly show themselves.’ Now if this account of the Cork mines be correct, why do not some of the enterprising Cornish men come over and take advantage of them ? English capital has been sent to Mexico and Peru, to establish mines ; why not to Cork, if mining there be really so profitable ? The Cornish man would escape all the burdensome taxes so graphically described, if he came to Cork. His not doing so cannot arise from indolence or from want of industrial knowledge. It must arise therefore from the state of the law which has been pointed out. Mr. Purdy, accordingly, instead of waiting for a change in the knowledge or character of the Irish people, persevered in his efforts to get the law altered ; and his view of the causes of the present state of mining in Ireland, has received the sanction of the legislature. By the act of last year, the power of leasing is extended from 31 years to 41 years, and the unwise restriction of rent to one-tenth of the produce, is repealed.”—pp. 135—8.

Mr. Hancock’s remedy for the evils supposed to be caused by middlemen and absentees, deserves to be generally known ; it is merely to place dealers in land on the same footing as dealers in other articles, with regard to the power of recovering their debts—in plain English, to deprive them of the power of distress. This is a suggestion which ought to be written in letters of gold. We had often recommended a modification of the present exorbitant powers of distress, and recently urged their temporary

suspension, but we never had the courage to propose their total abolition; and we think the man entitled to honour, who, in Mr. Hancock's position, broaches and inculcates it as a principle of political science.

His remedy for combinations is capital. "They are," he contends, "a mere illustration of that prevalent disregard of the principle of non-interference;" and "the real remedy is to carry out the principle of non-interference in the general legislation of the country. When the rich surrender the legislative restrictions on private enterprise, which are retained for their supposed benefit, they will find it easy to convince the poor of the folly of relying on combinations." (pp. 152-3.)

We had marked many other chapters for quotation, but our limits prevent us from treating our readers to more than one more extract. A chapter headed "Is Ireland suffering from over-population or under-production?" tempts us to extract it, but we resist the lure. We regret very much that Mr. Hancock has not considered the subject of fixity of tenure. He denounces the theory of an *inalienable* peasant proprietorship as being against the true principles of economic science; but why not consider the subject of peasant proprietorship, pure and simple? That is the mode in which it is generally considered; and though Mr. Thornton, the only writer whom we have studied on the subject, or who, to the best of our knowledge, information, and belief, has written a volume expressly and exclusively in favour of the creation of a class of Peasant Proprietors, has suggested the inalienability of the proposed estates, yet it forms only a very secondary feature in his plan, and he by no means regards it as an essential. We hope, therefore, that Mr. Hancock, when his second edition comes out, will not overlook this important question; but will honestly tell us how far it is consistent with, or required by, the principles of common law, common sense, and political economy.

The one chapter from which we cannot forbear from quoting, is that which discusses the potato question. We need not repeat, that Anglo-Saxon philosophers and statesmen account for our afflictions as the result of everything or anything but their own absurdities in legislation. The law is the work of Anglo-Saxons: therefore is perfect, and cannot be the cause of our misery. Neither can our soil or climate be the cause, for both are good, and at

least were not created by us. The Anglo-Saxons, therefore, concluded that the cause was, that "we are as God made us," and not as he made them; but as to the original cause of this difference between them and us, various theories have from time to time prevailed amongst them. Some who were deep in ethnology and animal physiology, thought it was because we were Tartars or Spaniards, or worse, a mixture of both; others because we were Milesians, and others because we were Celts. Others again, who were deep in theology, thought it was because we strayed from the Parliamentary standard in that behalf; while some, who were deep in the science of politics, thought it was because we were fond of idleness and agitation, and therefore recommended workhouse tests and coercion bills, just as that model of a beef-eating statesman, Pharaoh, accounted and legislated for the inability of the Jews to make bricks without straw; "for they be idle," "lay more work upon the men, and cause them to do it, and *let them not regard vain words.*" But the greatest discovery of all was, that even if we were Anglo-Saxons, and of the highest style of orthodoxy, according to the very latest decisions of the Privy Council, and were not idle and not regardful of vain words, yet there could be no hope for us while we cultivated the potato. This wonderful discovery has been so unanimously sanctioned by all Anglo-Saxons who have acquired any eminence in office, in Parliament, at the press, or on the platform, for profound philosophical and statesmanlike views, that we ourselves, conscious of the inordinate disproportion between the pigmy measure of intellect parsimoniously conceded by nature to all of our race, and the gigantic measure bountifully allotted to them, feared to give expression to the doubts which obscurely crossed our fancy upon the subject; and it was therefore with no small pleasure we found Mr. Hancock summoning up courage for the purpose of boldly controverting this theory before a committee of Anglo-Saxons, and in reply to the queries of one of that race, who has attained very high rank as a practising statesman both in office and in parliament, and as an original and philosophic essayist. We have marked one question and answer in italics. All will be found in the report of the House of Commons' Committee on Poor Laws.

"10222. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Do you not think that a population which was earning a fair rate of wages, and obtained regular

employment, might subsist well and be prosperous, although the potato was in fact the chief part of their food?—Certainly.

“10223. *What do you conceive to be the great objection to the potato, as the staple food of a population?—I do not see any objection to it.*

“10224. Is there not this objection, that the superabundance of one year cannot be stored up to supply the deficiency of another year?—I think there is a fallacy in that, for this reason, that potatoes are used not only as food for the population, but as food for pigs and cattle; when potatoes become scarce, the pigs and cattle are sold off, and the potatoes are not used to feed them; when potatoes are very abundant, pigs are reared on potatoes instead of other food, and they are turned into food in that way; it is a marketable commodity.

“10225. Then your view is, that although the potato will not keep, it can be converted into other sorts of food which will keep?—Which will sell.

“10226. Is there not this further objection, that potatoes are bulky, and do not carry easily, so that there may be a great inequality of prices in the same country?—Yes; of course, potatoes are liable to that objection, but with the very improved roads in Ireland that have been made all over the country, the price of potatoes does not vary so very much.

“10227. Should you not consider that it would be an advantage if some esculent were discovered which was still more prolific, and still cheaper than the potato?—A very great advantage; I may mention that Adam Smith considered the potato one of the greatest blessings which we derived from the discovery of the New World.

“10228. Do you concur in the opinion of those persons who condemn the potato upon the ground of its being a cheap kind of food?—I think the cheaper we can get food the better; the more we shall have to lay out upon other matters.”

Mr. Hancock, not content with thus controverting this discovery before a committee of the House of Commons, enters into an examination of it in the work before us, and selects as the special object of attack, the exposition of it by a gentleman who has had more to do with the controul and direction of the government temporary measures for the relief of the poorer classes during the last five years, than any one else in the empire. Mr. Hancock thus states his theory:

“The theory, ‘that there is no hope for a nation which lives on potatoes,’ has been put forward by Sir C. E. Trevelyan, in his recent work called, ‘The Irish Crisis,’ as if it were an established doctrine of political economy which no one would venture to controvert.

Thus he writes: 'If, a few months ago, an enlightened man had been asked what he thought the most discouraging circumstance in the state of Ireland, we do not imagine that he would have pitched upon Absenteeism, or Protestant bigotry, or Roman Catholic bigotry, or Orangeism, or Ribbonism, or the Repeal cry, or even the system of threatening notices and mid-day assassinations. These things, he would have said, are evils, but some of them are curable, and others are merely symptomatic. They do not make the case desperate. *But what hope is there for a nation which lives on potatoes?*' And again, in another passage, he says, 'So far as the maladies of Ireland are traceable to political causes, nearly every practicable remedy has been applied.' The deep and inveterate root of social evil remained, and this has been laid bare by a direct stroke of an all-wise and all-merciful Providence, as if this part of the case were beyond the unassisted power of man.' (p. 139.)

This must be confessed to be a noble specimen of the "stump oratory" style of exposition,—half political, half religious; introducing "an all-wise and all-merciful Providence" to confirm by a miracle the last grand Anglo-Saxon discovery in economic science; to wit, that the potato counteracted the wisest and most perfect social arrangements that ever yet were devised by man. However, Mr. Hancock remains unconverted. Read what the unbeliever says:

"Now it certainly would require a miracle to convince any one who reflects on the subject, that the potato is a curse, and the root of all our social evils, 'because it yields an unusually abundant produce as compared with the extent of ground cultivated, and with the labour, capital, and skill bestowed upon its cultivation;' in other words, because it is usually cheap and plenty. And yet it is to this fact that Sir C. E. Trevelyan attributes 'the important influence which has been exercised by this root over the destinies of the human race.' To use the words of Dr. Longfield, 'the presumption is entirely in favour of potatoes. He who argues against them, should make out a very strong case. Providence has bestowed on the world a prolific, wholesome, and palatable vegetable. These qualities must insure its general cultivation in all countries adapted to its growth; and it is a hard matter to believe that the introduction of this plant should naturally, and almost inevitably, introduce general distress. It would be a singular instance of permanent national unhappiness being introduced by anything except a course of irreligion, folly, or vice.'

"I do not propose to enter into an elaborate refutation of the arguments by which Sir C. E. Trevelyan's theory is usually supported. This has been most ably done by Dr. Longfield, in the note

on this subject, in his Lectures on Political Economy, which contains the passage I have just quoted. But I wish, in the first place, to show that Sir C. E. Trevelyan's theory is not so generally admitted as he seems to suppose, and then to point out the mistakes in which it originated.

“As to economic authorities against the theory, it will be sufficient to quote two: Dr. Longfield, in the note which I have referred to, says, ‘It is certain that in any given state of the population, the cheapness of food arising from a facility of production, cannot be injurious to the inhabitants;’ and again—‘Some political economists even hint that the poverty of Ireland is in a great measure to be attributed to the use of potatoes. The reader may form some idea of the horror with which they have been viewed, by looking to the index to Mr. Mc Culloch's edition of Smith's Wealth of Nations, where, under the title, Potatoes, he will find a reference to ‘the rapid and alarming progress of potatoes in France.’ Such language, (and the observation applies with equal force to Sir C. E. Trevelyan's language) would be more applicable, *if they eat men, instead of feeding them.*’ Such is the opinion of one, who, combining the highest attainments in economic science, with practical local knowledge, is best fitted to form a sound judgment on the subject. But the language of him, who may well be called the Newton of Political Economists, is no less conclusive—‘The improvements in agriculture,’ observes Adam Smith, ‘introduce many sorts of vegetable food, which requiring less land, and not more labour than corn, come much cheaper to market—such are *potatoes* and *maise*, or what is called *Indian corn*; *the two most important improvements which the agriculture of Europe*—perhaps which Europe itself *has received* from the great extension of its commerce and navigation.’ Such being the conclusive opinion of the highest economic authorities on the theory, it remains to consider the mistakes in which it originated. These are well pointed out by Dr. Longfield. ‘What gives an appearance of plausibility to the common declamations against the use of potatoes is, that they confound the custom of living chiefly upon potatoes, with the poverty which introduces that custom.’ And again, in noticing the evils arising from the manner in which the supply of potatoes is regulated in Ireland, which are usually laid to the blame of the potato, he says, ‘Our customs of husbandry are the principal cause of them.’ Or, in other words, the mistakes are, that of representing the use of inferior food as the cause instead of the effect of poverty, and that of ascribing to the potato itself, the effects of the con-acre system, and precarious tenures under which it was grown. The extent to which a writer may be led by the adoption of a paradox, was never more fully exhibited than by a passage in which Sir C. E. Trevelyan has pushed the first of these mistakes to its utmost limits.—‘One main cause,’ he says, ‘of the fact which has been so often remarked, that the Irishman works better out of Ireland than in it, is, that when

he leaves his native country and obtains regular employment elsewhere, he commences at the same time a more strengthening diet than the potato.' In the last century there were similar speculations respecting the difference between English and Scotch labourers, the latter being fed on very inferior diet; and Adam Smith's answer to such speculations is as applicable now as it was then. 'This difference, however,' he observes, 'in the mode of their subsistence, is not the cause, but the effect of the difference in their wages; though, by a strange misapprehension, I have frequently heard it represented as a cause. It is not because one man keeps a coach while his neighbour walks a-foot, that the one is rich and the other is poor. But because the one is rich he keeps a coach, and because the other is poor he walks a-foot. Just so the Irish labourers work hard in Canada, because they are well paid; and they live better, because the high wages give them the means of doing so.

"But Sir C. E. Trevelyan is quite mistaken in saying that the Irish labourers work better out of Ireland than it; for some intelligent railway contractors have tried the plan of paying high wages in Ireland, as much as 1s. 4d. a-day in the North, where the ordinary wages are only one shilling, and they found the labourers worked as well as they do in England or in Canada, and wherever they got the high wages, they spent them in obtaining better food. I may observe, too, that the rate of wages in Ireland varies from six-pence a-day to one shilling a-day, and that where the wages of the labourers are high enough to enable them to purchase other food than potatoes, they invariably adopt a mixed diet. It is quite absurd to talk of teaching the people the use of better food. Try any of them with a dinner of roast beef and plum pudding, and see if he will refuse it. Give them the means of eating meat every day, and there is no fear but the taste for it will grow fast enough. It is the business of the intelligent portion of the community to inquire into the causes of low wages and want of employment, and not to be interfering with the mode of living adopted by the poor. Such interference is not less at variance with sound principle than impolitic in practice, for it generates ostentatious intermeddling by the rich and sullen discontent amongst the poor.

"But in speaking of the potato as unsuited to the wants of mankind, the history of its cultivation seems to have been entirely overlooked. When it is considered that the potato was not brought from America till the end of the sixteenth century, and yet, since that time, without the slightest Government interference to promote its use, its cultivation has extended throughout Europe, it must have proved on the whole, one year with another, a more profitable crop to the cultivators than those crops which it displaced. But it could not have been more profitable unless it were better calculated to satisfy the desires of mankind, since that cir-

cumstance is the first element of that demand for a commodity, which raises its price and makes its production remunerative.

“To deny the force of this reasoning, is to deny the fundamental principle of economic science, that human wealth and human welfare will be best promoted when the production of the various commodities is left to take the course which the self-interest of the producers dictates. But we may be certain that it never would have been denied, had the effects of con-acre and of the other social arrangements respecting the occupation and cultivation of the land in Ireland been rightly understood.

“The full appreciation of the evils arising from such arrangements, suggests an investigation into the causes of their adoption, and the remedies by which these causes may be removed. But the injurious effect the potato theory produces on those who admit it, is to lead off their attention from this line of investigation. Instead of inquiring whether the unwise arrangements respecting the growth of the potato do not arise from legal interference with private enterprise, they spend their time in vain attempts to discourage the re-cultivation of the crop; and with very slight knowledge of the circumstances of each district, give general advice as to the crops to be grown. These attempts will be vain, because, those who planted the potato since the famine, have frequently realized fair profits, and consequently the cultivation of the potato is likely to extend each year. Should the potato again yield average crops, those growing it will again realize fair profits, and so its cultivation will have a constant tendency to return to its original amount. But whether it does or not, the amount cultivated is beyond the control of learned advice or legislative interference. It will be regulated by those natural causes, which determining the relative value of commodities, give the stimulus to increased cultivation in the shape of profits, and place a check to its progress by the loss arising from diminished produce or a fall in price. But what the intelligent portion of the community can do is, to inquire into the causes of such unwise arrangements as con-acre and precarious tenures. What legislation can effect is, to remove any of those causes which arise from legal principles or enactments being still retained in force, though framed before the received maxims of economic science were understood or thought of as guiding principles in legislation.”—pp. 140—5.

We must now take leave of this invaluable little work, earnestly recommending it as the best shilling's worth of common sense upon the condition of this wretched country, that has ever yet issued from the press.

ART. VI.—*History of the Inquisition, from its Establishment to the Present Time, with an Account of its Procedure and Narratives of its Victims.* Post 8vo. London: Ward and Co, 1850.

IT is curious to observe how, in the recurrence of the same circumstances, events repeat themselves in history. The old French Revolution was the signal for a long series of bitter attacks on the Inquisition, and through the Inquisition, on the Catholic Church, with which it was assumed to be identified. The modern French Revolution, or rather, the ill-starred and impotent repetition of that movement, attempted by the Roman Republic, has been true to the tactics of its prototype. The most unscrupulous representations have been employed by the movement party in Rome, for the purpose of exciting popular feeling against the Inquisition, and of involving the papal government, and the Catholic religion itself, in the odium thus dishonestly created.

We seldom here stand in need of much foreign stimulus to stir up our ever-ready domestic bigotry. The opportunity afforded by these proceedings at Rome has been seized with avidity in England. A host of virulent little publications, of which the work whose title is recited above, may be taken as a specimen, have been rapidly thrown into circulation. Pamphlets, lectures, sermons, even poetry, have been pressed into service. The ostentatious exhibition, throughout all the leading towns of the empire, of one of the “destined victims of clerical despotism providentially delivered from its grasp,” has given a dramatic interest to the subject, and arrayed it with all the characteristics of real life; and there is, at this moment, a considerable section of the British public, in whose imagination the Roman Inquisition stands invested with all, and more than all, the historical horrors which are popularly believed to attach to that tribunal from the first day of its establishment.

The subject of the Inquisition, and indeed, the whole question of religious intolerance, is one on which very erroneous notions are entertained, even by Catholics themselves; and the momentary interest which these proceedings have created, reminds us of an intention which we

have long entertained, of devoting a few pages to its consideration. And hence, while we take advantage of this passing interest, we must be pardoned if we employ the above publication rather as a text for some observations upon the question generally, than as a subject for any formal or regular criticism. It would be impossible, however, within such space as we can command, to enter into a regular history of the Inquisition; nor do we propose to write a systematic apology, either of its principles or its proceedings. We must be understood, therefore, as simply desiring, in the first place, to combat a few of the more prominent fallacies regarding the Inquisition, and, secondly, to furnish some materials for a more impartial estimate of that tribunal than is popularly formed in these countries.

It is to be feared, indeed, that a Catholic writer, undertaking such a task, may be thrown unconsciously into a false and most disadvantageous position. He may easily appear to assume the exclusive responsibility of that religious intolerance with which the name of the Inquisition is associated. He may seem tacitly to admit, what the enemies of the Church never fail, implicitly or explicitly, to put forward, that, in this particular, other communities, and especially those which claim for themselves the peculiar praise of religious tolerance, are comparatively immaculate. And, what is worse than all, his conduct may be judged according to principles, which, however reasonable in the eyes of those who are his accusers, not only form no part of his own creed, but are directly at variance with its very constitution. In a word, the subject of religious intolerance is so overlaid with prejudices, fallacies, and misrepresentations, that it is impossible to approach it with any hope of an impartial hearing, without first exposing either their intrinsic injustice, or at least their injustice considered in their bearing upon the Catholic religion. The importance of the subject, therefore, must be our justification, if we seem to dwell at undue length on some of these popular fallacies, as a preliminary to the principal enquiry.

I. Nothing is more common, for example, than eulogies of the philosophical and tolerant character of the ancient religions, studiously exaggerated for the purpose of heightening the contrast which they are made to present with the modern bigotry which it is sought to decry.

Now to take this as a sample of them all, there could not be a more flagrant historical injustice. The truth is, that there is not one of the religions of antiquity which is not justly chargeable with intolerance, both in practice and in theory. What is now called intolerance, entered into the very essence of the Jewish religion. It was the fundamental principle of the civil and social, as well as the religious, constitution of the Jewish commonwealth. Of the five great religious systems which divided the Gentile world,—the Greek, the Roman, the Egyptian, the Persian, and the Indian—there is not one which can claim exemption from the charge; and, strange to say, it is observed by Hume, that the most refined and philosophic among them, have been precisely those which were most distinguished by their intolerant and exclusive spirit.

Among the Greeks, Plato, in his tenth book on Laws, lays it down as one of the duties of the magistrate to punish all blasphemers and unbelievers of the national religion. Charondas, of Catana, the celebrated lawgiver of Thurium, enacted a similar law. Diopithes introduced an equally stringent enactment at Athens, against all who should dispute the existence of the gods, or broach new opinions as to the origin of celestial appearances.* And hence, in enlightened and philosophic Greece, to pass over the crowd of ignoble victims, we find Socrates put to death for his opinions; Anaxagoras compelled to fly for maintaining the unity of the Godhead; † Protagoras involved in a similar fate; Aspasia only saved therefrom by the eloquence of Pericles; Theodorus condemned to death for attributing events to natural causes; and a price laid by the Areopagus upon the head of Diagoras for the same offence against the national religion. ‡

It was the same in Rome, even in its most advanced stage of enlightenment and intellectual cultivation. It has often been said that the religion of Rome was of the most comprehensive and tolerant character, embracing within its pale the national religions of all the various peoples who were successively aggregated to its empire. But this is true only in a very limited sense. It is true that the Romans received into the number of their gods, the

* Plutarch, i. 383.

† Ibid.

‡ Valerius Maximus, i. 4.

national gods of their conquered tributaries; but in order to this the authority of the senate was necessary; it was merely an arrangement of external polity, and contained no provision for individual liberty; it expressly excluded all such rites and all such doctrines as trespassed upon the national religion of Rome itself; and, in all cases, the restrictions upon private liberty of conscience and of worship, were most precise and most galling. One of the laws of the Twelve Tables, prohibited the worship of foreign gods without public authority. A similar law is recited by Cicero.* Any sacrilegious theft was visited with the punishment of parricide,—the most ignominious in the whole criminal code of Rome; † and Cicero † lays it down as an indisputable principle, that the ceremonies and dogmas of religion are to be maintained by the arm of the law, even through the infliction of capital punishment. Hence we find innumerable examples of this interposition of the magistrates. Livy § tells that (A.U. 328) in consequence of the progress of superstition, the ediles were charged to take care that “none be worshipped but Roman gods, and those with Roman rites.” At a later period, (A.U. 566,) the celebration of the Bacchanalian rites was suppressed, by an order of the senate, enforced by rigorous penalties. || Mæcenas advised Augustus to suppress every form of religious innovation. ¶ The Egyptian rites were specially obnoxious, and were repeatedly prohibited. In the year of the city 335, the temples of Isis and Serapis were levelled to the ground.** In 701 it was done again, and with especial severity, the consul, Emilius Paulus, taking the axe himself to strike the first blow in the work of demolition. †† The emperor Augustus again prohibited the worship of Serapis. ††† The prohibition was renewed under Tiberius, §§ who extended the

* De Legibus, ii., 8. Nemo privatim habessit deos. Neve novos, sed ne advenas nisi publicè adscitos privatim colunto. See also *ibid*, No. 4.

† *Ibid*. ‡ Pro Sextio, No. 45.

§ *iv.* 30. || *Ibid xxxix.*, 8, and foll.

¶ Dio Cassius, L. 52. ** Dion xl., p. 252.

†† Valerius Maximus, i. 3.

††† Dio L. iii., 679, and again, L. iv. 735.

§§ Tacitus, ii., 85.

same prohibition to the Jews; and if a doubt should still remain as to the real character of Roman Paganism, we need but close the history of its intolerance, by referring to its frequent and sanguinary enactments against the Jews, and to the three centuries of relentless persecution which the Christian Church encountered at its hands.

The germ of the intolerance of Greece and Rome may be found in the more primitive religion of Egypt. The exclusive and intolerant character of this religion may be inferred from the history of the Pentateuch, and is told in express terms by Herodotus. No Egyptian would salute a Greek, or eat what he had touched, or even what (though in itself pure,) had been touched by his knife.* To kill any one of the sacred animals, intentionally, was a capital offence. To kill an ibis, or hawk, even unintentionally, was equally capital. Nor were the Egyptians content with enforcing on their own people the observances of the national religion. It was required equally from the subjugated provinces; a very curious anecdote illustrating the fact is told by Herodotus;† and the persecutions sustained by the Jews, under Ptolemy Philopator and other monarchs, will occur to the reader, as an illustration of the rigour with which these laws were enforced, hardly surpassed in the annals of persecution, whether in ancient or modern times.

It is scarcely necessary to prove the same for the religion of Persia. It was by the advice of the Magi—the national priesthood of Persia—that Xerxes, in his Grecian expedition, demolished the temples of the gods of Greece.‡ The same policy was pursued towards all the nations who were annexed to the Persian empire. Artaxerxes destroyed the Parthian temples, and threw the statues of their gods to the ground, with every mark of abhorrence and contempt.§ He enforced upon all his subjects the exclusive exercise of the worship prescribed by Zoroaster. With so much severity were his orders carried into effect, that the number of schismatics in his vast empire, who had previously formed a large proportion of the population, were soon reduced to the inconsiderable number of eighty thousand.|| The coercion was extended even to foreigners—to the

* Herodotus, ii., 41.

† ii., 18.

‡ Cicero de Legibus, ii. 10.

§ Gibbon i. 214.

|| Ibid.

Jews, and to the Manichæans, Manes himself being one of the victims. And all these are as nothing, compared to the inveterate persecution to which the christians of the Persian empire were subjected under Sapor, Varanes, Yezdigerd, Kobad, and other less remarkable kings. The persecution of Dioclesian and Galerius, in its most sanguinary period, hardly exceeded, in the atrocity of its measures, or the numbers of its victims, the two last enumerated.

The intolerant character of the Indian religion is equally well ascertained, even though the traces of its ancient constitution, which are still preserved, were not a sufficient evidence of its spirit. And, as if to complete the circle, Le Maistre records the curious fact, not only that the laws of China enforce uniformity of worship on all the subjects of the Celestial Empire, but that the Chinese actually possess a tribunal similar in its constitution and its object, to the European tribunal of the Inquisition.*

II. There is a second fallacy, which is even more prevalent, and on which it will be necessary to offer a few remarks. It is commonly asserted, that the persecuting spirit charged upon the Catholic Church, is entirely of modern origin; that it was unknown to the faithful of the earlier centuries; that the first christian emperors employed no arms for the extension of the Church, but those of reason and persuasion, and that the severe enactments against heresy which became part of the common law of Europe from the twelfth century downwards, were of a purely mediæval origin,—the offspring of that system of priestly domination which is the great social and political characteristic of those times. It is plain that such a belief as this, is directly calculated to prejudice the fair and impartial discussion of the general question, especially in its application to more modern times. We shall make no apology, therefore, for delaying the reader a little longer upon this point also.

It is quite true that among the oppressed and powerless christians of the three first centuries, we find no trace of what in them would have been the wildest fanaticism,—an attempt to enforce by the strong arm the propagation of christianity. The first legislation of Constan-

* *Lettres a un Gentilhomme Russe, Oeuvres, vii. 246. Bruxelles, 1844.*

tine, too, while he was yet struggling for the mastery, was limited to securing the same full and perfect freedom for the christian religion, which he also accorded to the existing religious institutions. But as the power of the christian commonwealth increases, we find the legislation of the christians assume, in the very same proportion, a more intolerant character, not alone towards Pagans, but also towards the Jews and the christian heretics. The earliest edicts, as for instance, that of 322, were confined to securing by severe penalties the christians and their worship from molestation at the hands of the Pagans and Jews. But in 341 a law appears to have been published by Constantius and Constans, prohibiting the Pagan worship altogether; and in 357, Constantius, when sole master of the empire, took the extreme step of forcibly removing the statue of Victory from the Senate-house. Theodosius, in 391, forbade his subjects, without any exception, even those of the highest rank, to sacrifice to idols, or exercise any other act of Pagan worship, under a penalty of fifteen pounds of gold;* and a new law in the following year, rendered the act of sacrifice a capital crime, and prohibited all the other religious rites of paganism, under the penalty of the confiscation of the temple, or other edifice, in which they might be performed.† Nor can it be said that the law was founded on purely political grounds, or on the suspicion of disaffection or disloyal practices on the part of the professors of the obnoxious worship; for the decree contains an express clause that the punishment was to take effect, *etiam si nihil contra salutem principum, aut de salute, quæsierit.*

The Jews also were soon made the object of similarly stringent enactments. One act of Constantine made it unlawful, under severe penalties, to become a proselyte to the Jewish religion. Another forbade the Jews to circumcise any of their slaves, under penalty of forfeiting the right to the services of the slaves so circumcised. An act of Constantius forbade the Jews, under penalty of confiscation of all their property, to purchase christian slaves; and to circumcise slaves so purchased, was forbidden by another law

* See Gosselin's *Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen. Age*, p. 62.

† *Quod si quispiam hostiam immolare sacrificaturus audebit, aut spirantia exta consulere, ad exemplum, majestatis reus, excipiat competentem sententiam.* Ibid, 63.

under pain of death. Another law of the same emperor made it a capital offence for a Jew to marry a christian wife; and a series of later edicts disqualified the entire Jewish people from holding any civil employment and from appearing as witnesses against Christians; and forbade the erection of any new synagogues; and above all, any attempt at seducing Christians into the profession of Judaism.*

The legislation against the sectaries of these times is marked by the same severity. The turbulence of the Donatists was repressed under Constantine by pecuniary penalties, confiscation, deprivation of their churches and church property, and perpetual exile. Under the same emperor, Arius, and the bishops who obstinately adhered to him after the Council of Nice, were punished with banishment, the destruction of their writings, and a menace of more severe punishment in case of their refusing to obey.† The Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, and similar sectaries, were deprived of their churches, and forbidden to hold religious meetings.‡ Under Theodosius in 381, these laws were renewed against the Arians, Photinians, and Eunomians. In the same year a law was enacted, declaring the Manichæans infamous, incapable of inheriting property, and subject to various other civil disabilities.§ Another law of Theodosius declares the Encrates, and the Hydro-parastatæ or Saccophori—notoriously immoral sects of Gnostic or Manichæan origin—liable to capital punishment; and in order to the more effectual enforcement of the law, the emperor charges the provincial prefects to *appoint inquisitors*, to search out the offenders, and proceed against them.|| His laws against the other heresies of the time, the Macedonian, Apollinarist, &c., though the penalties were less severe, nevertheless proceed on the same principle. The laws of Honorius and of Theodosius II. against the Donatists and the Manichæans, were still more stringent. The latter are made liable to banishment, and even to death. It is worthy of remark, too, that the

* Gosselin, 81—3.

† Socrates, I., 9. Sozomen, I., 20.

‡ Eusebius, Vita Constant. III., 63, 66.

§ Gosselin, 85.

|| Gosselin, 88.

principle on which this law is founded, is a direct avowal of the duty of the state to take cognizance of crimes against religion, "because a crime against the majesty of God redounds to the common injury of all; * and, on the same principle, the penalty of death is attached, by a law of Theodosius II., to the crime of using fraud or violence in order to seduce Catholics to the profession of any heretical sect. After the condemnation of Eutychianism in the Council of Chalcedon, the same rules of legislation were applied to its followers. By two successive laws of Marcian, published in 452, all Eutychians, clergy and laity, are subjected to a variety of civil disabilities, and even to confiscation and banishment; and those who shall henceforth presume to *teach the Eutychian heresy publicly*, are made liable to *capital punishment*.

The emperor Justinian not only confirmed and adopted these laws, but added others of his own, embodying the same principles, and perpetuating and extending the disabilities which they induce. † Hence, in the new kingdoms which arose from the disruption of the Western Empire, and in which the great body of the Roman law was received as the national code, the legislation on the subject of heresy was retained with little modification. It is a strange fact that the Visigoth king, Alaric II., though himself an Arian, nevertheless received and published the Theodosian code, with all its provisions against Arianism. ‡ We find the same in France, Italy, and Germany; and in the new kingdom of Spain the sovereign, at his coronation, was obliged to promise upon oath that he would not tolerate the profession of heresy among his subjects.

Nothing can be more unjust, therefore, than to charge upon the mediæval period the origination of the severe and intolerant enactments against heresy, which we find to have been then put into operation. They formed, at that period, a part of the common code of Europe, derived from the laws of the ancient Roman Empire. They were already in existence. If they had, in some countries, become a dead letter, it is because, from the seventh to the tenth and eleventh centuries, the unity of faith can hardly be said to have been broken by any

* Gosselin, p. 88.

† Gosselin, p. 88.

‡ Gosselin, p. 92.

new heresy, or perhaps even by any notable revival of the old ones; and if they were again put in force during the succeeding centuries, we shall find an ample explanation of the fact, even upon political and social grounds, in the host of immoral, anti-social, turbulent, seditious, or fanatical sects, which came into existence during those centuries, filled every country in Europe with confusion, insubordination, and bloodshed, and drew upon themselves the animadversion of the law, more by their offences against the public peace and good order of society, than by their rebellion against the received doctrinal authorities of the time.

III. To judge by the tone assumed in discussing the question of intolerance with Catholics, it would appear to be taken for granted that they alone, among Christian communities, stand accused of the violation of its principles, or at least that among other sects of Christians, the intolerants form a small minority.

Now the truth is, that there is not a single sect which ever had the power to persecute, that is not justly chargeable with persecution at some period of its history. Take their history almost at random. The Donatists, who withdrew from the church almost before christianity had begun to breathe freely, and before it was established even by sufferance in the Roman empire, only employed their infant liberty to force their doctrines violently upon all who were within the reach of their authority. The history of this sect, especially of the party among them named *Circumcelliones*, is one series of violence, rapine, and blood. The Arians, whenever, and wherever, they rose to influence, were sure to exercise it for the repression of their adversaries. Their fierce and long-sustained persecution of Athanasius, of Marcellus of Ancyra, and their companions in exile; their violences at Alexandria on occasion of the intrusion of Gregory of Cappadocia; their scourgings and beheadings of men and women; the savage and unscrupulous measures employed by Constantius towards the orthodox bishops at the councils of Arles, of Milan, and of Rimini; the cruel persecution of Pope Liberius; the unexampled barbarities of Valens, which appear to have furnished a precedent for the *noyades* of the Loire; the ruthless violences of the Arian Vandals in Africa, and the other Arian barbarians in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, sufficiently show that, to this sect, there was

but wanting opportunity, in order to develop its intolerant spirit to a degree hardly surpassed by the emperors of Pagan Rome themselves.

The Nestorians and Eutyhians never rose to political power in the Roman empire. But the history of both sects presents a still more revolting exhibition of intolerance than the direct persecution practised by the Arians. The Nestorians, who established themselves chiefly in the Persian empire, although destitute themselves of the power to persecute their orthodox brethren, maliciously turned upon them, by their representations, the vengeance of the king of Persia; insomuch, that by this vicarious cruelty, no less than seven thousand Catholics were put to the sword under the single reign of Perozes. The Eutyhians, by a similar stratagem, employed the arms of the Saracens against the Catholics of the Alexandrian patriarchate; and so sedulously did both parties improve the advantage of their respective positions, that the Catholic belief in the doctrines of the Incarnation was, in a short time, all but extinguished throughout the east.

Of the Iconoclasts, it is hardly necessary to speak. The very name of the sect is a sufficient indication of the spirit by which it was animated. Indeed, its history is little more than the history of the series of violences and atrocities, by which alone its cause was upheld in the east; and the brutal violence of Leo the Isaurian, the refined cruelty of Constantine Copronymus, and the wholesale massacres of Leo the Armenian, have stamped upon this sect a sanguinary character, which can never be effaced.

The Iconoclast was the last of the great ante-reformation heresies, which can be said to have possessed the power of enforcing itself by the strong arm. But the mediæval sects, the Albigenses, the Vaudois, the Coterelli, the Begards, the Brethren of the Free Spirit, the Cathari, the Wicliffites, the Lollards, the Hussites, although too feeble to exhibit it in practice, displayed in their principles a fierce and fanatical spirit, which only needed an opportunity in order to develop itself in the worst form of persecution. The only one of the number which possessed any power, that of the Hussites, filled all Bohemia with terror and confusion. Not alone towards the Catholics, but towards the dissentient sections of their own party, they manifested the most bitter and unrelenting animosity. The contest of

the Thaborites and Calixtines was hardly less bloody than the old wars of the Saracens and Crusaders. The Horebites were equally obnoxious to both, and the Picards, or Adamites, who separated from them all, were summarily extirpated with the utmost cruelty by order of Ziska, the great leader of the revolt against the common authority of the church, in which all alike were engaged.

It might, perhaps, be expected, that with the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, a better spirit would have been introduced. It could hardly be supposed, indeed that a movement, whose first foundation was freedom of thought, and which owed its very existence to the profession and proclamation of the independent rights of conscience, would refuse to recognise and respect in all the free exercise of that inalienable privilege in virtue of which alone it had its being. But alas, the religious liberty of the reformers consisted only in liberty for themselves, and unlimited subjection for all others beside. Not to speak of his fierce and acrimonious contest with the Sacramentarians, the first revolt of the Anabaptists was repressed by Luther as vigorously, and far more promptly, than his own rebellion had been met by the Catholic authorities. After the fall of John of Leyden, it was resolved, by a council held at Hamburg, that all obstinate Anabaptists should be put to death; and even "the mild Melancthon," though he counselled banishment rather than death, nevertheless insisted, that if they refused to fly, they should be given up without mercy to the executioner. Of the misguided peasants in the Peasant War, whom his own principles had goaded into their rebellion, Luther declared, that they should "be knocked on the head like mad dogs." Towards the first developments of Socinianism, he was equally unrelenting; and even of the unhappy Jews he held, that "their synagogues should be pulled down, their houses destroyed, their books seized, their teachers placed under restraint, and compelled to labour for their bread." The same intolerant spirit remained among his followers after his death, although it was only then that they were emancipated from the iron rule which he had maintained; and the Sacramentarian controversy, the Synergistic, the Adiaphoristic, and the Antinomian, were marked by as much bitterness and as intolerant dogmatism, as though the principle of religious freedom had never been heard of upon earth.

The history of Calvinism is equally significant. The religious despotism maintained by Luther was perhaps more marked by violence and impetuosity; but it was far from being as complete and systematic as that of Calvin. The direct object of one of his treatises is, to prove that "heretics should be repressed by the sword;" and with such hearty good will did he act upon the principle, that during his rule at Geneva, no dissent from his own doctrines, especially on predestination, was tolerated for a single day. The cases of Sebastian Castalio, Jerome Bolsec, Ochino, Berthelier, Gruet, and above all, Gentili and Servetus, will occur to the mind of every reader. The prompt and unhesitating concurrence in the burning of Servetus, expressed, not alone by individual divines, as Beza, Bucer, and Melancthon, but by the great synods of Zurich, Berne, Schaffhausen, and Basel, will show that it was not the voice of the leader alone, but of the whole body; and the fierce conflict of the two great parties—the Arminian and the Gomarist—into which they divided after the death of Calvin, was marked by a truculent and sanguinary spirit, not surpassed by the intolerance which they evinced towards those who formally seceded from their communion. It was the same for the Zwinglian sect, so long as it subsisted as a distinct community. The first act of the revolted cantons, where they had succeeded in establishing liberty of worship for themselves, was, to prohibit to the Catholics the same liberty. The council of Berne, in 1536, made it penal to celebrate or assist at the mass. The practice of confession was soon after included in the same prohibition; and if the spirit of intolerance was less successful in Switzerland than elsewhere, it is only attributable to the resolute and successful resistance maintained by the cantons which remained faithful to their ancient religion.

There was none among the reformed churches, however, which rose to so much political power as that of England; nor accordingly is there any in which religious intolerance attained a more extensive and systematic development. It would carry us far beyond our proposed limits, to detail the various enactments by which the church and the legislature of England sought to enforce its doctrines and ritual upon all without exception. Their general character is sufficiently familiar to all. From the first moment of the revolt against the papal authority, the principle of individual freedom of conscience was utterly disregarded. Unitarians, Socinians,

Independents, Anabaptists, Puritans, dissenters of every denomination, but above all and before all, Catholics, were compelled, or sought to be compelled, into conformity. The cases of Parris, Kett, Legat, and Wrightman, who were burnt at the stake for Unitarianism,—of Peeters, Turwert, and Hammond, who suffered as Anabaptists,—of Puritan victims like Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry,—conformists like Thacker, Copping, and Wilsford, may show how extensive was the range of Anglican intolerance. But it is only in the treatment of Catholics that we can trace its full inveteracy. We shall not be expected to enumerate the sanguinary and oppressive enactments by which it was sought, as far as human ingenuity could devise a plan to effect the utter extirpation of the Catholic religion in England. There is not a single detail of religious, political, social, or even of domestic life, into which these searching enactments did not enter; nor was it possible, had not the energy, zeal, and devotedness of a chosen remnant defeated their malicious ingenuity, that a single vestige of catholicity could have outlived their operation for two successive generations.

It is a curious illustration, too, of the universality of this spirit of intolerance, that the very sects which clamoured most loudly under the oppressive yoke of the established religion, were not proof themselves against the temptations of political power when they obtained a temporary ascendancy. The Puritans, during the few years of their triumph, not only retaliated upon their oppressors, but exhibited towards the Catholics, who had been fellow-sufferers with themselves, a cruelty hardly surpassed in the worst days of Anglican ascendancy; the Independents, to whom the Puritans gave way in their turn, although they had denounced the intolerant measures of the Puritans, themselves maintained the worst laws against the Catholics; and their brief rule left, especially in Ireland, a memory of blood and terror, which two centuries have not been sufficient to efface.

Nor was the Calvinism of these countries a whit more tolerant than its parent religion at Geneva. Knox was an avowed persecutor, and a persecutor upon principle. He held that it was the duty, not only of the civil magistrate, but even of private individuals, to exterminate idolators,

that is, papists.* He approved of the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and openly joined the assassins after their flight. Tytler clearly proves that he was implicated before the fact in the murder of David Rizzio; † and that he was most probably acquainted with Killigrew's secret mission for the purpose of having Mary put to death in Scotland. ‡ The very year which proclaimed the covenant in Scotland, (1560), is memorable for an enactment, prohibiting the celebration of mass, or the assisting thereat, under the penalty of confiscation of property for the first offence, of banishment for the second, and of death for the third. The oath of the Covenant, agreed to at Westminster in 1645, pledged the parties to the extirpation of Popery, prelacy, heresy, schism, profaneness, and all ungodliness. An act of 1648, proposed and urged on by this party, enumerates eight heresies, to the obstinate profession of which the punishment of death is decreed. The Westminster Catechism recites among the sins against the second commandment, "the toleration of a false religion;" and the Duke of Argyll states, that when there were a few who ventured to depart from the popular doctrines, and to raise their voices in favour of toleration, the proposal was rejected, and the principle of toleration itself was condemned as an error. §

It would be difficult, indeed, by any enumeration of special enactments or particular facts, to give a just notion of the ideas entertained in England during those times on the subject of toleration. A single incident, preserved by Dr. Lingard, is more significant than them all. A number of persons were arraigned before the Privy Council in May, 1613, on the charge of having *defamed* Lord Northampton and six other lords, by "saying that they *had urged the king to grant toleration to the Catholics.*" In delivering their several opinions on this charge, Sir Edward Coke declared, that *to advise the king to grant toleration was little short of treason*; the bishop of London and the Earl of Shrewsbury *prayed heaven that they might never see the day when it should be granted*; and archbishop Abbot

* Macrie's Life of Knox, 246.

† History of Scotland, VI., 215.

‡ Ibid, VII., 384.

§ Presbytery Examined, p. 180.

declared, that if he complied with the advice, the king *would no longer be the Defender, but the Betrayer of the Faith!*

It is unnecessary to pursue the subject. The history of the Greek and Russian churches is full of examples of the same spirit, manifested not only in relation to the Western Christians, but also to the native dissenters from their own national communions; and if there were needed any additional evidence to demonstrate the universality of the rule, it might be drawn with overwhelming force from the horrors of French Infidelity, before which all the rest sink into insignificance. If ever upon this earth the principles of universal toleration had been unreservedly propounded,—if ever the abolition of all positive creeds and forms of belief, and the rejection of every shadow of religious restraint, and the overthrow of every semblance of doctrinal authority, rendered the attempt to repress the freedom of thought or control its exercise, a contradiction and a mockery, it was in that age of “*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.*” And yet the very men who, in words, proclaimed the most unbounded liberty of thought and the most unlimited license of speech, in action maintained a despotism, so unrelenting, so cruel, so monstrous, as the world had never witnessed. The shrieks of the victims of the Carmes, furnish a fearful commentary on the hymns of liberty chanted around the altar of Reason. The “*Baptisms of the Loire,*” or the “*Marriages of the Republic,*” formed a significant inauguration for the new era of religious freedom so long and so loudly vaunted; and the bloody pre-eminence in the ranks of persecution attained by the chosen apostles of universal license of thought, remains a melancholy illustration of the inconsistency of human professions, and of the wickedness of the human heart, when abandoned to its own undirected impulses.

We have gone much farther than we at first proposed in our observations upon these points; but we have, at least, demonstrated the fallacy of that popular impression which holds Catholics and the creed of Catholics, as exclusively, or chiefly, responsible for the charge of religious intolerance. We have seen that there is not a single religion, ancient or modern, which must not bear its share in the same imputation. We have seen it alike in every sect,—the enlightened as well as the barbarian,—those which upheld the principle of authority in its largest and most despotic

form, and those which rejected even the shadow of its name; those whose principles required the most complete and servile adherence to every minute particular of their creed, and those whose only creed consisted in rejecting all positive belief. We have seen, indeed, that there is but one class which it is impossible to include under this universal charge,—the sects which were too weak or too insignificant to claim or exercise a controul over the opinions of others; that even these have given abundant evidence of the disposition, if they but possessed the power; and that, in truth, the tendency to enforce the universal adoption of its own opinions, is almost the normal state of the human mind under the influence of strong convictions, no matter how erroneous or ill-founded.

IV. There is a fourth fallacy on this subject, to which it can only be necessary to direct attention in order that it may be recognised without difficulty. In considering the conduct pursued by Catholics in reference to the question of religious toleration, it is the invariable practice to judge them, not in accordance with their own principles, but by the ideas and principles of their accusers. Now this, we need not say, is a gross and manifest injustice.

1. The recognition in the Catholic Church of a doctrinal authority which all are bound to obey, establishes a fundamental difference between them and Protestants, who discard all idea of such obligation. In the one case there exists a fixed and acknowledged standard of truth, every departure from which is not only an error, but a culpable error, and involves the idea of a *crime of the intellect*, imputable to the transgressors, and therefore liable to be visited with such punishments as may be recognised within their communion. In the other, as the opinion of each individual is the only standard of truth and falsehood, it is impossible, conformably with its principles, that any *culpable error of the intellect* should be admitted. Objective error is of course conceivable; but in order that this objective error should be subjectively culpable in the individual, it would be necessary to suppose in him an obligation of conforming to some standard distinct from his own judgment of the truth. Hence, in accordance with Catholic principles, a theory of punishment for errors of the intellect is at least conceivable; in Protestant principles it is a contradiction and an absurdity.

2. The feelings, the principles, the ideas, the institutions, of this age are all diametrically opposed to the theory of visiting purely spiritual offences with secular penalties. The endless divisions and sub-divisions of the modern sects; their free and unrestrained intercourse with one another; the friendly, or at least tolerant collision of thoughts and views which this intercourse involves, have accustomed men to look with indulgent eyes upon departures, no matter how extreme, from the standard of truth which they themselves receive, and to regard with proportionate horror any attempt to infringe the rights of free thought and free speech which this mutual toleration has established. But we have already seen how differently these things were estimated in other times. We have seen that every sect, no matter how loud in its profession of liberty, felt itself justified, notwithstanding, in using every opportunity of enforcing its own doctrines, by penalty, by confiscation, by banishment, and even by death. We have seen that there was a time, when by the common law of Europe,—a law which none, Catholic or heretic, presumed to call in question,—the crime of heresy was directly subject to the animadversion of the civil magistrate, and held punishable as an offence against the state itself. Is it not evidently most unjust to judge of the men, the manners, and the institutions, of a period so different from that in which we live, by any other standard than that which was universally recognised; and especially, to insist upon testing their conduct by the principles and views of modern times? Is it not, at all events, especially unfair, to hold Catholics responsible for these views, and the results which arise out of them, while it is certain they were common to all, without exception, and, in truth, were not the opinions of the men, but of the age? As well might we test a mediæval Catholic's ideas of physical progress and civilization, in contrast with those of his contemporaries, by the improvements of the nineteenth century.

3. Another great difference, which it would be most unjust to overlook, arises from the revolution which has taken place in men's notions upon the theory of punishment. One of the favourite projects of modern philanthropy, is the complete abolition of all capital punishment; in all the modern codes, it has at least been reduced to a minimum; and the scale of minor punishments has been

everywhere modified, so as to divest the process of almost every characteristic except the purely remedial. In the period in which the Inquisition arose and flourished, how different were men's views! The criminal codes of Europe, all, without exception, were marked by what in our vocabulary could receive no other name than barbarity. To take that of England as an example: There were no less than *one hundred and fifty-four offences* to which, by the statute-book, the penalty of death was annexed.* Many of these were, in our views, ludicrously disproportioned to the punishment. The list comprises not only treason, heresy, sedition, murder and other acts of violence; but also what may be called very minor offences against the interests of property, trade, commerce, manufacture, agriculture, and even game. Thus, not only were the crimes of arson, highway robbery, and burglary, capitally punishable, but even larceny, where the amount exceeded one shilling; † picking pockets to the same value; ‡ exporting wool, or living sheep; § stealing woollen or linen cloths from the place of manufacture; || sheep-stealing; ¶ horse-stealing; ** stealing a letter from the post-office; †† stealing notes or papers from the Bank of England; ††† forgery §§ in any shape, even to falsifying the goldsmiths' stamp; ||| coining, ¶¶ smuggling, *** when attempted with arms; even down to poaching, ††† or stealing rabbits, fish, or other game. ††† Many of these enactments are of comparatively recent date. A large proportion continued unrepealed down to the present century. They bespoke a very different state of public opinion, and a different standard of humanity from that to which the theories of modern phil-anthropists have accustomed us. But it is to be presumed, that they arose, in the natural order of things, from the state of society for which they were designed. However strange, and, indeed, revolting they may seem in our eyes,

* Blackstone iv., 154. [Ed. Dublin, 1794.]

† iv., 237.

‡ iv., 241, by the 4th of the 8th year of the "Glorious" Queen Elizabeth.

§ iv., 154.

|| iv., 38.

¶ iv., 239.

** iv., 238.

†† iv., 235.

††† iv., 234.

§§ Ibid.

||| iv., 248.

¶¶ iv., 88.

*** iv., 155.

††† iv., 235.

††† iv., 144.

they were deemed not unsuited to the circumstances in which they originated ; and, at all events, they show that it would be both unjust and unphilosophical to apply to the consideration of the penalties annexed to crimes against religion in the mediæval times, those refined principles of modern criminal jurisprudence, which we have seen to be so inappropriate in the consideration of the punishment with which the legislation of the Middle Age visited even minor offences against society.

These and many similar considerations are absolutely indispensable in order to a fair and impartial estimate of the true character of the Inquisition. It must be recollected, that its erection as a distinct tribunal, involved no new principle ; that its professed object was not to enact new laws, but to watch over the enforcement of laws which had been in existence almost from the first establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire ; that the laws which it enforced were not peculiar to Catholic states, but are found to have existed in every religious [community that rose into political power ; that the common criminal code of Europe was far more stringent than it is now ; and, especially, that by the received principles of the community for which the tribunal was established, crimes against religion were recognised as directly punishable by the civil power.

Even with these reservations, nevertheless, there will still remain something about the very name of religious intolerance, which of itself creates a prejudice in a mind trained in modern ideas. Much of this, also, is the result of the specious but unsound fallacies on which the modern system of universal toleration is founded. The utter impracticability of such a system, and the necessity of fixing certain limits to its extension, are well shown by Balmez, in his admirable work, *Protestantism and Catholicity Compared*.

“ It has been attempted to establish in principle universal toleration, and to refuse to Government the right of violating consciences in religious matters ; nevertheless, in spite of all that has been said, philosophers have not been able to make a very clear exposition of their principle, still less have they been able to procure its general adoption as a system in the government of States. In order to show that the thing is not quite so simple as has been supposed, I will beg leave to ask a few questions of these soi-disant philosophers. If a religion which required human sacrifices were

established in your country, would you tolerate it? No. And why? Because we cannot tolerate such a crime. But then you will be intolerant; you will violate the consciences of others, by proscribing as a crime, what in their eyes is a homage to the Divinity. Thus thought many nations of old, and so some think now. By what right do you make your conscience prevail over theirs? It is of no consequence; we shall be intolerant, but our intolerance will be for the good of humanity. I applaud your conduct, but you cannot deny that it is a case in which intolerance with respect to a religion appears to you a right and a duty; still further: if you proscribe the exercise of this atrocious worship, would you allow to be taught the doctrine which preaches as holy and salutary, the practice of human sacrifices? No; for that would be to permit the teaching of murder. Very well, but you must acknowledge that this is a doctrine with respect to which you have a right to be, and are obliged to be, intolerant. Let us pursue our subject. You are aware, no doubt, of the sacrifices offered in antiquity to the goddess of Love, and the infamous worship which was paid to her in the temples of Babylon and Corinth. If such a worship re-appeared among you, would you tolerate it? No; for it is contrary to the sacred laws of modesty. Would you allow the doctrine on which they are based to be taught? No; for the same reason. This then is another case in which you believe you have the right and the obligation to violate the consciences of others; and the only reason you can assign for it is, that you are compelled to do so by your own conscience. Moreover, suppose that some men, over excited by reading the Bible, desired to establish a new christianity, in imitation of Matthew of Harlem, or of John of Leyden; suppose that these sectaries began to propagate their doctrines, to assemble together in bodies, and that their fanatical declamation seduced a portion of the people, would you tolerate this new religion? No; for these men might renew the bloody scenes of Germany in the 16th century, when, in the name of God, and to fulfil as they said, the order of the Most High, the Anabaptists invaded all property, destroyed all existing power, and spread every where desolation and death. This would be to act with as much justice as prudence; but you cannot deny that you would thereby commit an act of intolerance. What then becomes of universal toleration; that principle so evident, so prominent, if you are compelled at every step to limit, and I will say more, to lay it aside and act in a way diametrically opposite to it? You will say that the security of the State, the good order of society, and public morality, compel you to act in this way. But then, what sort of a principle is it that, in certain cases, is in opposition to the interests of morality, of society, and the safety of the State? Do you not think it possible that the men against whom you declaim, intended to protect those interests, by acting with that intolerance which is so revolting to you?"—pp. 155-6.

The thought suggested in the closing sentence of this admirable passage, will supply a key to the true principles by which religious toleration should be guided. "To protect the interest of morality, of society, and the safety of the state," is clearly one of the first duties of every well regulated government.

First, therefore, wherever any doctrine is directly opposed to these, the profession of that doctrine *ceases to be a merely spiritual offence*; it becomes a *crime against society*, and of its own nature, becomes subject to the *cognizance of the civil power*.

Secondly, even if a doctrine should appear to be in itself innocuous, it may be made an offence against the state, by the turbulence, fanaticism, or disloyalty of its teacher. In such case, also, it is directly punishable as a social or political offence.

Thirdly, in the mixed communities of these times, where men of opposite views, by frequent intercourse with each other, and habitual friendly collision of thought, have learned the "right to differ," there may not perhaps be much reason to apprehend serious violations of peace and public order, by the introduction of new doctrines and new opinions. But it is different in a community which is still of one faith, and especially which recognises one standard of belief to which all are bound to submit, implicitly and without dispute. In such a community as this, it is hardly possible, taking men constituted as they are, to suppose the introduction and public teaching of new opinions, and especially the attempt to assail and overthrow the existing authorities, without animosities, contentions, violations of public order, and bloodshed; and as a mere measure of civil police, it is quite conceivable that the government of such a community may see fit to prohibit all attempts at innovation, and to punish their authors, not for the doctrines which they seek to propagate, but for the crime against public order which their attempt necessarily involves. Hence, even if it were admitted (what no christian philosopher would allow) that there can be any erroneous doctrine perfectly indifferent in its moral results, (so that the interests of morality might be equally consulted for by that doctrine, and by the opposite,) even in such a supposition, it may be the duty of a government to interpose against the attempt to propagate that doctrine, in order to guard against the injurious results to public

order, of which the angry and irritating conflicts which are sure to be excited by the very attempt, could not fail to be productive.

There is a fourth ground of justification, upon which we do not mean to dwell, although the authority of many great names, and especially of St. Thomas, may be alleged for it—the very nature of the offence of heresy, and the fatal influence on the welfare of society, which, of its own intrinsic efficacy, and apart from all circumstances, it is calculated to exercise. “It is much more grievous,” writes St. Thomas, “to corrupt faith, which is the source and the life of the soul, than to adulterate money, which but tends to the relief of the body. Hence, if coiners and other malefactors are justly put to death by the secular authorities; much more may heretics not only be excommunicated, but even justly put to death.”*

But abstracting altogether from this and every similar ground of defence, and judging solely by the principles already laid down, we shall see the tribunal of the Inquisition in a very different character from that which is popularly attributed to it. Whatever may be said of later times, especially in Spain, there is not one of those mediæval sects, for the repression of which the Inquisition was established, and against which it invoked the aid of the existing laws against heresy, which, either by its immoral or anti-social tenets, or its seditious principles, or the turbulence, fanaticism, and violence of its propagandists, was not justly amenable to the law, even upon purely social and political grounds. Let us suppose a number of sects, some of whom were anarchists and levellers, and attempted by violence to overthrow all distinctions of rank and gradations of power—a grievous crime against society in that unsettled age;—some communists, who set all the laws of property at defiance; some anti-socialists, rejecting the sacred institute of marriage, and yet giving a loose rein to every licentiousness and immorality; some made political power dependant on the possession of the state of grace, and refused to obey those rulers whom they regarded as sinners; some, again, carried disorder and tumult wheresoever they appeared, assailed the established worship, overthrew images, defaced altars, burned and destroyed churches, maltreated priests, monks, and nuns, and

* *Secunda Secundæ*, Q. xi. art. 3, vol i. 162. Rome, 1619.

insulted the holiest emblems of religion. Will any man say that it was not competent to the civil power, taking the very lowest standard of its political rights, to suppress, by the strong arm, attempts at innovation so fatal to society in themselves or in their consequences? Now that this was the general character of the mediæval sects, it is impossible even for the most decided apologists of these "Fore-runners of the Reformation" to deny. If the third council of Lateran sanctions the severe measures enacted by the civil law against the sectaries of that time, it is because, in the words of the decree, "these sectaries exhibited such barbarity towards Christians (Catholics), as not to spare churches, or monasteries, or widows, or orphans, not respecting youth or gray hairs, nor any age or any sex, but destroying and wasting all, like pagans;"* and a hasty glance at the characters of the principal ones among them, even as portrayed by their patron and apologist, Mosheim, will satisfy any unprejudiced man, that the description given above applies to them all;—to some in a greater, to others in a less degree, but to all in such a way as to render their principles justly liable to the cognizance of the civil power, as being fraught with danger to the welfare of society, to public order and peace, or to public and private morality itself.

Thus the *Cathari*, according to Mosheim's admission; "*raised disturbance in nearly all the States of Europe.*"† Like all the other off-shoots of the Manichæans, their dualistic and fatalist principles, their rejection of matrimony, and the immoral and licentious practices universally attributed to them, drew upon them the vengeance of every government under which they lived. The Albigenses of Orleans, according to a contemporaneous account preserved by Mosheim, held that "*all acts of Christian virtue, instead of being meritorious, were superfluous*; and, like the Epicureans, believed that the *crimes of the voluptuous would not meet with the recompense of punishment.*"‡ The *Caputiati*, a sect of the southern provinces of France, like the Socialists of

* Harduini Coll. Conciliorum, VI., part II., col. 1683. It is worthy of remark, that in citing the decree, Llorente omits this important clause.

† Mosheim, ii. 465, (Soames' Edition.)

‡ Ibid. 369.

the present day, sought to "restore the primeval liberty of mortals and *universal equality, to the exclusion of all subordination and civil authority.*"* The *Apostolics* anticipated another tenet of modern Socialism, equally injurious to the welfare of society, by denying the necessity of the marriage tie in order to legalize the intercourse of the two sexes.† The *Brethren of the Free Spirit* overthrew the first principles of social order, by claiming, for the perfect brethren, an exemption from all obligation, whether of divine or human law. They held that "*the motions and actions of the body had no connexion with the soul, which was elevated and blended with the divine nature,*" and others of them maintained the blasphemous, immoral, and anti-social sentiment, subversive of all law and order, "that the emotions and desires arising in the soul after its union with God, were the acts and operations of God himself; and *therefore, though apparently criminal and contrary to the law, they were really good and holy, because God is above all law,*"‡ that "*the sin of a man who is united to God, is not sin,* because God works all in him.§ The opinions of Amaury de Bène were equally at variance with public order and morality, and equally perilous to the welfare of the state.|| Margaret Porrette published a book, to prove that the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, "*is free from all law, and may gratify every natural propensity without guilt.*"¶ The followers of another fanatical apostle of immorality, Tanquelin or Tanquelm, "produced very great commotion at Antwerp." He declared that "he was the Son of God," ordered daughters to be debauched in the presence of their mothers, and other equally atrocious outrages.** Can any one hesitate to say that these, and such as these, were cases for the interposition of the strong arm of the law, especially as the blasphemous fanatic himself relied upon the sword of the flesh, being attended by a body guard of three thousand armed men? ††

* *Ibid.*, 478. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Mosheim*, ii, 585, (*Soames' Edition.*) § *Ibid.* 586.

|| *Ibid.* 587. ¶ *Ibid.*, 662.

** *Ibid.* 470. †† *Ibid.*

Indeed, there was hardly a sect of the time, even those whose principles were less openly immoral and anti-social, to which the same character of turbulence, fanaticism, and violence, does not apply. The followers of Pierre de Bruis filled all the south of France with confusion and terror, violently interrupting and insulting the public worship, pulling down the churches, defacing sacred images, and maltreating the priests. Arnold of Brescia attempted a *revolution civil, as well as ecclesiastical*,** The *Henricians* employed every sort of violence in the propagation of their tenets, and assailed the existing religion with every species of insult and outrage. Peter, abbot of Clugny, tells, that they burned the sacred emblems of christianity; insulted the clergy, put them to the torture; massacred them; and forced the monks, by violence and indignities, into the violation of their vows.† The *Coutereaux*, or *Cotterelli*, were even more completely beyond the pale of the law. From the description which St. Antoninus has left, we learn, that they laid the whole country waste, pillaging as they went along; violating females; burning churches; beating priests to death; trampling the blessed eucharist under foot; and profaning, by the most revolting indignities, all the sacred vestments, the linens of the altar, and every other emblem of Catholic worship. There was something peculiar in the spirit of the age. Even those who, like the followers of Peter Waldo, disclaimed all warfare, and condemned the profession of arms, by their fanatical principles, were the occasion of much disorder, and not unfrequently of bloodshed; while the more violent, like the *Stadingers* in Northern Germany, stopped short, under the influence of the religious frenzy which characterized them all, at no excess, however monstrous, their fury being especially directed against the monks and clergy, whom they treated with every species of cruelty. †

The principles of these mediæval heresies, therefore, and the violence and fanaticism which, with hardly an exception, their preachers exhibited in their conduct, and in their attempts at propagandism, remove them altogether from the category of purely speculative doctrinal errors,

* Mosheim, ii. 471.

† Fleury, iv. 575.

‡ Fleury, v. 251.

and exhibit them as direct offenders against public order, public morality, public peace, and the public interest of society, and therefore punishable on this especial ground by the civil authorities of the several countries in which they obtained, or attempted to obtain, a footing. It is to be remembered, too, that in the ages of which we are now speaking, there was not, as there is now, a system of standing armies, by which the internal tranquillity of each state could be maintained. The modern system of police was unknown, or incompletely adopted. The appliances for the preservation of the public peace, were, in any sudden emergency, entirely inefficient. Hence, taking the very lowest ground—that of mere human policy—it was more necessary then, even than it is at present, to watch over the course of the public mind, and to guard against the progress of opinions, dangerous in themselves, in their tendency, or in the divisions likely to arise from their circulation. Nor can any reasonable man wonder, that while the peace of society, no less than the purity of faith, was menaced by the spread of the hideous tenets, and the ferocity or extravagance of the impious and immoral fanatics, whom we have described, a coalition of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities should have been formed for the discovery and repression of the source of so much evil to them both. This twofold motive, founded alike on principles of external polity, and on the consideration of purely spiritual interests, was the one alleged, as we saw in the decree of the third council of Lateran. The council of Verona, in which the tribunal of the Inquisition was first formally established, was a mixed assembly, in which the emperor acted in the fullest concert with the ecclesiastical powers, and in which, therefore, both influences may be supposed to have been at work, and the still more extensive organization which it received in the council of Toulouse (1229), was the result of the painful memories, still fresh in every mind, of the long and sanguinary struggle to which the Albigensian heresy had just given occasion. This complete identification of religious and secular interests will perhaps appear strange at the present day. But how far in the mediæval views, it was the result of the natural state of things, may be inferred from one single well-known law of the German code, which directs that heretics shall be proceeded against at both tribunals, the civil, as well as the

ecclesiastical; that the secular judge shall confirm and enforce the sentence of the ecclesiastical; that any magistrate or prince who shall fail to enforce this law, shall be excommunicated; that, if he persist in this course for twelve months, he shall be denounced to the pope, and the pope may proceed to deprive him of all his authority.*

Such, it should never be forgotten, was clearly the origin of the memorable tribunal of the Inquisition. It arose in times when, by the common law of Europe, and the common policy of Christendom, heresy was regarded as a crime *against society, as well as against religion*;—when the blasphemous and revolting forms under which it appeared, but too well justified this impression;—when it did not attack abstruse and speculative points of doctrine, the moral and social tendencies of which might possibly be regarded, at the least, as indifferent, but assailed the very foundations of public peace, public order, and public morality;—and when its teachers and propagators, not content with holding their opinions in private themselves, sought to bear away the passions of the mob by fierce and fanatical assaults upon the established religion of Europe, and carried disorder, and revolution, as their ordinary instruments of proselytism, into every country in which they obtained even a temporary footing. It arose at the voice of the civil, as well as of the ecclesiastical, element of the great christian commonwealth; and although it is impossible to deny that, in the legislation of the time, both civil and ecclesiastical, the spiritual bearing of the crime of heresy, if considered in the abstract, would hold the highest place in the consideration of its injurious effects, yet it is, nevertheless, equally true, that the manners of the age, the very character of the prevalent sects, and the conduct of their leading defenders, rendered it difficult, if not impossible, to make this abstraction. The mediæval sects, with hardly an exception, were essentially anti-social; and even were it otherwise, still, where, as in the middle age, religion entered, as a first consideration, into every relation of life, a crime against religion could hardly be regarded in any other light than as a crime against society. In a word, it is impossible to read any of the contemporary chroniclers without being satisfied, that the establishment of such a tribunal was fully in accordance

* See Gosselin, *Pouvoir du Pape Au Moyen Age*, p. 630.

with the spirit of the time, and as natural a result of the existing state of society, as, for example, the repressive measures in our own day, to which even the strongest supporters of personal and political liberty have been driven, in order to guard against the dangerous principles of the socialist party in France.

The first step towards the establishment of the Inquisition, was a decree of the council of Verona, held under Pope Lucius III. and the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, in 1184. It consisted simply in requiring each bishop to visit annually all the suspected districts of his diocese, to summon witnesses before him, and to interrogate them upon oath for the discovery of heretics, and members of secret associations. The same provision for occasional commissions of enquiry, was renewed in the year 1215, under Innocent III.; but in the synod of Toulouse, held in 1229, under Gregory IX., at the close of the Albigensian war, it was thought necessary to give the tribunal a permanent character; and it was ordained that a standing commission should be formed in each parish, consisting of the parish priest and two or three laymen of good repute, whose duty it should be to report to the bishop and the magistrate, as occasion arose, all cases occurring within their several districts. Soon after this synod, we find inquisitorial commissions in general operation. They were still, however, merely episcopal tribunals; and it was under Innocent IV. in 1248, that the Dominican order received that special superintendence of the tribunal, which has been to them the source of so much odium, and so many misrepresentations.

Such was the origin of the ancient tribunal of the Inquisition. It was the result of a general confederation of all civil and ecclesiastical governments against a number of sects, whose principles and conduct were full of peril to them all. To this organization, the popes of the time, unquestionably, were parties. But their influence was employed to moderate its rigour, and to correct the abuses to which it was naturally liable. We find them interposing their authority for the purpose of censuring, depriving, and rigorously punishing cruelty or injustice on the part of the inquisitors;* and it is no unequivocal evidence of the light in which their dispositions were regarded by the public,

* As in the case of Brother Robert, Inquisitor in France, and in Flanders. See Fleury, v. 303.

and even by the heretics themselves,* that *appeals were made to them for protection against the severity of the local tribunals*, and that these appeals were attended with success. We do not mean, however, to dwell upon the ancient Inquisition. It arose in disorderly and unnatural times, and it gradually expired with the circumstances in which it arose. In France, it speedily became inoperative. In Italy, and especially in Rome, we have the unsuspected authority of Puigblanch, that it soon became almost a dead letter; and Voltaire admits, that in Aragon and France, in a short time after its establishment, it was without order, without functions, and almost forgotten.

But it is upon the modern tribunal, and especially as it existed in Spain, that all the odium is concentrated. To this part of the subject, therefore, we must devote what remains of space at our disposal. Owing to the comparative exemption of Spain from the prevailing heresies, the old Inquisition had fallen into disuse in the kingdoms of that peninsula. Its revival in the latter part of the fifteenth century, was occasioned by the alarm which the spread of Judaism and Judaistic principles, and the suspected loyalty of those who professed them, excited, both in its civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The Jews had always been an object of fear and distrust throughout the entire of christendom.† But there were special causes of suspicion in Spain. The Spanish councils of the sixth and seventh centuries contain many indications of this spirit; and the discovery of a treasonable design on their part, to invite the Saracens from Africa, and by their aid establish an independent government,‡ marked them out still more as objects of apprehension. They were subjected to many stringent and coercive enactments; and these oppressive laws, together with their own pertinacity in adhering to their own peculiar customs, soon formed them into a sepa-

* For example, the Stadingers, Fleur. v. 266.

† The popes, however, had uniformly opposed themselves to this popular prejudice. We might cite a long series of bulls, of Gregory the Great, Alexander II., Gregory IX., Innocent III., Innocent IV., John XXII., Benedict XI., Clement VI., reprobating the violences to which they were from time to time exposed, and commending them to mild and charitable treatment.

‡ Jost's Geschichte der Israeliten, v. 147.

rate race, possessing no community of interest, and hardly any community of feeling, with the people among whom they were thrown by the accident of habitation. The constant temptation to disloyalty afforded by the presence of the Moors, strengthened this characteristic; and even those among them who, in progress of time, were induced to embrace christianity, were regarded as still infected with the old leaven. Their sincerity was generally distrusted; and, for the most part, they were considered as still identified in sympathies, in interest, and perhaps even in belief, with the race whose creed they had outwardly abandoned. A better spirit had grown up during the fourteenth century; but the old fears were renewed during the last tottering year of the Moorish domination; and in 1473, a plot was discovered similar to that already referred to, of seizing upon the fortress of Gibraltar, and declaring themselves independent alike of the christian and the Moslem.* But here, too, the objects of suspicion were not merely the unconverted Jews, but also the seeming converts; who, (by an impression still prevalent in Spain, if we may trust Mr. Borrow,) were believed to retain at heart their allegiance to their ancient creed; and not only to conform in private to all its rites, but to despise, detest, and even to insult the mysteries, ceremonies, and ordinances of the christian religion, and, as the treasonable attempt detailed above would indicate, to seek every opportunity of weakening and undermining both the religion itself, and the government by which it was maintained. In these, as being by baptism subject to the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical tribunals, from which the unbaptized Jews were exempt, the offence was not only more heinous, but according to the jurisprudence of the time, was punishable by both tribunals. And hence the relapsed Jews, and not the Jews themselves, were held subject to the authority of the Inquisition, and they alone were proceeded against in its courts.

It was with a view, therefore, to the prevention of the threatened danger, that in 1447 Ferdinand and Isabella solicited from Pope Sixtus IV. permission to revive the functions of the tribunal which had gone into abeyance; and it is a strong confirmation of the belief that the measure originated in political, rather than religious motives, that, simultaneously with the application to the pope, the

* Jost's Geschichte der Israeliten, vii. 70.

Cortes passed a series of very stringent laws of the same tendency. A bull was issued by Sixtus IV., Nov. 1, 1478, authorizing the establishment of the proposed tribunal in Spain; and soon afterwards two Royal Inquisitors were appointed by the Crown in virtue of this permission.

This first appointment is the key to the true character of the modern Spanish Inquisition. The Inquisitors were no longer, as in the original constitution of the tribunal, the Ordinary of the place, or his representatives; nor were they, as they had been since the time of Innocent IV., representatives of the papal authority, appointed, either mediately or immediately, by the pope himself. They were *officials of the crown*, appointed by the crown, responsible to the crown, and removable at its pleasure. In one word, the Inquisition in Spain, from this date forward, is purely a state-tribunal, its functions originating with the crown, and in great measure, as we shall see, controlled by it; and, although the leading officials may have been ecclesiastics, and the machinery for the most part, was ecclesiastical; yet the fact of the crown's employing ecclesiastics as instruments, can no more be regarded as constituting the tribunal a strictly church tribunal, than a chancellor or prime minister, selected, as was habitually done, from the ranks of the episcopacy, could be said to cease to be a purely secular functionary.

This characteristic of the Spanish Inquisition is often put forward by Catholic controversialists for the purpose of disconnecting the Church from the odium which popularly attaches to that tribunal. It is a defence which no reasonable man can ignore; and as the subject is one of very great importance, and has never, as far as we are aware, been put clearly and strongly before the public, we shall offer no apology for dwelling upon it at some length. And in order that we may avoid the slightest suspicion of unfair dealing, we shall make our statements, almost exclusively, upon an authority the most unfriendly to the Inquisition and to the Church, "Llorente's Critical History of the Inquisition."

Nothing then, we say, could be more unfair than to hold the Roman See, much less the Catholic Church itself, responsible, either for each individual proceeding of the Spanish Inquisition, or even for the general spirit which characterized that tribunal. It may appear strange to venture upon this assertion after the admission just

made, that it was established in virtue of a papal bull, and proceeded, from its very commencement, with the papal sanction. But, in truth, this very circumstance only tends to disconnect the Holy See more completely from the responsibility. Scarcely had the news of the first operations of the new tribunal reached Rome, when the Pope, Sixtus IV., (January 29, 1482,) addressed a new brief to the king and queen, loudly complaining that he had not been sufficiently informed as to the nature of the powers which were sought from him, and had been betrayed into a concession which was "at variance with the decrees of the Holy Fathers, and of his predecessors, and with the observances of the common law;"* reprobating in the strongest terms the cruelty and rigour of the proceedings of the new inquisitors; requiring a return to the old custom by which the Ordinaries of the place were associated with the inquisitors; declaring that it is only respect for their majesties, that prevents his depriving the inquisitors of the powers which they had so abused; and refusing to accede to the demand made by the crown for the extension of the tribunal to their other dominions.

This attempt, however, to abolish or to control the dependence of the tribunal on the crown, promptly as it was made, and pertinaciously as it was afterwards persisted in, proved a complete failure. The kings of Spain felt the advantage which they then possessed, and refused to relinquish it. Even Ranke, † with all his anti-papal bitterness, strongly reprobates the attempt of Llorente ‡ to represent it as an ecclesiastical tribunal, notwithstanding this resistance of the Popes.

"In the first place," he writes, "it was a royal tribunal, although it was directed by ecclesiastical instruments. The Inquisitors were mere officials of the crown. The crown had the power to nominate and to set them aside. Among the councillors of state was one

* "Ipsorum tenore non plene et specificè, sed in genere et confusè nobis exposito, literæ ipsæ contra sanctorum patrum ac predecessorum nostrorum decreta, ac communem observantiam expeditæ sunt." See the bull in Llorente, vol. iv., p. 395. Not having the French edition within our reach, we shall be obliged to refer to the pages of Hock's German translation. 4 vols. Gmund. 1820.

† Ranke. *Fürsten und Völker der Südl. Europ.* II., p. 242 and fol.

‡ Llorente, IV. 419.

called the councillor of the Inquisition. Like the other courts, those of the Inquisition were subject to royal visitation; and the assessors in them were often the same individuals who sat in the High court of Castile. In the second place, all the revenue arising from its confiscations appertained to the crown; and this formed a part of the regular revenue of the king's exchequer. In the third place, it was through this tribunal alone that the whole system of government was completed;—the sovereign possessed in it a tribunal which no grandee and no archbishop could evade. In a word, as the jurisdiction of the court rested on the royal supremacy, so its exercise was made available for the maintenance of the royal authority. It is one of those spoliations of the ecclesiastical power by which this government rose into strength, like the Grand-masterships and the episcopal nominations. In its nature and its object, it was a purely political institute.”

The same view is confirmed by Guizot, Lenormant, and by the well-known German historian, Leo; and in truth, the early history of the Inquisition not only displays in the clearest light the entire dependance of the tribunal on the crown, but also the resistance to this novel and dangerous feature, which was maintained by the court of Rome for a long series of years. We cannot better show the injustice of charging Rome with the proceedings of the Spanish Inquisition, than by a brief sketch of this opposition.

Failing to extort from the crown a renunciation of this right of control which it claimed, there are numberless evidences to prove that the great object of the popes was to mitigate the rigour of its exercise.

1. We have already seen the remonstrance of Sixtus IV., in 1482, against the cruelty and severities of the first inquisitors. A similar exhortation to mercy “through the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ,” was addressed by him to the king and queen in the August of the following year (1483).

2. On his own part, he endeavoured to provide a remedy, by affording the aggrieved parties the protection of the power of appeal. Of these appeals we find several forms; thus:

3. The Bull already referred to, shows that the Pope received many such addressed *to himself in person*.

4. To facilitate still more the use of this remedy, he appointed a *judge of appeal resident in Spain*.*

* See the brief in Llorente, IV. 411.

5. In many instances, parties who feared to trust themselves even to this second court of appeal, sought and obtained from Rome the privilege of being tried by *special judges named, directly or indirectly, by the Holy See.**

6. Many cases occurred, notwithstanding all these efforts to secure protection, in which parties fled altogether from Spain, and threw themselves, in Rome itself, upon the protection of the Roman Pontiff. Thus, in 1488, two hundred and thirty were absolved in Rome, by order of the pope, and, in 1498, two hundred and fifty received a similar absolution.†

7. Sometimes the Pope directly interfered, even in Spain itself. Thus in February, 1486, fifty heretics were absolved by a papal order; in the May of the same year fifty more; and three other similar acts of mercy are mentioned by Llorente within the same year.‡ Llorente, it is true, attributes these and many similar acts of mercy to corrupt and interested motives on the part of the Roman court, and especially to the desire of extorting money by the sale of these absolutions. But he does not produce a single document, or any other evidence, to support this odious charge.

8. Sometimes the judgments of the inquisitors were set aside and annulled, by a formal sentence, even after they had been juridically completed.§

9. Sometimes they were ordered to absolve privately, and thus save the penitent from the infamy and the civil effects of the public sentence.||

10. Sometimes we find a more decisive interference—the inquisitor's being called to account by the Holy See, censured, and excommunicated.¶

11. Many instances are found in which the Holy See interposed in favour of the children of parties who had been condemned by the Inquisition, and whose property in consequence had been forfeited to the crown.**

* See Llorente, I., 484, also 489, 455, &c.

† Llorente I., 285. ‡ I., 281.

§ Llorente, II., p. 16.

|| I., 281.

¶ IV., 396; also I. 471 and 484.

** IV., 313.

These and many analogous instances of Roman interposition, which might be culled even from the unwilling admissions of Llorente, will serve to disconnect the court of Rome, in the judgment of its very worst enemies, from the odium of all that is most odious in the proceedings of the Spanish Inquisition. It would be impossible to particularize the instances in detail; and we must be content with adding in general, that, besides these and many similar efforts to mitigate in practice the operations of this existing tribunal, we are indebted to the See of Rome for many general projects for its reform, and other salutary measures. It is to Leo X. that we owe the law for the punishment of false or calumnious denunciations.* The same Pope used all his influence to enforce upon Charles V. a plan of reformation, which would have removed most of its objectionable features, especially its total dependance on the crown, and exemption from superior ecclesiastical control; † and he gave his warm support to the reforms proposed or demanded by the Cortes, comprehending, among other things, the publicity of the proceedings of the court; reforms, however, which were frustrated by the resistance of the crown, to which the pope was compelled reluctantly to yield. ‡

If a doubt of the sincerity of these efforts be suggested by the circumstance of their failure, it will find its solution in the stern and dogged determination, with which the Spanish crown resisted, or evaded, every attempt to alter the constitution of the tribunal, or to control its actions. (1) Sometimes the Inquisitors refused to receive the appeal; sometimes (2) they suppressed the briefs altogether; § sometimes (3) they threw difficulties in the way of the execution of the sentence; sometimes (4) they even anticipated its execution, in order to defeat the expected reversal under the appeal. ¶ The crown itself pertinaciously resisted the right of appeal to the Pope, and held the Minister of Justice as alone legitimately invested with appellate jurisdiction. In the year 1510, Ferdinand forbade the papal bulls to be received in Spain. On other occasions, the special

* Llorente, I., 496.

† I., 469.

‡ I., 458 and 461.

§ I., 476.

¶ As in the case of Don Francisco Ranquillo, I., 478.

judges appointed by the Pope were prohibited from undertaking the commission; and the unhappy men who, in their despair of mercy at home, threw themselves upon the papal protection, and presumed to ask and receive absolution in Rome itself, were forbidden, under pain of death, ever to set a foot within the realm of Spain.*

Against a determined resistance like this, the Popes, of course, were powerless. They could not suspend the action of the tribunal, but they could, and did, reprobate and condemn. And if they failed to procure its abolition or modification in Spain, they at least prevented its extension to the new territorial acquisitions of the Spanish crown. Paul III., in 1546, urged the Neapolitans to resist the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition, "because it was excessively severe, and refused to moderate its rigour by the example of the Roman tribunal, which had been in operation for three years, without provoking a single complaint." † And Pius IV., in 1563, in the same spirit, declared to the Milanese that he never would sanction the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition into their state, "because he was well aware of its excessive rigour; and promised them to take such measures as to secure that the Milanese tribunal should continue, as of old, subject to the Roman court, whose rules of procedure were extremely mild, and left the accused the fullest liberty of defence." †

We need not pursue this portion of the subject farther. It should not be overlooked, however, that the very ground on which the opposition of the Popes to the Spanish Inquisition was founded, was the excessive rigour and severity by which it was distinguished; and the circumstance acquires additional significance from the fact, recorded by Balmez, § that the Roman Inquisition, that is to say, the tribunal which was immediately subject to the control and direction of the Popes themselves in their own city, "has never been known to order the execution of capital punishment, although the Apostolic See has been occupied, during that time, by Popes of extreme rigour and severity, in all that relates to the civil administration.

We trust that enough has been said to expose the gross

* I., 297.

† Llorente ii., 147.

‡ ii., 237.

§ p. 166.

injustice and dishonesty of those writers and speakers who represent the Catholic Church, or even individual Popes, as responsible for the proceedings of the Spanish Inquisition. It is true that the tribunal, at its first creation, had the sanction of a papal bull; but we have seen that from the very year of its establishment, the Popes have reprobated its cruelty; remonstrated against its abuses; employed every effort to obtain a control over the proceedings; and, failing these efforts, extended to its aggrieved victims all the protection and security afforded by the right of appeal, both by receiving such appeals themselves, and by establishing courts in Spain, to afford a more prompt and easy opportunity of redress. And if, notwithstanding these efforts, the powers of the tribunal have been abused, the Holy See can no more be considered as responsible for these abuses, than it could for the abuses of the civil or criminal administration of the realm, which was not one whit more studiously or more completely withdrawn from its control.

And yet, while we freely avow that all our sympathies, and all our principles, not alone as men, but as Catholics, are revolted by the undoubted cruelties, and undeniable abuses of the Spanish Inquisition, we are restrained, nevertheless, by a sense of historical justice, from closing our observations upon the subject without entering a protest against the absurd and monstrous exaggerations and misrepresentations of the proceedings of that tribunal with which all the popular histories are filled, and none more than that which forms the text of the present notice. The ground-work of them all is Llorente's well-known "Critical History of the Inquisition," so often cited in these pages; and as the recent compilations for popular use, in our own and every other language, rest almost exclusively upon his authority, we must be permitted a few words upon the question of his credibility. We do not hesitate to say, that even though there were no positive evidence of mis-statement or falsification upon his part, there are abundant, and more than abundant, reasons for regarding with suspicion, if not with absolute unbelief, all his statements unfavourable to the Inquisition. It is not alone that, although a priest, his religious opinions were of the loosest and most latitudinarian character; that he was a bitter enemy of many of the most venerable institutions

of Catholic discipline and Catholic usage;* that he was a virulent antagonist of the papal privileges, and an inveterate calumniator of the Popes; † and that, even where his prejudices had no part, he was a careless and inaccurate historian. It is not merely that he was a dismissed official of the Inquisition, whose history he undertook to write; that he undertook this history for the express purpose of justifying the suppression of the tribunal, and making a case against it; that, from the beginning to the end of the work, there is not a sentence which does not bespeak the partisan, not a single observation which does not breathe the most implacable hostility; that it heaps together every circumstance which can blacken and depreciate, and keeps out of view, or brings forward only for the purpose of discrediting, all that could soften or modify the unfavourable judgment. It is not merely that, as we shall see hereafter, he took the suspicious precaution of sheltering himself from detection by destroying the records of the criminal proceedings of the Inquisition, ‡ from which he professes to draw all his information; and that, even with the scanty means which this prudent precaution still leaves at our disposal, we are able to point out gross, and, indeed, almost incredible, falsifications. All this would unquestionably suffice to create grave suspicions even in the most favourably disposed. But when it is recollected in addition, that he had already proved himself, in other and very similar circumstances, a venal and dishonest historian; that he had already sold himself to the well-known attempt of the Prince of Peace upon the liberties of the Basque Provinces, and, in a professedly historical work, § had suppressed, distorted, and falsified the truth of history for this corrupt purpose, it is impossible to hesitate as to the judgment we should form of a work which was undertaken by him with an avowed object, and in which private feeling and personal acrimony were united with the political motives under whose inspiration he

* In a plan of Reform proposed by him during the French occupation.

† In his "Portraits Politiques des Papes."

‡ Llorente, iv., 167-8.

§ Noticias Historicas sobre las Tres Provincias Bascongadas, 3 vols. Madrid, 1806-7.

wrote. It is impossible not to subscribe to the judgment of Mr. Prescott,* "that his computations are greatly exaggerated," and his "estimates most improbable;" and to that of Ranke,† who declares that Llorente "wrote his history in the interest of the *Afranciscados*, and of the government of Joseph; and as, with an interested view, he combated the privileges of the Basque Provinces, though it is hardly possible to deny them, so, in this interest also, he represents the Spanish Inquisition as a usurpation on the part of the ecclesiastical, of the rights of the civil, power."

With this general estimate of the trustworthiness of Llorente, we shall offer a few remarks, necessarily very brief, upon the principal charges against the Spanish Inquisition, which have been made by him, and are repeated upon his authority:—

I. The first place, of course, must be given to that which regards the number of its victims. There can be no possible doubt, that, on this point, the grossest exaggeration has been practised; and the nature of the case, while it affords the fullest opportunity for such exaggeration, makes it almost impossible to detect the extent to which it has been employed.

1. It will be remembered, that, under the superintendence of Llorente, the records of the criminal trials have all, with few exceptions, been destroyed. But even though they were in existence, they would furnish no clue to such estimates as form the basis of his enumeration. For a considerable period, and this the period when the rigour of the tribunal was greatest, it is not derived from the registers of the several tribunals, or any other authentic record; but deduced by conjectural calculation, from certain real or assumed data.‡ Very frequently there are no satisfactory means of testing either the accuracy of these data, or the justice of the deductions therefrom.

2. These deductions are frequently most unfair and illogical, and are admitted to be such even by Mr. Prescott. Thus, for example, Llorente calculates the number of executions at the tribunals of Aragon, and those of Castile,

* Ferdinand and Isabella, iii., 468.

† Fursten und Volker, i., 242.

‡ See vol. i. 322, and foll.

as equal. And, in order to do this, he keeps out of view the fact, that as the number of Jews, and therefore of Maranos, or christians suspected of Judaism, in Castile, was five times as great as that in Aragon, the number of persons sentenced by the tribunals of Castile, should be greater in the same fivefold proportion.*

3. A similarly unfair deduction from even less tenable grounds, may be instanced, in order to show the slipperiness of the calculations by which he arrives at the appalling total, so often charged upon Catholic intolerance. He alleges, that at the tribunal of Seville, between the years of 1482 and 1489, the number of executions averaged eighty-eight in each year. In applying these data to the three other tribunals, he suggests, with a great show of impartiality and moderation, that as the tribunal of Seville was more active, it may be fair to estimate the number of convictions at each of the other tribunals at only half the number, that is, forty-four each year. The number of tribunals was afterwards increased, by subdivision of the provinces, from four to eleven;—an increase, which, of course, could not involve any increase of the number of cases for trial. And yet Llorente continues to apply to these new tribunals the very same calculation, allowing for each of the eleven, the same annual average which he had before allowed on the supposition, that there were but four.

4. In this estimate of the number of executions, he is supposed to assume, that all those who were put to death by the inquisitorial courts, suffered for the crime of heresy. Now the Inquisition took cognizance also of many other offences, of witchcraft, of blasphemy, of rape, of polygamy, of unnatural crimes, &c., all of which, by the civil law of Spain, in common with the rest of Europe, were punishable by death. The sum of the convictions by the Inquisition under these heads, which is of course to be deducted from the amount, will make a large reduction of the number total punished for heresy. Polygamy, in Spain, in consequence of the prevalence of Moorish customs, was very prevalent; and, under the head of witchcraft alone, the number of convictions, at least, if we judge by the analogy of other countries, must have been very large in these times. In Geneva, with all the advantages of the light of protes-

* Ferdinand and Isabella, iii. 468.

tantism and of its comparatively small population, there were no less than one hundred and fifty witches burned within sixty years after the Reformation;* and in the little protestant town of Nördlingen, with a population of six thousand souls, there were no less than thirty-five executions on this charge, in the four years from 1590 to 1594. Assuming the proportion of the two populations, what number should be allowed for Spain during the three centuries for which the Inquisition was in operation?

5. But we need not rest upon mere conjecture in order to discredit the numbers of Llorente. Prescott draws attention to a gross and unpardonable exaggeration. "He states the number of banished Jews," says Mr. Prescott, "at 800,000. I have shown from contemporary sources, that this number did not probably exceed 160, or 170,000;" † an exaggeration of no less than five hundred per cent. A still more gross and direct exaggeration occurs in his estimate of the number of victims in the very first year of the Inquisition. He states, ‡ on the authority of Mariana, that, in the year 1481, no less than two thousand persons were burned by the Inquisition; and, in another place, he confines this to Seville alone. § Now Mariana, in the first place, mentions this only as a popular report, (*dizen*, || "they say.") Secondly, he speaks not of the number executed in one year, but of the administration of the inquisitor, Torquemada, generally; and this is borne out by the testimony of a contemporary historian, Marineo Siculo, who says, that, "in the *course of a few years*, they burned *nearly* two thousand heretics," ¶ and also by that of Pulgar in his *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos*. Fourthly, Llorente himself states the number of executions in that year at Seville, to have been two hundred and ninety-eight; and, in order to account for the rest, he supposes them to have taken place at the "other tribunals of the province, and at the diocese of Cadiz." But, unfortunately for his credibility, he has elsewhere deprived himself of this subterfuge, by acknowledging that, in this year, the tribunal cannot be considered as having been in active operation in any

* Audin's Life of Calvin, p. 358.

† iii. 468.

‡ i. 183.

§ i. 322. || Historia General de Espana. xxiv. 17, vol. ii. p. 354.

¶ Cited by Prescott, III., 468.

other place than Seville, and that it was not till two years later that the other tribunals were established.* *In this single year alone, therefore, the very first for which he pretends to offer an estimate, we find him clearly convicted of exaggerating the number of executions to the incredible extent of sevenfold the true amount.*

It cannot be denied, that, even taking the lesser number, the statement is appalling in the highest degree. But the reader must recollect, that it was in consequence of these very executions that the Pope, Sixtus IV. wrote to remonstrate with Ferdinand and Isabella, and implored them "by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ," to listen to the dictates of clemency.

It would be easy, if space permitted, to point out many other glaring examples of dishonesty and exaggeration in the statements of Llorente and his retailers. But what we have said will be more than enough to show, that no impartial man can honestly rely upon his authority.

II. Another of the popular charges against the Inquisition is, its use of torture, in order to extort a confession from the accused; and there is a frontispiece prefixed to Messrs. Ward and Co.'s little volume, exhibiting in very startling forms, all the varieties of torture alleged to have been employed. We shall not offer a word in defence of this practice, or of the principles on which it was founded. But it is only common justice, that, in forming an estimate of the character of the tribunal, some circumstances should be taken into account.

1. It would be unfair to forget the enormous revolution which, as we have explained already, has taken place in the public mind, on the theory of punishment, in all its bearings since the times in which the Inquisition was established. It is by the public opinion of that period, and not by the opinion of this age, that the institution is to be judged.

2. It is most unjust and most disingenuous to hold the Inquisition exclusively responsible for the use of torture, as is done, at least by implication, by all its most popular accusers. The truth is, that in every country of Europe except England, where it only existed *de facto* and not *de*

* i. 323.

jure,* the torture formed as ordinary and as essential a part of the criminal procedure of the olden time, as a public prosecutor does at the present day. The tortures which are attributed to the Inquisition, and which the reader is

* With the exception of the *peine forte et dure*, which was applied to force a criminal to plead, and which consisted in placing as much weight as he could bear upon his breast, and keeping him without food, "save only, on the first day, three morsels of the worst bread, and on the second three draughts of standing water, nearest to the prison door, and so on, till he died or answered."—Blackstone, IV. 327. An example of this fearful death occurs in the history of those who suffered for the faith under Elizabeth;—the case of Mistress Margaret Clitherow, of York, in 1586. We cannot forbear to extract it.

"Then Fawcett commanded her to put off her apparel; 'For you must die naked,' said he, 'according as judgment was pronounced against you.'

"The Martyr with other women requested him *on their knees*, that she might die in her shift, and that for the honour of womanhood they would not see her naked; but they would not grant it. Then she requested them that the women might unapparel her, and that they would turn their faces from her during that time.

"The women took off her clothes, and put upon her the long linen habit. Then very quietly she laid her down upon the ground, her face covered with a handkerchief, the linen habit being placed over her as far as it would reach, all the rest of her body being naked. The door was laid upon her, her hands she joined towards her face. Then the sheriff said, 'Nay, you must have your hands bound.' The Martyr put forth her hands, still joined, over the door. Then two sergeants parted them, and with the inkle strings, which she had prepared for the purpose, bound them to two posts. So that her body and hands made a perfect cross †. They willed her again to ask the Queen's majesty's forgiveness, and to pray for her. The Martyr said she had prayed for her. They willed also to ask her husband forgiveness. The Martyr said, 'If ever I have offended him, but for my conscience, I ask him forgiveness.'

"After this they laid weight upon her, which, when she first felt, she said, 'Jesu! Jesu! Jesu! have mercy upon me!' which were the last words she was heard to speak.

"She was in dying *about one quarter-of-an-hour*. A sharp stone, as much as a man's fist, put under her back; upon her was laid the quantity of *seven or eight hundred weight at the least*, which, breaking her ribs, caused them to burst forth of the skin.

"Thus most victoriously this gracious Martyr overcame all her enemies, passing from this mortal life with rare and marvellous tri-

made to believe were devised by the satanic ingenuity of the Inquisitors, are in reality the tortures used by every secular criminal tribunal. If any one will take the trouble of reading almost any of the great criminal trials of the *Causes Celebres*, he will find that, as late as the seventeenth century, in France every one of the forms of torture attributed to the Inquisition were still in use. The trial of the Marquise de Brinvilliers, * that of Urbain Grandier, † and many others, present precisely those details which bring such a thrill of horror to the heart in the popular narratives of the proceedings of the Inquisition. The same is true of Italy, (as in the well-known case of the Cenci, ‡) and in all the kingdoms of Germany, down to a comparatively recent date. We cannot help transcribing the description of the celebrated Torture-Room, at Ratisbon, the seat of the Diet, as it is given in Murray's *Handbook of Southern Germany*, in the year 1836.

“After several turnings and windings, we came to a doorway, so low that I was obliged to bend nearly double to enter it: and, on passing it, I found myself, with my back still bent, (for there was not room to stand upright,) in a low vaulted dungeon, 6 feet or 8 feet square, lined with wood, having a raised step at one end to serve as pillow to the inmate of this miserable cell. Daylight was entirely denied to him; and the only air that could reach him, came through a small grating in the door. On the outside of this chamber, my guide stooped down at a trap-door of iron grating, strongly fastened with bolts and chains; and lighting one of the pieces of paper, pushed it through the bars. As it fell, I perceived by its light, a dungeon more horrid than the first; a kind of well about 12 feet deep, with no other entrance than this trap-door, so that the prisoner must have been let down into it as into a living tomb. Of the former kind of cells, there are 19 or 20; of the latter 3 or 4: they are, happily, no longer used. We passed hence, through several strong iron doors, to the Torture Chamber, a lofty apartment, with ample space for the exercise of the apparatus of

umph into the peaceable City of God, there to receive a worthy Crown of endless immortality and joy.

“This was at nine of the clock, and she continued in the press till three afternoon.”—pp. 194—6.

* See Dumas' *Crimes Celebres*, I., p. 162 and foll.

† *Causes Celebres*, II., 482.

‡ Dumas' *Crimes Celebres*, I., p. 53.

cruelty deposited in it, which, to my surprise, I find existing here in a nearly perfect state. First, there is the common rack, resembling a long bedstead, or platform of boards, upon which the criminal was laid, his feet attached to one end, and his arms fastened to a rope which passed round a windlass at the other, so as to stretch out his limbs to the utmost extent that agony would allow without causing death. The second species of torture resembled the first, but was inflicted vertically instead of horizontally, by raising the victim by a rope attached to his arms, which were bound behind his back, to the roof, and then letting him fall, by loosening the rope, to within a few inches of the ground. Two stones, so heavy that I could not lift them, were previously attached to the feet, so that the jerk inflicted by the sudden fall must have strained every joint out of its socket. This instrument consists of an upright frame of wood, with a windlass about two feet from the ground, to which the rope is still fastened by one end, while the other dangles from a pulley in the roof, with a triangle of wood attached to it. To this the arms of the victims were fastened. The third instrument was a very high arm-chair, having, instead of a cushion, a seat stuck full of small sharp spikes of wood, about two inches high, upon which the prisoner was made to sit with weights on his lap, and others hanging from his feet. There is also a wooden horse, on the sharp edge of which the criminal was made to ride; and two or three other instruments equally horrible, the invention of which is a disgrace to human nature. One side of this chamber is partitioned off by a screen of wooden trellis-work; behind which may still be seen the desk at which the judges sat, seeing and hearing all that passed, but unseen themselves, and took down the confessions extorted from the victims at the moment of agony. I felt a thrill of horror in beholding this abominable machinery, which, I think, surpasses in iniquity the far-famed dungeons of Venice; and is, I believe, the only example in Europe of such an apparatus perfectly preserved. It deserves to be preserved, to show that, at least in judicial proceedings, the world has improved. The torture chamber lies directly under the hall of the Diet; and, had not the floor been well lined, the cries of the sufferers must have reached the ears of the assembly. The lining is now removed, so that the light actually appears through cracks in the ceiling above."—pp. 71—2.

It is impossible, therefore, to deny the universality of the use of torture in all the criminal proceedings of the different countries of Europe. It is equally impossible not to reprobate and deplore the fact. But let us do justice; and, while we hold the Inquisition responsible for the use of the torture and the odium which it involves, let us remember that, in this, it but adopted the form of

procedure which it found in existence in the purely secular courts.

3. There can be no doubt whatever, that the popular accounts, both of its frequency and of its rigour, are grossly exaggerated. It could only be administered under many restrictions, which greatly mitigated its horrors; and never by the local tribunals, or without the consent of the supreme court. The regulations for its use were much less severe than those of the secular criminal law.

4. It had its origin in the practice of the secular courts, or it was abandoned by the Inquisition when it began to be disused in these. Llorente admits that, for a long time, torture was unknown in the Inquisition.*

III. A third charge, which may be used with great effect at a time and in a country where the control of public opinion is believed to have exercised so salutary an influence in maintaining the purity of the administration of justice, is the secrecy of the proceedings of the Inquisition. Of this we may say generally, that it was borrowed from the other courts, especially the ecclesiastical courts, of the time, and that it was afterwards maintained by the hope of inducing the prisoner to retract his errors;—a result much less likely to be attained if his pride of consistency were exposed to the ordeal of publicity. But there is one point connected with this part of the subject which deserves special notice—the withholding from the accused the names of the witnesses against him. To our notions of justice this is especially revolting. The practice, however, had its origin at a time when, even by the admission of Ranke, † this concealment was absolutely necessary for the personal security of the witness, and is declared to be such in the very statute by which it is ordered. It was afterwards maintained, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Cortes, for some supposed advantages and convenience which it possessed. However, the usage was accompanied by certain regulations, which very much diminished its oppressive character. 1. The witness was obliged to swear that he was not influenced by any malice against the prisoner. 2. The prisoner was asked whether he had any enemies on whose malicious denunciation of him he might

* I., 358.

† Fürsten und Volker, I., 247.

possibly be wrongfully charged. If he could show that he had, the evidence of such party was at once set aside. 3. Though the name of the witness was not made known, the deposition itself was communicated to the prisoner, and he was allowed every opportunity of rebutting it. 4. Although the witnesses were not confronted with the accused, yet they were brought into the presence of other 'responsible persons,' and examined as to their depositions. This regulation of the court is given even in the *History of the Inquisition*, published by Messrs. Ward.

"29th. The inquisitor must not neglect to cause the *ratification* of the witnesses, or to take any measures to discover the truth.

"30th. The *ratification* of the witnesses shall take place before responsible persons, such as two priests, Christians of an ancient race, and of a pure life and reputation. The witnesses shall be asked in their presence, if they recollect having deposed in any trial before the Inquisition; if they reply in the affirmative, they shall be questioned on the circumstances and the persons interested in it. When they have given satisfaction on this article, they shall be informed that the fiscal has presented them as witnesses in the trial of the prisoner. Their first declaration shall be read to them, and if they say that they have attested those facts, they shall be required to ratify them, making any additions, suppressions, explanations, and alterations which they may think proper. These shall all be mentioned in the verbal process; it shall also be stated if the witness is at that time at liberty, or detained in the chamber of audience, or in his chamber, and why he has not appeared in the ordinary place.

"31st. When the ratification of the witnesses is concluded, the publication shall be prepared, taking a copy of each deposition; it shall be literal, *except in all that may tend to discover the witnesses to the accused*. If the declaration is too long, it shall be divided into several chapters. At the publication of the depositions, they shall not be read to the accused all at once, nor all the articles of a long declaration. The first head of the deposition of the first witness shall be read to him, that he may reply to it with more precision and facility; they shall then pass to the second chapter, then to the third, following the same order in all the depositions. The inquisitors shall hasten as much as possible the publication of the depositions, to spare the accused the anxiety of a long delay; they shall avoid all that may lead him to suppose that new charges have been brought against him, or that those already made are more extended than in their own declarations; and although such circumstances may have occurred, and the accused has denied the charges, they shall cause the delay of the formalities and the conclusion of the trial."—pp. 168—9.

At all events, whatever of injustice there was in this provision of the inquisitorial practice, the Popes at least are exempt from the odium. One of the reforms demanded by the Cortes, and supported, though without effect, by Leo X, was the abolition of this secrecy.

We have, however, already exhausted our space; and as regards the other charges against the Inquisition, we need only add, that even by the confession of Llorente himself, they will be seen, for the most part, to be purely imaginary. The prisons which romancists love to paint in such appalling colours, will be found to have been spacious, well ventilated, and free from damp.* The secret arrests and mysterious disappearances, will prove to be the purest invention. An arrest under the order of the Inquisition involved a minute and rigorous previous enquiry, and, in later times, required the royal assent.† The bolts and chains, under the weight of which the prisoners are described as groaning, are no less creatures of the novelist's fancy;—the use of such restrictions being entirely unknown, except when they were necessary to restrain a determined suicide.‡ The abodes of perpetual darkness, to which the heroes of so many harrowing narratives are condemned, turn out to be lightsome and airy chambers;§ and all the other horrors popularly attributed to the *material* of the system, are equally the result of prejudice or of dishonesty.

With these brief observations, which the necessities of space have, we feel, rendered too brief and too discursive for the importance of the subject, we take our leave of the old Inquisition. Of its more modern constitution we shall have occasion to say something in another article.

ART. VII.—1. *The Imprisonment and Deliverance of Dr. Giacinto Achilli, with some account of his previous history and labours.* By Sir C. E. EARDLEY, Bart. 8vo. London: Partridge and Co. 1850.

* I., 351.

† I., 313.

‡ I., p. 471.

§ I., 351.

2.—*Brief Sketch of the Life of Dr. Giacinto Achilli, including a narrative of his proceedings, &c.* Dublin: P. Dixon, Hardy, and Sons, 12mo.

THE early ages of the Church might, occasionally, present a painful contrast. On one side of the Forum stood, perhaps, an array of men and women, calmly awaiting the sentence, which the world was about to pronounce upon what it deemed their folly. There were, perhaps, some whose peculiar garment showed that, like Justin, they belonged to the honoured class of the philosophers; there were many in senatorial garb, others in priestly robes, a multitude in honest citizens' plainer clothes. Then, beside these, were matrons of noble aspect and mien, and virgins, radiant with virtue's, more than nature's charms, who clung close to them, shrinking from the profane heathen's gaze; and younger ones, at the breast, or in prattling childhood, or in comely youth, who nestled among their elders, not without a graceful timidity. These were the "fools for Christ's sake," they whom the wise, and rich, and selfish men of the world stared and wondered at, as prodigies of folly, as enigmas of absurdity, as unaccountable instances of possible eccentricity. That priest had thrown up a capital living at Jupiter Tonans; that philosopher had resigned a most lucrative chair at the academy; that sculptor used to get half a talent for an Apollo, and now won't make one for love or money; that lady had an excellent house on the Palatine, and her country-house on Tusculum, and has forfeited them; and that young lady has just broken off a first-rate match with a young patrician. And why all this? Simply because they have all chosen to become christians! Stupid, senseless, and yet most provoking people! As if it mattered what one believes, so long as one goes on honestly and comfortably in this world! As if an abstract matter like religion could ever demand such sacrifices of position! And after all, what is it for? Why, if you really want to know what these men have embraced, and what they have renounced such worldly advantages for, just step to the other side of the Forum, and you will learn it all, from one able to teach you, for he has been one of themselves, and has left them, because of their absurdities and horrid doings; and he is now on the Rostrum telling them to the people. Hear that shout! It

is the people cheering;—a sign that he has just been coming out strong. Make haste, and let us hear him.

So now we draw nigh, and get among the crowd who flock round the Rostrum, on which stands, and, through an interpreter, declaims (for he is a stranger) the renowned Hyacinthus Achilles. He is telling the people, as they listen to him with gaping mouths and rolling eyes, that those Christians, whom he has left, worship secretly an ass's head, and indulge in Thyestian banquets, murdering every day a suckling babe to feast on him,* and that they riot in other abominations too gross for a modest convert to paganism to detail. He of course could stand it no longer, and therefore abandoned them. He is loudly cheered; but he fares on better cheer than noise. Large contributions are made for him; he is sent forward from town to town with acclamations; he is feasted and almost worshipped: every story that he tells is implicitly believed—there is not one in the assembly who refuses to swallow the whole ass's head, though the ears will be sure to peep out, and the bray to be heard, from himself. And now what shouts that multitude? "What fools those people on the other side of the Forum must be, those priests, those learned men, those high-born dames, who have lost every thing for the sake of *such* a religion! What a wise, what a sensible, what a valuable man this modern Achilles must be, who has so clearly seen that one may pass, in a moment, from poverty to comfort, from celibacy to matrimony, from obscurity to celebrity, from a cloister to the Rostrum, from the catacomb to the palace, by so simple and rightful an act, as embracing good, sound, Pagan truth! There is no danger of *our* religion going down, while men with such wisdom come over to us. The Christians may boast of the hundreds of converts, going daily over to them from our learned and higher classes; one such hero as this amply compensates us!"

We really think every reader will feel, there is something essentially heathenish in this reasoning. There are certain Christian ideas of which we cannot easily divest ourselves. For instance:

It has become almost a maxim, certainly it is a hardened impression, that he who gives up and loses much by

* Such were the Exeter-hall stories of the three first centuries.

embracing a system of doctrine, presents stronger proofs of sincerity, and bears stronger testimony to its truth, than he who in abandoning it gains every worldly advantage, does in regard to the opposite system.

Again, there is something revolting in a man's parading himself before the public as a martyr, or a confessor. We can imagine well Saints, like some of those holy bishops, who came to give glorious testimony to orthodox teaching at Nicea, or like the celebrated martyrs of Africa under the Vandals, revered wheresoever they went; and the crowd eager to see the wounds of Christ on their bodies, as additional seals to their witnessing. But we cannot muster imagination enough to see one of them advertising meetings, and placarding the streets, to tell the mob that the celebrated victim of Dioclesian or Genseric would address them, and give them a harrowing account of how those tyrants racked and burnt martyrs.* Our idea of one's feelings who had suffered for the faith, would be that he would conceive himself to have received such a privilege of grace, such a treasure of hope, as would make him guard both, in secret and jealous modesty; lest pride or uncharitableness should rob him in one moment of a singular gift, than which none more needs humility. If, therefore, one sees a martyr led round towns, in much the same style as an American dwarf, or a Spanish giant, a Cherokee squaw, or a Bosjman deformity, and set upon a platform to be stared

* The following is given in the *Londonderry Standard* of May 2, as part of Dr. Achilli's speech at Belfast.

"You see in me one who has had the privilege of bearing testimony to the Gospel of the grace of God—a privilege granted to me by Christ, the great Head of the Church; and in the exercise of which I congratulate myself I have been obliged to suffer. (Hear, hear.) If any of you are disposed to ask what I suffered during the six months of my imprisonment, I should say that the subject of my imprisonment was a source of great gratification and delight. In the recesses of my prison I rejoiced to feel that I was there for the sake of my master, Christ, and that I was accounted worthy to suffer in His cause. I have come from the Inquisition at Rome, and it is the first time that any man was ever known to come out of its recesses alive. (Hear, hear.)—Some unfortunate men, it is true, got out of it, but it was after denying their faith. Such a proposal was made to me, but I rejected it. (Applause.)"

at, and have white handkerchiefs waved at him, or got to administer evangelicalism in tea and buns, it is much the same to one's mind whether Sir Culling or Mr. Catlin be the showman: we look upon the exhibition not with reverence, (Heaven forbid!) nor with common respect, but with simple disgust, at the perversion of a holy name and a holy thing; and we exclaim without mitigation,

“Quæcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.”

We disbelieve the man, and we hate the imposture.

Now let us return again to the ancient Forum; and perhaps we may see quietly leaning against a pillar, in the shade of a portico, a moral, thoughtful man, who cares somewhat for truth, and yet is halting between what is called the glorious religion of his country, intimately connected with its liberal institutions and foreign prowess, and the creed which is gradually gaining ground, and drawing to itself many of the wisest and best men of the day. How will *he* reason? Will he see in the sacrifices of those men, or in the gains of this apostate, the higher evidence to truth? Will he come to the conclusion, that the continued ovation, the popular applause, the boasting speech, the courted cheer, the renewed filling of pocket and stomach, that the studied abuse, the unsupported tale, the appeal in religion's name to every vulgar prejudice, in charity's to every angry passion, are the best proof of truth loved for its own sake? We really think that his first impulse would be to turn away, with something akin to loathing, from the religious mountebank; unless he were of a more penetrating and persevering disposition, which, having caught a suspicion, would not let it go, till it was fairly sifted out, and ended in being either dispelled or established.

In this case, a shrewd thought would come across him, that there might have been other reasons besides conviction, which had sent over this zealot to his side; and that his previous life might be worth investigating. The character of the enquiry would at once appear in such a dialogue as the following, supposing this seeker after truth could intercept the orator in private. “Learned Sir, I understand you to say, that you left your former religion, and have embraced ours, out of pure conviction.” “Most certainly.” “You left its society, therefore, and your native country, *quite* of your own accord?” “Certainly”

“Neither there nor elsewhere did anything happen in your regard, which would make you feel you would be more comfortable, just then, at a rather greater distance?” “Oh, by no means.” “No tribunal ever summoned you before it, or tried you, much less convicted you?” “Sir, you insult me!” “I beg your pardon; such is not my intention. I only seek information. Perhaps you will tell me what condition of life you occupied in your former religion?” “I was a friar and a priest; in my youth I vowed solemnly to God perpetual celibacy and chastity. But I have since discovered that such a state is wicked and superstitious, and, therefore, the engagement to it not binding; consequently, I have abandoned the one, broken through the other, and I make my appearance as a married man.” “After how many years?” “After nearly thirty years. I took my vows at seventeen, and I have married at forty-six.” “I assume, of course, that as you have chosen to remain in the state of celibacy, even long after you had been convinced that you were not bound to it, you have throughout, whether doubly bound under vow, or simply by choice, led that chaste and holy life which can authorize you to stand up as the censurer of others’ failings?” “Undoubtedly; my life has been exemplary; it defies investigation. Many calumnies have been spread against me, but I spurn them all.” “Then, Sir, as much of the weight to be attached to your energetic testimony must depend upon your previous history, as I may be much guided in my personal decision, by ascertaining whether your own account of yourself be correct, whether you spontaneously quitted your own religion from upright motives, or were scourged out of it by penal justice; whether *conviction* in you was your own act or that of a tribunal; whether, in fine, you have been edifying your audiences with honest truths, or have been deluding them with wretched lies; as others also are likely to be guided in their judgment of your doctrine by the opinion they may form of your character, I shall feel it my duty to make a searching investigation into your real history, and you will allow, it will be but fair to make it known.” “Sir, I fear no investigation, no exposures.”

Here we take leave of our imaginary actors, but not of the principles which they have enabled us to establish. The Church of the early ages exists here amongst us, in the same state of trial. It is, thank God, the gaining and

winning body. The account between it and the religious community amidst which it is cast, shows a balance-sheet immensely in its favour. It draws fearfully upon the other. Many men of learning and acknowledged integrity have come over to it, and it is felt advisable to counterbalance the loss. For this purpose any one is welcomed who passes from it to the other side. During late years there has been but little to boast of; a few unfortunate Irish students or curates, who have passed under the care of the "Priests' protection society," and whose principal public appearance has been at police-courts, for stealing from one another; and some stray Italians, of more than doubtful fame, who vent their Protestantism in an obscure journal called *L'Eco di Savonarola*,—truly an echo, "*vox et præterea nihil.*"

It was, therefore, no small matter to have at length got a prize of such magnitude as a living victim of the Inquisition. Such was supposed to be the person called "Dr. Giacinto" (in English, Hyacinth) "Achilli."

This person was "a protestant," as we are told, "of five years' standing in 1849;"* and yet he seems to have acquired no particular celebrity, and to have excited no stirring interest. All the wonderful things now predicated of him, his professorships, priorships, eloquence, learning, though no doubt as true then as they are now, gained him no special attentions, procured him no evangelical honours. Yet these, we might naturally have supposed, would have been the merits to be valued in one who joins a religious body. They were however unprized; till the adventitious glory came upon him of being thrown into prison in his own country. That prison was *of course* the Inquisition; that Inquisition would, *of course*, have burnt or strangled him; all this, no less *of course*, because he had become a protestant. And still more *of course*, all this is believed. Therefore he is led forward before admiring thousands, like Sinon yet in the garlands wherein he had been decked for sacrifice, a victim escaped crowned from the cruel altar, to tell his tale.

"Jamque dies infanda aderat; mihi sacra parari,
Et salsæ fruges, et circum tempora vittæ;
Eripui fateor letho me, et vincula rupi."†

* "The Inquisition," p. 199.

† Æneid ii. 132.

We will complete the picture by another line from the same poet.

“Purfusus sanie vittas, atroque veneno.”*

Whether the welcome which the Italian has received within the hostile walls will be of better augury than the wily Greek's, time must be left to unfold. Whether there be more truth in the one's narrative than in the other's, it is our present task to investigate.

The man who comes forward as a public challenger must submit to inquiry, and to a thorough sifting of his character. This Dr. Achilli (and let us once for all observe that we prefix this assumed title under protest, as he has no right to it whatever)† does not merely come before us, as a convert, who denies not the infirmities of a life spent in an inferior state of grace, but dates his good efforts from the time of his conversion; but he readily and eagerly favours his hearers with his own history, and details his own merits. He allows biographies of himself to be published, of which he alone has furnished the particulars, in which his conduct, and his virtues are proclaimed; no effort is spared to prove him a great loss to Rome, and a treasure-trove to England. And when some slur was cast upon his previous conduct, and a “romantic story” (as newspapers call a filthy tale of violated vows) about a nun was circulated, in which he figured; it was all indignantly denied, and he was declared to be unsullied in reputation, and acknowledged innocent even by those most interested in proving him guilty. All this sets one not merely a thinking, but a looking and enquiring.

To this duty we have applied ourselves, faithful to a trust which we hold on behalf of the Catholic body, and which we have fearlessly and successfully discharged upon

* *Æneid*, ii. 221.

† Religious in Italy never bear the title of D.D.: and certainly he has not received it in England. Moreover in the Dominican order, the degree corresponding to that of Doctor in the secular clergy, and also this title, conferred on these by the Dominicans, through special privilege, is given upon a stipulation on oath, to teach the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas in every point (*jurare in verba Thomæ.*) The Ex-Dominican Achilli is teaching the opposite; and therefore has forfeited his title, which is not like a mere literary one, compatible with various doctrinal teachings.

other occasions. For our readers will remember that when "Raffaele Ciocci, formerly a Cistercian monk," published "A Narrative of iniquities and barbarities practised at Rome in the nineteenth century," we lost no time in investigating this marvellous tissue of unqualified lies; and, though not yet in possession of the authentic documents which we now hold, for further confutation, should it be ever necessary, we were able, from internal evidence and personal knowledge, effectually to contradict and dispel them. It has then been ever the particular function of this Review to meet the calumnies of the day, and especially such as require a more troublesome research. We will therefore fearlessly undertake our present task, and see what pretensions Achilli has to the character, we will not say of a martyr, but of a decent member of civilized, or moral society.

For more reasons than one the undertaking is to us most painful. The character of this man's offences is so gross, that we hesitate to pen them, and place them before the eyes of our usual readers—the virtuous we trust, and the modest. For them we have ever written, their religious feelings we have endeavoured to cultivate and improve; and we can look back upon the whole series of our twenty-seven volumes, without a pang or a blush. Orthodoxy in faith and purity in morals we have instinctively upheld. It is no wanton play with what we loath that now invites us to do what we abhor; but a sheer and stern necessity, a sharp goading from the spur of duty, forces us on. And we are encouraged and consoled, when we see how St. Jerome (not to cite others) felt himself compelled to unmask the licentiousness of a Vigilantius, or a Helvidius, when necessary to destroy their influence for evil. We will, however, clothe our statements with all the decency that the facts will permit.

And further, we feel a pain inexpressible, at having to write as needs we must, concerning one whose hands have been anointed with the consecrating unction of the priesthood, and whose head has been shaven to the likeness of His Crown, who was purity and truth. Achilli may now deride the holy habit, which in, we trust innocent, youth, and with guileless heart, he put on before God's altar, as the wedding-garment of the Lamb. He may make light of vows twice made, with sincere purpose, and holy aspirations; like the foolish bird of the proverb, he may disfigure

his early home, his peaceful cell; and he may make a multitude shout or laugh at the profane and irreligious speech; but still, to our eyes, he cannot cancel from his soul the marks of its eternal consecration, he cannot make himself to us a layman, or a secular; we must feel that we are still ever writing of a priest, though fallen, of a religious, though apostate.

“Fruit, and flower, and leaf are gone,
 Yet still rooted pines the stem;
 And one word, of grace, alone
 Could restore each ravished gem.”

It shames us, truly, to reveal the degradation of what was once sacred, the defilement of what was once holy. But in some respects we are relieved from this natural feeling, by seeing that Achilli himself has furnished us with a text for any amount of disagreeable comment. This gentleman has thought proper to address several letters to Popes, replete with insolence and coarseness, but admired as the expression of “a generous mind” by Sir Culling Eardley. We extract, at present, one passage:

“But there is more still to observe. Who are generally the most wicked persons in every locality? (I am speaking only of Italy, indeed, only of southern Italy—a country emphatically Roman Catholic.) Forgive me, Holy Father; *but it is a matter of fact—priests and monks; whatever iniquity, wickedness, and abomination has ever existed upon the earth, you will find it among them.* Haughtiness, luxury, ambition, pride—where do they most abound? In your temples. There the excessive love of money, falsehood, fraud, duplicity, cover themselves with a sacred veil, and are almost in security from profane censures. And, oh! *how great are the horrors of the cloisters (sepulchra dealbata,)* where ignorance and superstition, laziness, indolence, calumny, quarrels, immorality of every description, not only live, but reign. The most abominable vices, long banished from all society, have taken refuge there, and there will continue miserably to dwell, until God, outraged by them, shall rain down upon them the curse of Sodom and Gomorrah.

“Am I exaggerating? or do not you yourself, while reading this paragraph, utter the sigh of sorrowing conviction? Well, but who are to be blamed for such evils? Mankind, you will tell me, evasively. But I reply: And are not the immense mass of Protestants also a part of mankind, who live quite differently, and who are honest and respectable? Worshipping the same Deity, followers of the same Gospel, their temples are truly the house of prayer, their Sundays the Lord’s day, their ministers patterns of probity and morality.

Can this be denied concerning the universal Protestant clergy? * But thousands of accusations can be most justly made against the Roman Catholic clergy. Will you venture to deny it? You must first hide the episcopal prisons of your state, and numerous other places of punishment for ecclesiastics—you must prevent the world from knowing of the Ergastolo of Corneto, full to overflowing with priests and monks, whom you send there yourself when they become intolerable to you. Find me anything like this in Germany or in England—countries eminently Protestant. I have, I think, proved to you, that your popery renders men more wicked.”—Sketch, p. 57-58.

Now a man who writes boldly thus of a body to which he has belonged, in which he claims to have attained considerable celebrity, exposes himself to one of two conclusions. Either he himself was as bad as the rest, or he was the exception. He must have been quite a rose among thorns, a Lot in Sodom, if he kept himself clear from the surrounding contagion. Such he undoubtedly wishes himself to be considered, for he and his friends will not admit an imputation against him. Yet, is this position credible, that in a body thoroughly cankered, corrupted, eaten through with vice, the exceptional man, the reprover and corrector of sin, should have been exalted, made professor, superior, prior, by the community? Are we to understand that these “whitened sepulchres,” that “ignorance, and superstition, laziness, indolence, immorality of every sort” and “abominable vices,” not to speak of “haughtiness, luxury, ambition, pride,” concur in choosing for their ruler and director, learning, research, activity, purity, innocence, evangelical virtue, and all the other great and noble qualities, which we are to understand shone forth in Father Achilli? The history of corrupt bodies has always taught us the reverse; drunkards

* “When Dr. Achilli wrote this, he had only been a Protestant a year, and had not, I believe, resided in a Protestant country. The contrast between Protestant and Roman Catholic populations is undoubtedly striking. But these encomiums, are, alas! beyond the deserts of any Protestant population, or protestant clergy.—C. E. E.” (Culling Eardley Eardley.) We thank Sir C. for this gentle correction. But what are we to say of the modesty of the man who tells the Pope, as facts, what are acknowledged to be untruths, and what he had had no means of judging of; and, moreover, on these pleas justifies his apostacies?

would not select Father Mathew for their president, nor would epicures take a Hindoo for their caterer. But as they did put Achilli in such responsible positions, did he attempt to reform them? Did he walk before them as a pattern of virtue? We will see.

In the meantime, the reader may come to one of the following conclusions:

Either Achilli's picture of the state of the religious orders is a romance, à la Eugène Sue;

Or, he was as bad as the rest in them, and should penitently avow it;

Or, he neglected his duty, as superior, by doing nothing on earth to reclaim them;

Or, at any rate, he must not quarrel with us, if we prove and confirm Achilli's assertions in part, and show that, if in such matter we may judge from one specimen, he has not exaggerated.

But, in fact, so inconceivable to us is the effrontery exhibited in the preceding extract, unless penned by a most irreproachable member of the class attacked in it; so incredible does it seem to us, that any person, save one "without sin," would have ventured to throw so heavy a stone at his own Mother, that we are almost tempted to doubt every evidence before us, and to conclude that the Father Achilli, whose history we are going to trace, must be a different individual entirely from the Doctor Achilli, who has been exhibited on a platform at Torquay, fed with muffins at Belfast, and received in Dublin "the right hand of fellowship" (materially) from Sir W. Betham.*

* The enthusiasm with which the martyr was received on such occasions, gives rise to singular forgetfulness of the proprieties of speech in the describers of the scene. Take the following from "the Warder," of April 27.

"A very crowded and most respectable congregation assembled in the Round Room of the Rotundo, on Sunday last, at three o'clock, to hear a sermon from the Rev. Dr. Achilli. The reverend divine, after singing and prayer, preached, in English, on a passage in the 12th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles—the imprisonment of St. Peter—which he explained and applied in a clear, judicious, and scriptural manner, to a most attentive auditory, composed of persons of various denominations. Dr. Achilli, however, read in a rather low tone, and on this account, as well as the foreign accent with which he pronounced the English language, his discourse was

Dr. Achilli has favoured the world with his autobiography. He tells us that he put on the Dominican habit in 1819, and was ordained priest at Lucca. We do not stop to notice the strange variations from his own narrative which the "Brief Sketch" of his life makes. They are of no consequence to the public world; it is sufficient for us to know, that the Dr. Achilli now in England is the same as Father John Hyacinth (Giovanni Giacinto) Achilli, who was a Dominican in Viterbo, from 1831 to 1833. This individual, having finished his studies in the Dominican Convent of the Minerva,* at Rome, was sent as *Letttore*,

not heard at the extremities of the Round Room, and it was only audible to those immediately around and at a short distance from the platform."

This is truly rich. A sermon in a "Rotundo;" an audience most attentive to an inaudible discourse; that discourse *inaudible* (not unintelligible) partly because pronounced in a *foreign accent*; the imprisonment of St. Peter scripturally applied to an auditory composed of persons of various denominations; and finally, the whole a dumb show to persons at the *extremities* of a *round* room.

* A strange mistake is made by the Editor of Achilli's memoirs. These happen to mention "the Ecclesiastical Academy in the Piazza di Minerva," as the place where the French tribunal sat, to which he was summoned under false pretences, that he might escape. On the words "Ecclesiastical Academy" we have the following note:

"This is the great institution of the Dominicans. The Dominicans were the founders of the Inquisition. In this institution, it appears, the tribunal sat, which has broken down the discipline of that villainous establishment, and set its victim free. Glory be to the God of Providence and of righteous retribution! Surely there is a God that judgeth in the earth."—p. 145.

Now unfortunately Sir C. Eardley's "Glory to God" is as groundless as it is profane. The Ecclesiastical Academy was a College for the education of young men intending to pursue the career of offices generally comprised under the name of *prelatura* in Rome. The late Cardinal Acton was a scholar in it. The Dominicans, however, never had anything to do with it, beyond looking at it, as it stood opposite their door. And so the righteous retribution stands thus. The Inquisition, which is near St. Peter's, was instituted by the Dominicans. The principal house of the Dominicans, a mile off, is called the Minerva, and gives name to a Piazza or Square. In that stands a college for young ecclesiastics, in which sat the tribunal that let Achilli escape. This wonderful concatenation

or Lecturer to the Convent of Gradi, belonging to the same order; and he was afterwards appointed professor in the ecclesiastical Seminary (and also, he adds, in the Lyceum,) of that town. Thus far our accounts agree; but after this they differ sadly. Dr. Achilli tells us that in 1833, he was offered contemporaneously three professorships, at the Minerva, and at the Sapienza, both at Rome, and at Macerata: and adds, "It was then, and for that sole cause, that I relinquished my chair at Viterbo, *undecided to which of the new offices I should attach myself.* There was then given me the charge of Visitor of the Convents of the Dominicans, in the Roman States and in Tuscany."^{*} Here, indeed, is a fortunate man, holding at least three professorships, one in the Gradi convent, one in the Lyceum of Viterbo, and one in the Seminary, who is offered three other theological chairs in a heap, and ends with having none, but getting something else. We have heard, indeed, of a man falling between two stools, but never before of one falling between six chairs. It is a feat worthy of Grimaldi or Barry. Then we may ask, does a man give up his present good occupation before he decides what he will take of the better ones offered him? At any rate we may enquire, how he decided to take none of the three, and ceased to be a professor at all? We will solve the enigma.

The Giacinto Achilli, of whom we have obtained authentic information from official sources, concerning whom we have private accounts, totally distinct from these, from personal acquaintances, and members of his order now in England, from the time that he went to Viterbo, gave evidence of anything but virtue, and had frequently to be admonished and reprehended by his superiors. At last his overt acts of vice rendered severer measures necessary. In February, 1831, he was proved to have caused the ruin of a girl of eighteen. The same crime was a

tion proves that "there is a God that judgeth in the earth." The reasoning is as logical as the following would be in the mouth of a republican. Ancient kings of England built the Tower to oppress their subjects by military force. The seat of military force is the Horse Guards. Opposite the Horse Guards stands Whitehall. It was a proof, therefore, of providential retribution that a king should have been beheaded at Whitehall.

* We shall see later how this swells out.

second time committed, with a person of twenty-eight; and a third with one of twenty-four years. The second offence came to light in September, 1833, the third in July, 1834. All three were in the diocese of Viterbo. What formed a foul aggravation to one case was, that the place in which the crime was committed was the sacristy of the Gradi church. For the first and second of these offences, the Dominican friar Achilli was not only deprived of his professorships, but had his faculties withdrawn, that is, was invalidated for preaching, hearing confessions, and exercising other acts of his ministry. To hush up the scandal of the second case, a large sum had to be paid to the father of the victim.

But how comes it that after such flagrant guilt, any person could be appointed to the responsible post of Visitor of the convents of his Order, in the Papal States, and Tuscany? Well indeed may such a question be asked; and it is easy to answer it. No such person ever was so appointed. No Achilli ever was Visitor of the Dominicans, as stated. In fact, the Visitor of a religious Order is its Provincial; and Achilli's statement that he was made Visitor, is equivalent to asserting, that he was elected Provincial, which even his effrontery would not venture on. For the Provincial of an Order like the Dominican, is a well-known and public functionary; and a young sub-lieutenant in the guards might as well try to pass off as having been Commander of the Forces in Ireland, as a friar of half-a-dozen years' standing in the priesthood, pretend to have been Provincial. The plain facts of the case are these: the Provincial of the Dominicans in the Roman States was, at that time, the ex-Regent of the Minerva, F. Brocchetti. This good man, wishing to reclaim, if possible, Achilli, and to show how he believed him to be sincerely penitent, took him with him on his tour of visitation, to the great and avowed displeasure of many of the Order, who were not by any means so convinced of Achilli's repentance.

The contradictions in this part of the Doctor's history are certainly embarrassing. At the *end* of 1833, he gave up his three professorships, and at the *beginning* of 1835, he proceeded to Capua. This leaves just one year for his life in Rome.* Yet we are told in the "Christian Times"

* Imprisonment, &c., p. 8.

of Aug. 16th, of last year, copied into "The Inquisition," (p. 198) that Dr. Giacinto Achilli is "a Protestant of five years' standing. Formerly 'Vicar of the Master of the Holy Palace,' under Gregory XVI., Professor of Moral Philosophy at the college of the Minerva, he subsequently became a Protestant." In this one year, therefore, and only for one year, he held three most important offices: of Visitor (*i. e.*, Provincial) of the Roman States, Vicar (or we must suppose, *Socius*) of the Master of the Palace, and Professor at the Minerva. Such an accumulation of high offices, we are perfectly sure, has rarely, if ever, taken place in any young member of a religious body; and, we have no hesitation in asserting, never occurred in Achilli. We have already discussed the matter of his Visitorship; we will briefly dispatch his Vicariate. The *Maestro del Sagro Palazzo Apostolico*, is a Dominican, who resides in the papal palace. His original duty was to instruct in theology the ecclesiastics attached to the court; his present office principally consists in sanctioning the introduction, or printing of books. This situation is considered one of the very highest in the Order, and is for life. The Master has a *Socius*, or companion, who assists him in his duties, and generally, if not always, has the right of succession, on the promotion of his superior. Thus the present Master, F. Buttaoni, succeeded Father Velzi, on his being created Cardinal and Bishop of Montefiascone, having been previously his companion. This was in July, 1832, and the *Socius* (again we repeat, there is no such office as *Vicar* in this department,) appointed to him, who has kept the office ever since, was F. Modena, one of the most distinguished men in the Order. Achilli's story, therefore, or that made for him, and, to all appearance, learnt from him, that he held such an office is—a story, and nothing more.*

* Messrs. Craig and Tonna, who style themselves "Hon. Secs." of the "Committee of the London Society for the religious improvement of Italy and the Italians," in a memorial addressed "To the Honourable the Government of France," dated London, 4th October, 1849, thus improve upon the account commented on in the text.

"Your Memorialists are also aware, *on the most satisfactory evidence*, that subsequently to this date, Dr. Achilli held several very important offices in the order of the Dominicans; that he held high offices at Viterbo and Naples; that he was appointed Regent

But we now naturally ask, supposing for a moment, that he held all these high offices together, why he only held them for one year? The Provincialship lasts, *at least*, three years; the office of Socius to the Master of the Palace is for life; and so is a Professorship. How came he to lose them all in a twelvemonth? He tells us that "in the beginning of 1835, he was invited by Cardinal Serra to preach the Lent sermons in his cathedral at Capua;" an occupation which no ways involved the resigning of his other high offices. But Achilli attempts to give a reason for this strange inconsistency in his narrative. "I adopted," he writes, "this employment with the intention of quitting Rome, and abandoning the Institution of the Dominicans, with which, for many reasons, I was sufficiently disgusted." (p. 8.)

Now mark how plain a tale will put down this tissue of unmitigated untruths. Our Achilli was in Capua in 1834 and 1835. In this place he committed the same crime of seduction, and, unfortunately, made use of the facilities which his religious character gave him, of access to establishments of female education. We shall have to return

of the Minerva College, and *Vicar and Master of the Sacred Palace*; and (to which your memorialists would call particular attention) Visitor of the Convents of *Romagna and Lombardy*, by which appointment it was committed to him to visit, regulate, and adjudicate, in all the convents from *Rome to Florence*,—an office which would not have been committed to a suspected man."—p. 45.

Hence it appears that Achilli can be proved *on most satisfactory evidence*, to have been not merely "Vicar of the Master of the holy Palace," but Master itself, and Vicar of the Palace to boot! This is the most barefaced untruth ever told on "most satisfactory evidence." There is no such office as "Vicar of the Sacred Palace;" and the office of "Master" has been held in a succession as known as that of Prime Ministers in England. Again, Achilli only asserts himself to have been "Visitor of the Convents of the Papal States and Tuscany." But the secretaries increase this to the visitation of Lombardy, a totally different province; and then, in happy defiance of geography, inform the "Hon. Government of France," that Romagna and Lombardy form the tract lying between Rome and Florence! Is part of the "religious improvement of Italy and the Italians," contemplated by this evangelical London Society, a better acquaintance with truth? Falstaff's men in buckram had but slender powers of augmentation, compared with Achilli's prerogatives.

to the consequences of these crimes by and by. For from Capua we must follow him to Naples, where he was appointed Prior of the convent of St. Peter Martyr. It may again be naturally asked, how was a man of such known depravity promoted to this office? As usual, Dr. Achilli, not content with leaving the fact to speak in his favour, must charge it with exaggeration, too absurd not to excite suspicion. He says, that in the Lent of 1835, he had asked and obtained his secularization; but that just as the transaction was completed, he "received a letter from three cardinals, *entreating* him to defer his intention, and to remain some time longer in the Order." (p. 8.) We never yet heard of three Cardinals writing a joint letter in any case; it is a practice unknown. But such a letter to a friar, to *entreat* him not to get secularized, (a matter which to them must have been perfectly indifferent,) would be a document so truly novel and unheard of, that Achilli should put it in the British Museum. At any rate, would he kindly favour us with their Eminences' names, that we may verify the assertion? one which we are sure he never would have ventured to make, had he not been experienced in the credulity of Evangelical Alliances, and supposed that few acquainted with Roman usages would read his account. "I was willing to be influenced," he proceeds, "by this advice, and I remained four years among the Dominicans of Naples, during which time I was seriously occupied with preaching, and with theological instruction. However, in 1839, I completed legally my emancipation from the Dominicans, and I remained in Naples as a simple priest, always preaching and teaching various sciences." (p. 8.)

Tracing the history of our Italian Achilli, we do indeed find, that through the influence of an Ex-Dominican named Semaria, he was most unhappily appointed Prior of a convent in Naples, always in the hope of reclaiming him. And we may observe that, although such a situation was inferior to any of those which he tells us he gave up at Rome, but to which his three Cardinals do not seem to have thought of inviting him again, still it is a little surprising, that he should have passed so slightly and smoothly over this honourable position. But perhaps the following extract of an official despatch, forwarded to us, from the Police of Naples, may explain this circumstance, as well as what he means by his *private* residence in that city.

The document alludes to a *Pia Unione*, or pious association of men and women, which Achilli established in that city; and then proceeds.

“The said Achilli, known for habitual incontinency, took advantage of this opportunity to seduce a girl of fifteen.*..... The father of the child having made complaint to the Neapolitan authorities, and demanded justice, and they having satisfied themselves of the truth of the charge, took measures for the removal of the delinquent friar. This was effected on the 8th of September, 1840. But instead of proceeding to the convent assigned him, he went to a relation’s house, whence he returned stealthily to Naples, only to be expelled thence, a second time, on the 21st of February, 1841.”

Be it remembered, that it is not the inquisition that here speaks, nor is it any ecclesiastical, nor any Roman, tribunal. It is the police of another kingdom. If any doubt be entertained of these facts, they can easily be verified. The instructions given to the expedition to Rome in search of Achilli were: “Next to Dr. Achilli’s deliverance, we feel very anxious that his character should be cleared.”† Then let some one at Naples be charged to examine the records of the police, or get official information on the subject; and we have furnished the text in the very words of the police. We may add that, from another totally distinct source in this country, we have received the same account, with the additional circumstance, that on the principle of “the better day, the better deed,” the horrible crime was committed on Good-Friday.

Such is the history of our Achilli’s sojourn at Naples, first as a friar, and then as a simple priest, that is, as a man hiding from the observation of the police. We come now to what may be called the turning point of our Achilleid; and we will allow the Doctor, as usual, first to tell his own tale. It is as follows:

* We cannot bring ourselves here to translate some words of the despatch, and therefore give them below in the original: “Il suddetto Achilli, conosciuto in fatto d’incontinenza, profittò dell’opportunità per sedurre una giovanetta di anni quindici, e dopo averla stuprata la rese incinta, facendo poi sottoporre la giovane a sfogare la libidine anche di altro suo amico.”

† Imprisonment, &c., p. 78.

“It was in 1841 that I came to Rome for my affairs, and I had troubles with the Inquisition ; the result of which was, that being weary of serving in the ministry of the Roman Church, I separated myself entirely from that office, and I made to the Inquisition my renunciation for perpetuity of all the honours, employments, and privileges which I had enjoyed up to that time. The Inquisition, on its part, drew up a decree of dismissal for perpetuity from all the branches of my ecclesiastical ministry ; and everything having been completed which is customary with that tribunal, I was left to my liberty, and I ceased to be a priest of the Roman Church. In the October of 1842, I left Italy, and entered the English dominions, where I remained until January of the present year, 1849 ; always occupied with the teaching of sciences and literature, and so a naturalized subject of the Government of England, and employed in the Malta College as Professor.”—pp. 8, 9.

There are several points here which bear the stamp of untruth upon their very face. 1. For instance, on the one hand we are told that the writer “had troubles with the Inquisition,” and yet it appears, on the other, that this terrible tribunal did not act very savagely with him, or cause him much trouble. It seems rather to have been a most amiable transaction which took place between it and Achilli. Instead of seizing upon one who was “weary of serving in the ministry of the Roman Church,” one who, Messrs. Craig and Tonna, the “Hon. Secs.” assure the Government of France, had “become suspected of holding doctrinal views esteemed heterodox by the Church of Rome,” (p. 46,) instead of casting him into a dungeon, and torturing him, this mysterious and unforgiving tribunal quietly sat to receive his “renunciation of all his honours and employments ;” and on its part, “drew up a decree of dismissal for him, from all the branches of his ecclesiastical ministry.” And so the two appear to have parted company mutually contented.

2. But not so we. For Dr. Achilli tells us that he “was left at liberty, *everything having been completed which is customary with that tribunal.*” Indeed? Then was he first hung up by the wrists, and stretched on a rack, while gallons of water were poured down his throat, and were his feet toasted before a slow fire, as is represented in the elegant prints of “The Inquisition,” the book published by Philip Dixon Hardy, for the special glorification of Dr. Achilli? For these are intended to

represent to the world "what is customary with that tribunal."

3. Further, we cannot reconcile this statement of the Doctor's with that of the Honorary Secretaries, whose peculiar gift, as we have seen, seems to consist in exaggerating and embellishing their client's statements. They write as follows:

"Your Memorialists beg also to state, that while Prior of a Dominican Convent at Naples, he became suspected of holding doctrinal views esteemed heterodox by the Church of Rome, and that, in consequence, as a test of orthodoxy, he was required to preach a sermon panegyric of the Virgin Mary, in which he would have been obliged to make statements which he conscientiously disbelieved; that he declined to do so, *and was actually seized by the Inquisition on this express ground, and brought to Rome, and that, having effected his escape and reached Corfu, he immediately wrote, published, and widely circulated a letter to the late Pope, declarative of his Protestant sentiments.*"—p. 46.

Achilli on the one hand speaks of his intercourse with the Inquisition, on this occasion, as a very amicable affair; Messrs. Tonna and Craig describe it as an act of violence. Which is right? Or how comes it that once "seized," and in the power of the Inquisition for heresy, he was not cast into a prison, &c.? Or why are we not told *how* Achilli effected his *first* escape? And if, as a speaker in Dublin observed, it was no common sight to see a man who had been a prisoner in the Inquisition, surely the wonder and zest of such a spectacle would have been doubled, in the case of one who had been twice a captive of that inexorable power, and had twice escaped. Why has not this been ever mentioned? Has it been discovered to be false?

4. But Achilli himself does let a little light on these mysteries, in the account which he gives of an interview with a Monsignor Bambozzi, concerning which, we beg to express grave doubts. However, he tells us that this gentleman asked him, among other points, "what complaint he had to make of *the trifling correction received on his appearance before the Inquisition in 1842?*" To which he replied, that he was "far from being displeased with the Inquisition."—(p. 141.) This question and its answer prove, that Achilli's appearance before the tribunal of the holy office, was not altogether so much in the form of a

friendly meeting, at which both parties made concessions; but that he was arraigned before it, that he was condemned, and that he was punished. At the same time, it is hereby proved that this frightful tribunal, even for such offences as the secretaries describe, inflicts only "a trifling correction," which does not stir up the displeasure of the culprit.

However, the simple truth generally provides the best key to an occurrence wrapped up in mystery and contradiction; for these generally arise from a difficulty of acknowledging the facts, yet an inability to deny them. This key it is in our power to furnish; and we do so from most authentic sources.

First, then, it is true that Achilli about this period did begin, if covertly he had not begun before, to speak against faith, and not only against faith, but also against morals; that his language became scandalous, that he perverted others; and that to him was attributed the sad fall *first* in morals, and *then* in faith, of F. Desanctis, a priest of the order of St. Camillus, now in Malta, whither we believe he bore with him the partner of his guilt. We have no wish to conceal Achilli's lurking heterodoxy, because we believe it to be in him, as in most apostates, a natural result; corrupt morals necessarily beget corrupt faith. The friar and priest who has long lived in violation of his vows, must, in self-defence, try to disbelieve their validity. He who day after day sacrifices his own soul, by sacrilege, at God's altar, must work himself into infidelity respecting his Judas-like villany; or he would straightway hang himself like his prototype. Achilli, therefore, by this time, was virtually, or in thought, in desire, in wish, perhaps even in intention, no longer a Catholic. And *therefore* he is acknowledged to have been, and to continue, a Protestant—a "Protestant of five years' standing." If to Protestantism this is an acquisition, thank God, to Catholicism it is no loss.

2. Such being the case, it is no wonder that "he got into troubles with the Inquisition," before which he was summoned in 1841. He was arraigned for his unsound principles, not merely held, but openly expressed, in regard both to morals and to faith. But he was arraigned also for his gross immoralities from the beginning, including those committed at Capua.

3. The decree dismissing him from his ecclesiastical ministry, which he represents as a sort of counterpart to

his resignation of his honours and offices, was in fact a decree of total deprivation and suspension. He was not to be allowed to celebrate Mass, or to perform any duty of the ecclesiastical ministry. Every Catholic will understand that this sentence supposes grievous guilt satisfactorily proved. But when Achilli asserts that thus "he ceased to be a priest of the Roman Church," he knows perfectly well that, whatever his own present opinions may be, they who pronounced that sentence believed and knew, that not even a general council could remove from him the priestly character, and that, consequently, this was not the purport or intent of the decree then passed. He wishes to make his readers believe that this decree was something in his favour, instead of a penal, blighting sentence of total suspension.

4. To deceive still more completely his readers into this idea, he adds, "I was left to my liberty." This again is false. Convicted, condemned, stripped of all religious rank and position, of all priestly honour, jurisdiction, and privilege, reduced to lay communion, (to use a well-known phrase,) he still remained a friar bound to his order and subject to its authority. A further "correction," mild, indeed, and fatherly, was awarded him. He was banished for three years to the remote and secluded convent of his order at Nazzaro; that so in solitude and humiliation he might expiate past guilt, and purify his soul. But he was not guarded, he was not shut up in a cell, he was not subject to any rigorous surveillance. For he went thither either as a contrite, or as a pretended, penitent.

5. For, before his sentence was pronounced, Achilli owned his guilt, and submitted to any punishment that might be imposed, in the following words, taken down at the time, entered into the record of the Court, and thence transcribed for us. "*Riceverò con rassegnazione qualunque disposizione venga emanata, e la mia confessione sia bastante a punirmi come meglio crederà il Tribunale.*" "I will accept with resignation whatever order may be issued; and let my confession be sufficient ground of punishment, in whatever way the Tribunal shall think proper." The tribunal, upon hearing these words, charitably interpreted them, as intimating repentance. Achilli was left full liberty at Nazzaro; and he took advantage of the leniency of his sentence, to run away from his place of

expiation to Ancona, whence he embarked for Corfù, which he reached at the close of 1841.

In giving the above narrative of Achilli's first (and we believe *last*) transaction with the Inquisition, our readers will perceive that we have had access to authentic and official information. With this we have been fully and freely furnished; secret as the records of that tribunal may be thought. And this is our express understanding with our readers, that whatever we have here set down, can be proved by judicial records made at the time.

On the other hand, the mystifications, obscurities, and contradictions in which this all-important passage in our hero's life is involved by himself, and the friends to whom he had communicated its history, prove that there was much to conceal. Achilli came to protestantism like so many before him, a suspended, degraded, rejected priest, one condemned to punishment for misconduct; in the familiar phrase of Swift, "a weed plucked up from the Pope's garden and withered, before it was thrown over the protestant wall." His doings with the Inquisition would not have been hushed up, had it been possible to press out of them any glory for him, or shame for that tribunal. They lead to the contrary result. The latter appears mild, forbearing, and, if anything, over-lenient, in its sentence: and the whole course of the transaction, no less than the silence respecting it, gives but too clear an evidence, that Achilli was the victim, not of his convictions, but of his crimes.

Achilli reached Corfù under a disguise, as a layman, and servant of Sig. Boccaciampi; on whose passport he was inscribed as such. He assumed the title of Cavaliere, or Knight, gave himself out as a political refugee, and as escaped from the fortress of Ancona. In fact, when he returned thither in 1842 from Patras, his passport was in the name of the *Cavalier Giacinto Achilli, nativo di Viterbo, di professione Professore*. This title of honour he so openly assumed, as to prefix it to his signature to articles published by him in the "Ionian Album." We could refer by name to most respectable persons, who knew him at this time, to prove that his principles were by no means such as his present friends would approve. However, difficulties at length led him to put himself under religious guidance; and he declared himself a Pro-

testant. From a most trustworthy source we have received the following account.

The papal consul, Cav. Mosca, was directed by the Cardinal Secretary of State to demand the delivery of Achilli, as one charged with *delitti enormi*, most grievous crimes. Mr. Fraser, Secretary to the Lord High Commissioner, replied, that he should be sent out of the island, as a Neapolitan had been, a short time before, on a similar demand. But soon after, Mr. Fraser replied, that in the mean time Achilli had become a Protestant, and so could not be expelled. But worse than this is the fact, if true, that Achilli's scurrilous letter to Pope Gregory XVI., so much extolled by Sir Culling Eardley, was actually printed secretly at the Government press. To effect this the consent was necessary of either one or both of the Secretaries of the Senate, Mr. Gisborne, the English, and Mr. Dusmani, the Greek functionary. This we have, on the best authority, that the latter sent a copy of the paper, yet wet from the press, to the Parish Priest of Corfù.

We should indeed be glad to find this connivance of our Government contradicted. At any rate, the late vigorous dealings of Sir H. Ward with revolutionists there, and his refusal to allow the population to be contaminated by Italian infidels and rebels, may indicate a different feeling towards the race, than was exhibited towards Achilli in 1842.

When Sir Culling praised so highly the letter to the Pope, was he aware of another attack on the same high personage, which we think no Englishman would characterize as "a specimen of the sentiments of generous minds?" We allude to the statuette of the Pontiff which Achilli procured to be modelled and cast, by an Italian artist, of a revolting description. One gentleman, in a letter before us, states, that on arriving there in 1845, he found many of them in existence, and that he destroyed at least a dozen of them with his own hand.*

But to come to graver matters. During his residence in the Ionian islands, the same conduct, only now more open and flagrant, as before, was continued by the convert to the Bible. We must here positively select out of the

* He thus describes this evangelical work of art: "Una statuetta rappresentante il sullo dato Pontefice nella maniera la più scandalosa, e perfino oscena."

well-authenticated materials before us, omitting the most disgusting.

A company of actors arrived at Corfù: among whom was a chorus singer of the name of Coriboni, a married man. It is known to all the island that Achilli and Madame Coriboni publicly lived together as man and wife, and so travelled together to Zante. But the case most generally known is that of the unfortunate Nicolò Garamone, because he brought it before the legal tribunals. We have before us a copy of his petition, which we will describe just now. The narrative which we give has been taken down within these few months, by an official person, from the mouth of Garamone, who declares his readiness to attest every particle on oath. He had before related the circumstances to him, but for the present purpose he considered it right to have them distinctly repeated.

N. Garamone, of Neapolitan family, but born in Corfù, by profession a tailor, had married there Marianna Crisaffi, and after leaving the island for some time, in quest of work, returned thither about October, 1842. Not having received from her mother the stipulated dowry of one hundred dollars, it was arranged that, by way of interest, the married couple should live with her in her house rent-free. In an evil hour poor Garamone placed there all his little furniture and property; when mother and daughter combining against him, constantly ill-treating him, making him uncomfortable, and in other ways, as we shall see, destroying his happiness, he was compelled to leave the house, but could not get possession of any of his property. The wife sued the husband for alimony, and the court awarded her two shillings a day, a sum quite beyond his means. He was, however, strongly suspicious that there was a third person in league at home, against his peace; and we need not mention what direction his suspicions took. To obtain evidence, therefore, he narrowly watched the house. His suspicions thus soon ripened into certainty. On the night of the 2nd of July, 1843, the wife was at the window, evidently waiting impatiently for somebody. At half-past eleven, the Cavalier Giacinto Achilli made his appearance at the door, and was let in. Garamone soon after rushed in, in such a state of excitement, that he declared to our informant, that had he been armed, he should have taken instant vengeance on the adulterer. He seized him, however, and tried to hold him; but the

other was too powerful, and escaped. He fled from the house; and, fearing further pursuit, took shelter in the neighbouring shop of a Maltese carpenter, where, being taken for a burglar pursued, he was detained till he had confessed the real state of the case. He was then dismissed. In the mean time, Mrs. Crissaffi and her daughter, in tears, were entreating forgiveness of the enraged husband, acknowledging their delinquency. On the next day, Garamone presented a petition to the civil tribunal, an exact transcript of which lies before us. It begins as follows; and we translate technical abbreviations to the best of our judgment:—

Antonio Capello Present.

(Stamp.)

4th Class.
6d.

(Stamp.)

U. States of
The Ionian Isles.
ROYAL ARMS.
1850.

“Corfù, 3rd July, 1843.

President of the Meeting, S. A. Capello,

To the Noble Civil Tribunal,

The Petition

Of Nicholas Garamone, (son) of Gerard,

In answer to that of June 21, 1843,

Of Marianne Crissaffi, his wife.”

The petition begins by reciting the previous history of Garamone, his sufferings through the domestic conspiracy of mother and daughter, the exorbitancy of the alimony awarded, his inability to meet the demand, having no resources but his handicraft. He therefore prays that his wife's petition be rejected, as ungrounded; and further, that first, she be compelled to leave her mother, and be obedient to her husband; secondly, that she give an account of his furniture, goods, and chattels; and thirdly, that if she refuse, the court compel her to do so, and assign her a convent for a retreat.

The document goes on to say, that he is ready to prove,

1. That he was compelled to leave the mother's house, &c., (here follow the names of three witnesses to this fact.)

2. That all his effects are in that house. (Three witnesses.)

3. That he owns no property and lives by his labour. (Three witnesses.)

4. That his said wife was surprised in the house of her mother, at about half-past eleven this last night of the 2nd

of July, by her husband, while she was in company with a certain Sig. *Achile Giacinti*, and that the time, the manner, the circumstances, and the conversation that followed the surprise, prove that the said wife is unfaithful to her conjugal duty. Witnesses, Antonio Viusso,
Mario Tevansci.

“*Salvis*” (*juribus*) “and without prejudice to any other action or process.

(Signed) Steliò Spanopulo, Advocate.

Extracted this 5th of March, 1850, N. S., from the Acts of Trial, No. 1201, of July 1843, of the civil tribunal.

(Signed) Nicolò Vartla, Local Archivist.”

Poor Garamone, finding the strong support which his guilty partner found, in resistance to his suit, was glad to compromise the matter, by a separation, and release from his obligation of further payment. We are assured by the same authority, that the cavalier was a party to the agreement.

We have also before us incontestable evidence, that Garamone, no later than last year, applied to the highest ecclesiastical authority in the island for a formal divorce, on the ground of this adultery.

So notorious was the transaction, that it was the subject of general conversation in the island. One letter from a gentleman, now in England, of high position and unimpeachable veracity, addressed to us, is in these terms: “All these things I have heard from Greeks and Catholics, lay and clerical, and of respectability.”

We have already observed, that we have suppressed other cases; one we have in the letter from which we have taken Garamone’s case, and the writer names the gentleman, (whose letter he still has,) who assured him that he heard it direct from Achilli’s own mouth. We shrink from publishing it.

But there is one transaction, so much talked of at Corfù at the time, that to omit it would be considered a tacit denial of it. This also we have received from various sources. We allude to the fate of the unfortunate brothers Bandiera, sons of a general of that name, who were instigated to undertake a fool-hardy expedition to the coast of Calabria; where, immediately upon landing, they were seized and shot. To Mazzini and Achilli these ill-fated youths owe their untimely end. It was in the house of the latter, at Corfù, that the expedition was planned. We pass

over some minor details, which are almost too wicked to be believed. But this is certain, that to this man they chose, or were persuaded to entrust their few valuables. These consisted of gold accoutrements, watches, trinkets, and a quantity of very fine wearing apparel. It will hardly be believed, that within two days after they had sailed, he secretly sold portions of these effects, burning the gold lace to sell the metal, and shortly appeared in public in the linen of these young men. Is it possible that the lives of these poor youths were sacrificed to the cupidity of such small gains? Or did political theories require such victims; and was the fate of this forlorn hope so certain, that its property could be safely disposed of, before news had arrived of the immolation of the hecatomb?

We dare not speculate on the subject, but we are ready with four most respectable references, to persons on the spot at the time, who have repeatedly related these circumstances to our informant. Should any one really desire to investigate the matter, we shall be ready to furnish them. And the letter before us concludes with these words: "Hence, when the news reached Corfù that he was in prison, the joy was almost universal; as was most profound the sensation when it was known that he had regained that liberty, which, I fear, he will terribly abuse."

From Corfù, we are informed that Dr. Achilli proceeded to Malta; and, if we are rightly informed, it was at the invitation of Dr. Tomlinson, the so-called Bishop of Gibraltar. Here an Italian college, manned by apostates, had been established. Among them was a certain Saccares, (who appears to have gone, like Dr. Achilli, to fish in the troubled waters of republican Rome), Desanctis, and others of the same stamp. Among these Dr. Achilli received the appointment of Professor of Divinity, with a salary of £150 *per an.* There surely never was a luckier man. Professorships seem to drop ripe into his mouth; but how strange it seems, that he never keeps them! We have seen how, in his youth, he had three of these birds in hand, and gave them all up for three in the bush; and, of course, lost them all. And here is another professorship of the highest science bestowed upon him. And yet, like the former ones, he soon lost it. What was the cause of this? We regret that, since information reached us on this subject, we have not been able to make the full enquiries which would have enabled us fully to verify it; and

we have been most careful not to set down anything, for which we have not vouchers, or authentic and formal information. The matter, then, which wants clearing up, is this. It is said, that the conduct of persons connected with this college, became so notorious and scandalous, that Dr. Hatfield, the superior, was desired to make a full investigation, that the result was, (we are told), that he publicly advertised in the Maltese papers, that Saccares had no further connection with the college; and that further, at this very same period Dr. Achilli ceased to be professor, and left the college. We trust that some one, able to reach accurate information, will investigate this history: we give it as related to us, and shall be glad of further light.

In 1848, Dr. Achilli was in England; in January, 1849, he proceeded to Rome, where he arrived in February. The history of his imprisonment, and his escape by connivance of the French authorities, belong not to this place. We will only touch on one or two points previous to these events, which have obtained a ridiculous celebrity. One is the question of his marriage. Dr. Achilli leads about with him a Miss Hely, whom he calls, and who is accepted as his wife. She was, up to the time that he drew her out, in what is called a Conservatorio; that is, a charitable institution for the education of females, at the expense of the government. Her parents were both Catholics, and died some years ago, and she, up to the ill-starred hour, when she was induced to follow the Dominican friar, vowed to celibacy, was a Catholic, and had been so from infancy. Surely the government, which could thus provide for the maintenance and education of an orphan, the children of strangers, deserves some commendation for its charity. However, its really christian views were, in this instance, thwarted by what is perhaps evangelical piety; Miss Hely was taken out of her retreat, and mated to Achilli. Now let us hear Sir Culling Eardley's vindication of this transaction:

“I will mention here, that during this period, viz., on the 24th June, Dr. Achilli was married. Knowing that, in the language of God's word, “Marriage is honourable in all,” he was united to an English lady, educated in Italy, Miss Hely, the daughter of Captain James Hely, with whose family he had been acquainted in England. The union took place in conformity with the laws of the then existing Republic; and it is here mentioned, because upon it has

been founded the charge made afterwards against him of "immorality." However his marriage may be considered in the technical language of priestly discipline, no person of common sense or Christian feeling will attribute to it that character. The certificate of the celebration of the ceremony will be found at page 90."—p. 12.

Let us then examine this marriage according, "not to the technical language of priestly discipline," but according to common principles. It is asserted that this marriage was celebrated "in conformity with the laws of the then existing republic." And this is stated in the pretended marriage certificate. But it is not true. The republic had passed no new marriage law, it had not yet ventured to institute that modern device, a civil marriage, as distinct from the religious act. Marriage was just as it had been under Pope Pius, and as it is now: that is, to be valid, it was necessary that it should be celebrated before the parish priest. Again, the republic had not revoked the law (part of the *civil* law) which makes a marriage contract by a friar or a priest invalid. By the law, therefore, of the republic, Achilli was incapable of marrying.

It will be said that this must be considered as a marriage between strangers and aliens. But even this will not hold. Achilli had never been naturalized in England; he was a Roman subject as much as ever, and subject to the law. And even had he become a denizen of another country, the mother-country, it is well known, never gives up, or loses its rights over a native.

Again, it will be urged that, being protestants, they could not be married in the way required by law. Then do not plead that it *was* according to law. This shifts the ground completely. It defends the marriage as one of necessity; it excuses, rather than justifies, it. The marriage certificate says, it took place "according to the law of the Roman Republic, and in the manner prescribed by our Church;" i. e., the "Italian Evangelical" Society. The "officiating Elder," as he signs himself, is Fortunato Saccares, the man, we suppose, whose connection with the Protestant Maltese College was so unceremoniously cut short by Dr. Hatfield. Now be it observed that the church in question was an unauthorized, unrecognized, unorganized prayer-meeting, at first consisting of *three* persons, (p. 14,) whose acts no Government which considered marriage to be any thing higher in the civilized and the christian, than in the savage, state, possibly could recognize.

In fact, let it be put to proof. Has Dr. Achilli since been married in this country? If he has, what was the intermediate state between the two marriages, considered by the law of this country? What the children, if any, born in the interval? If he have not, then we repeat this question, if issue came from the Roman marriage, will the children be considered legitimate in this, or any other christian country? To say that it was a matter of necessity is sheer folly. Achilli had remained for seven years unmarried, after he had flung off the yoke of his vows; surely, for very shame, he might have waited a few months, or a few weeks, when the issue of the siege, already advanced, would have been determined; or he might have borne his intended victim to Malta, and there at least gone through the decent mockery of a legal marriage, though the conscience of both might tell them, that it was an insulting sacrilege before Heaven. Neither before it, nor even before the world, is this man married.

Another point on which we wish to speak, is the repeated assertion, that Achilli, during the reign of rebellion, under the name of a Republic, in Rome, took no part whatever in politics. This is much insisted on, in his life. We extract one or two passages from his letters.

“I am not thinking at all of leaving Rome; I shall stay with my good brethren in the faith as long as it shall please God, and the more readily, *because I have not in the least mixed myself up in political affairs.* The Government was willing to give me a situation, but I refused it.”—p. 29.

“*I have never mixed myself in political affairs, much less shall I do so now.*”—p. 32.

To which Sir. C. E. Eardley appends this note:

“The attention of the reader is particularly directed to this and to similar expressions.”

And in his own narrative he thus speaks of his hero and friend:

“I also take this opportunity of pointing out, that though Dr. Achilli naturally sympathized with the political aspirations of his countrymen, and availed himself of their hostility to tyranny to excite their attention to the corruptions of the Romish Church, yet he rigidly refrained from any participation in secular politics. It would be well if the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland could say

as much ! The reader, in perusing these letters, will make allowances for the position of a Christian man in the so-called 'States of the Church.'"—p. 12.

This anxiety to plead exemption from political responsibilities is certainly indicative of an object. But it will not do. It may be true that Father or Doctor Achilli refused a situation under Government ; it may be true, as he elsewhere says, that he might have been a member of the Chamber. But surely this does not suffice to prove the absence of political partizanship.

Let us suppose that a Frenchman were to write, that during a residence in England, he had scrupulously abstained from all mixing himself up with politics : for he had taken no place under government, but had only become an active member of the Chartist Association. Or suppose an Englishman, who should plead innocence of participation in French affairs, because he did not get himself returned with Eugene Sue, but only frequented the meetings of the Red-republican club. Now, something of this sort was Achilli's chosen position. He became a member, and, as we shall see just now, an active member of the *Circolo popolare*, justly translated by Sir Culling, "the popular *Club*:" the very antitype of its namesakes in France, in both revolutions, where "club" does not mean a place for lounging in, and reading papers in the morning, and dining under Soyer in the evening, but a hot-bed of treason, revolution, and disorder. The *Circolo* was the Senate of the Chamber, which durst not refuse its sanction to any measure proceeding thence ; the headquarters of the mob, whence issued the watchword for any act of disorder, of overawing authority, or of violence. To this Achilli attached himself, as he owns.

We do not exactly see why Sir Culling Eardley should have interrupted the text of Achilli's letter of April 3, 1849, to give the substance only of a very important communication. This he does in the following terms :

"Dr. Achilli then states, at some length, that at a meeting of the *Circolo Popolare*—(the Popular Club, instituted in support of the new order of things)—three evenings since, the association recognised by a resolution the perpetual headship and authority over itself, of our blessed Lord."—p. 19.

The editor further explains that in Catholic countries it is usual to place associations, &c. under the patronage of

the B. Virgin, or Saints, so that this act "has an important religious, as well as anti-Papal significance."

Now we make bold to say, that the act had a most blasphemous and anti-Christian significance: and we believe that Sir Culling was somewhat ashamed of the part which his protégé took in the transaction, and therefore slurs it over as the work of the Club, and not of its Evangelical member. Indeed, the latter himself has since endeavoured to shake off the imputation.

Now let us compare the resolution proposed and passed at the Club, with the signature G. ACHILLI (with six others) under it, with Sir Culling's version of it, and Achilli's own explanation. We give it in the original.

"Il socio L. P. U. propone al circolo popolare di inalzare l'immagine del Salvatore come presidente perpetuo e così si puol' denominare Dio e popolo.

(Signed) G. Achilli.

Votata fu ammessa per acclamazione."

"The Member L. P. U. proposes to the Popular club to erect the image of the Saviour as perpetual President, and so He" (or it) "can be called God and people," (or God-people.)

(Signed) "G. Achilli.

Put to the votes it was carried by acclamation."

We now ask any dispassionate reader, if the blasphemous nonsense to which Achilli here puts his name is equivalent to "recognizing our Lord's headship and authority" over a society? Sir Culling, in his zeal, forgets that it is the *image* of our Lord, "the accursed thing," as he would call it in Exeter-hall, which has to be set up in the assembly. Nor is it headship or authority that is attributed; but the ever-blessed Redeemer is insultingly chosen "perpetual *president*" of a "*club!*" of a political club! of a democratic club! of a socialist, subversive club! of the club which could perhaps give the best account of Rossi's murder. The Divine Saviour is chosen to succeed Cicerouacchio, or Prince Canino, or any infidel or demagogue, who was then President! And under what a title! It is not indeed easy to construe the impious absurdity subscribed by Achilli; but who or what is to be named "God and people?" Is it the Club? or the Image, or our Sa-

viour? It must be one of the three; and whichever it is, it is rank blasphemy. In fact, it is precisely what Pierre Leroux, or any of the most impious Communists of France, has done,—the attempt to make our Lord the first demagogue, the head and leader of democracy, revolution, and a levelling equality. It is a proclamation of an insane, irreligious pantheism, which would deify a mob, and—we will not add the infamous parallel; which would have recognized in the cry of “Crucify Him,” the voice of Him whose Blood was asked, and have confounded into one, the crucifiers and their Victim.

And an Evangelical too, to propose or second, that the IMAGE of Christ should be erected in the meeting! But we must hasten on.

We have said that Achilli became himself ashamed of this scene. The *Messenger de la Semaine*, of Feb. 9th, this year, characterised the transaction as a simple impiety. Achilli defended himself, lamely and impotently, in the *Archives du Christianisme*, of the 23rd of that month. We extract the passage which has reference to this affair.

“Elu spontanément, peu après mon arrivée à Rome, en février 1849, membre du *Cercle populaire*, j’ai cru pouvoir me trouver honorablement dans une société dont faisaient partie le comte Mamiani, Vincenzo Gioberti, le marquis Savorelli et cent autres de ce caractère. Au sein du Cercle je ne m’occupais que de l’œuvre religieuse que je croyais utile à mon pays, et c’est exclusivement à cette œuvre que se rapporte le fait qui figure, comme coup de force, dans votre article, et sur lequel vous avez évidemment compté pour entraîner vos lecteurs. Votre prétendue citation elle-même, quelque inexacte qu’elle soit, en est une preuve. J’avais distribué au Cercle un certain nombre d’exemplaires du Nouveau Testament de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ, dans la belle traduction italienne de Diodati, qui venait d’être imprimée pour la première fois à Rome. Un membre, ce ne fut pas moi, proposa de nommer Jesus-Christ président perpétuel du Cercle, afin, comme il le dit, d’être chrétiens avant tout et en tout. *La proposition avait, je l’avoue, quelque chose d’étrange et qui pouvait prêter à de fâcheuses interprétations; mais elle était fait dans un esprit de foi; elle tendait à substituer le Seigneur Jesus-Christ lui-même à son prétendu vicaire; elle était comme un appel à l’influence de l’esprit de Dieu sur les cœurs; un fait analogue s’était produit autrefois à Florence, où Savonarola saisit cette occasion pour prêcher au peuple de cette république la vraie religion. Ces diverses considérations firent en effet adopter la proposition par acclamation, c’est-à-dire sans un vote formel, qui eût été ici hors*

de place. *Peut-être eût-il mieux valu que la proposition n'eût pas été faite; mais vous avouerez qu'une fois faite, il était au moins difficile de la repousser.* Je ne sais pourquoi vous faites intervenir ici l'image du Christ, dont il ne fut nullement question.—Quant au titre de *Dieu-peuple* sous lequel, selon la fausse citation qui vous a été transmise, (le Christ devait être invoqué,) si ce n'est pas, de la part de votre correspondant, une pure et simple invention, c'est une confusion qui n'est pas la moins grossière des erreurs dont fourmille votre article. Les résolutions prises par le Cercle, et celle à laquelle vous faites allusion et que j'ai signée portaient en tête la devise de la République romaine : *In nome di Dio e del popolo.* Au nom de Dieu et du peuple, l'Assemblée rendait ses décrets, le triumvirat donnait ses ordres, les notaires publics dressaient leurs actes, et la monnaie de la république porte pour exergue ces mots : *Dio e popolo.* Jamais, ni au Cercle ni ailleurs, on ne s'est servi de l'expression *Dieu-peuple.* Votre citation nous prête très gratuitement cette profanation."

We have already replied to most of this apology. As to the explanation about the decree being issued in the name of "God and *the* people," we only reply, let any one read over the resolution, and say how it is possible to turn it off thus. Let him only try to answer the question, *who* or *what* is to be called "God and people." For there is no article to the second noun, as there is in the former phrase, in Italian: "In nome di Dio, e *del* popolo." In the resolution, some one or something has to be denominated, or called, "*God and people,*" as we say (we almost shudder to write it) of Him who is there voted "President of the club," that He is "God and man."

But independent of his connection with the club, we have evidence from Achilli himself that he did take a part in politics, both as a private demagogue, and as a dabbler in radical legislation. The following passage in his correspondence fully justifies us in this assertion.

"Nevertheless, it is necessary to do so with some caution, and it is a good rule to begin some religious discourse with a reference to state matters. This is the plan we pursue. I have contented myself, till now, with speaking privately in the way of personal appeal; but I shall soon take the opportunity of speaking also in public to the people. I am waiting for the passing of the statute in which there will be the very important article of religious liberty. I am occupied myself for this object which some of the Deputies of the Assembly, who are my friends, to whom I have communicated my ideas, and they are of the same mind with me."—p. 18.

We will leave this quotation to speak for itself, for we wish to draw to a conclusion. Dr. Achilli has minutely described the horrors discovered in the prison of the Roman Inquisition, when it was thrown open to the public on the 1st of April, 1849, the best day that could have been chosen for playing the fool with the deluded partizans of Mazzini. The entire passage, though long, must be given here. It is a letter dated, April 3rd.

“The day before yesterday, the Palace of the Inquisition was opened to the public. People crowded to see that horrible place, where so many good Christians have been tormented, under the pretext of being heretics. There were then seen the horrid dungeons, where the victims of the Papacy have been incarcerated. It seems that the Inquisitors, in hopes of an intervention to bring back the Pope and Cardinals to Rome, did not take sufficient care to remove certain objects which might betray their cruelty to the people. There were to be seen in the lower dungeons, which are the worst, the ragged remains of the dresses, not only of men, but of women and children. On the walls are to be read expressions of grief, written with charcoal, and some with blood. A trap-door was to be seen, and a burial-place with human bones. But a subterranean cave occasioned especial horror, covered with remains of bones and earth mixed, including human skulls and skeletons of different forms and sizes, indicating persons of different ages and sexes. The only things which have not been found (with the exception of some things which might have been used for that purpose) are the instruments of torture, which were used to make the guilty confess. It seems that these alone they have been careful enough to destroy, if indeed they may not be found walled up in some corner. And for this end the government have determined to have the walls broken into, to discover what they may have hid there. All who have seen those remains of clothing and bones, feel justly indignant at the inhumanity of those assassins; who, under the cloak of religious zeal, permitted every kind of cruelty. Would that those who wish to excuse that hellish tribunal, and who do not believe what others say to be truth, would come and see with their own eyes. I wish that the friends and defenders of Popery in England would come and touch these things with their own hands, and then tell me what Papal ministers may not be capable of, when they have the heart to perpetrate such barbarities! The Government will be urged to leave this place *in statu quo* for some time, so that our friends among the English may verify with their own eyes all that they hear said concerning this ‘Palace of the Inquisition.’ ”—p. 22.

The veracious correspondents of the London press, gave nearly the same account. In reply we will begin by

observing, that to credit this account, we must suppose that all these horrors had accumulated in the Inquisition, since 1814; the dungeons must have been dug, the trap-doors opened, and the bones accumulated since the restoration of Pius VII. Now we are quite sure that no one, who has attended the least to the course of history, will assert, that the terrible days of the Inquisition have followed, and did not precede, that period. We write of course as our opponents would speak. Now it happens, that when the French occupied Rome, under the Empire, they had every opportunity, and every inclination, to ferret out all the secrets of the Inquisition. They sent to Paris its papers, including the process of Galileo, which unfortunately was mislaid by the Emperor, curious to see it, and has not, we believe, been recovered. They may therefore be considered impartial witnesses, as to the state of the Inquisition, when they seized on it. The Viscount de Tournon, who was Prefect of Rome under Napoleon from 1810 to 1814, published a Statistical Account of the City, and in this work we read the following passage:

“The duties of this Congregation, (the Holy Office), which are sufficiently indicated by its title, are very well known; but that which is much less so, is the reserve of its decisions, and the real gentleness in its manner of proceeding. An evident proof of this was given when the French troops took Rome, for they found the prison of the Holy Office almost empty; and there was nothing in the disposition of this place of confinement to show that it had been the recent theatre of scenes of cruelty. On the contrary, the *size of the rooms destined for the prisoners, their healthiness and their cleanliness, were a proof of the feelings of humanity in those who presided over this prison, which without any change could be turned into a healthy and well-arranged guard-house, as far as the part of the city where it is would allow.*”*

Here is a fair and manly account, from an honest officer, and a stranger. But when the Roman Republic commenced its career of misrule, it was an object with the leaders of the party to cast discredit upon the Ecclesiastical Government, which they had just overthrown; and this object was openly avowed as the motive of their proceedings with regard to the Inquisition. Although some of their own number had been

* Etudes Statistiques, vol. ii. p. 47.

imprisoned there, and were perfectly aware of the falsehood of the stories which they wished to have believed, they knew that at a moment of excitement and of triumph over a fallen government, any calumny would be received implicitly by the multitude. The Republican soldiers and agents took formal possession of the Palace and buildings of the Inquisition during the month of February. Dr. Achilli, in his speech at the "Italian Evangelisation Society," in Dublin, states that he went with ten or twelve companions to visit the Inquisition in that month. Yet it was not till the end of March that the following announcement appeared on the walls of the city.

"NOTICE. In compliance with the orders of the ministry, tomorrow, April 1, 1849, the Palace and other buildings belonging to the suppressed Court of Inquisition, will be opened to the public from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m.

"The horrible prisons, the instruments of torture, and the skeletons discovered in the examinations and excavations made in the last few days will tend more than ever to fill the Roman people with an unquestionable hatred of the power which it overturned for ever, when it pronounced the holy word, Republic. Rome, March 31, 1849.

The Committee of Guardians.

G. FABRIZI.
A. FORTINI.
P. PETRAGLIA."

It may be easily imagined that this Notice drew crowds to the far-famed palace, of which such frightful stories had been told; and for a few hours people were inclined to believe that the iron collars, chains, and other instruments, which were so industriously placed before their gaze, had been once used in executing the sentences of the tribunal. But the illusion was soon dispelled. It was soon remarked that the agents of the Republic had taken complete possession of the Palace and buildings on the 22nd of February; and if they had contained such manifest proofs of the cruelty of the tribunal, they might have been opened at that time, and the proof would have been satisfactory. But when they were kept closed until the month of April, it was asked whether they had not been "arranged for effect?" Whilst this circumstance threw suspicion over the whole affair, positive proof was not wanting to demolish the calumnies which had been so well prepared. The

skeletons, whose rest had been disturbed so unseasonably, that the sight of them might add to the general execration of the clergy and government, of which they were supposed to have been the victims, were thus accounted for by a writer in the *Costituzionale Romano* of April 4, 1849.

“At the time of Pope S. Pius V. the palace of the Holy Office, as it is called, was divided into two, where some of the Cardinals resided. This Pope, as is proved by an instrument existing in the Archives, bought from his privy purse these palaces, which were brought by Vignola into their present condition. It is, besides, purely historical, that the choir of the chapel which the artillerymen of the Roman Republic have now converted into a stable, which is on the road close to the Porta Cavalleggieri, was once the property of the Ven. Confraternity of the Avignonesi, which confraternity was transferred into another church by the same holy Pope, and the chapel was destined for the use of the Holy Office. Some skeletons have been found near the little sacristy adjoining this chapel: whence we conclude, that the skeletons there found are those of the Brethren of the Confraternity who were buried there.

“The place where these bones were found is a kind of cellar, the approach to which is by a few steps. And that this space was used as a place of burial for the Brethren, is proved by the fact, that this chapel has no graves under it, as its vaults are altogether empty. These notices, which are simply historical, we guarantee as being fully proved by the authority of many documents quoted by Torrigio in his *Sacre grotte Vaticane*. The following are his expressions in speaking of this chapel. ‘It is now joined to the palace of the Holy Inquisition, but it is not served. It is called in some old books *the Church of S. Saviour of the bones*, or of the Torrione; so called, because it was close to the Great Tower (Torrione) of Leo IV., as it now is, and *from the quantity of the bones of those who had there been buried.*’* And in a privilege of Charlemagne, given in its original form by Alenina, we find that this Church was founded to give burial to the poor and the rich, to the noble and ignoble who should come from beyond the mountains to Rome, and there should die. *Sita est autem ista Ecclesia propter tradendi sepulchris pauperes (sic) et divites, nobiles et ignobiles, quos de oltramontanis partibus venturi cernuntur, ut omnes ibi sint sepeliendi.*† This place, then, where these relics of mortality have been found, was a kind of cemetery for those from beyond the mountains, and especially from Avignon, who should die in Rome, and not a wicked hiding-place for mortal spoils stricken by this Inquisition in its gloomy mysteries.”

* *Ecclesia S. Salvatoris de ossibus, or ad Turionem.* loc. cit. p. 512.

† *Ibid.* p. 504.

The living inmates were scarcely mentioned. The Correspondent of the *Daily News* stated, in his letter of March 4, that only three prisoners were found in the dungeons; and from his account, as well as from other accounts, it was clear that they would not furnish materials for a creditable case of persecution. But had they not been treated with the cruelty peculiar to that well-known prison? We have before us an authentic account of the Inquisition, compiled in April, 1849, from which we make an extract by way of reply to this question:

“The beds are good, mattresses being supplied in addition to palliasses of straw. Their meal consists of soup, boiled meat, another dish, fruit, bread in abundance, and a pint of wine. If the condition of the prisoner require better diet, the Court readily allows it. The prisoners are allowed to walk in the corridors, in a large hall, or in the garden.”

But they were at least tortured? One of the Civic Guard, who minutely examined the prisons and the whole building when it was first occupied by the Republicans, assured our informant, that he had not discovered any thing different from the furniture of other prisons. The radical papers, however, writing six weeks later, that is, in the beginning of April, appealed to the instruments of torture; but when they, and the members of the party who had been formerly confined in the prisons were challenged to the proof of its having been used, the *Contemporaneo* of April 7, 1849, was obliged to say: “The Inquisition has not latterly used the torture, *l'Inquisizione oggi non torturava, non bruciava.*”

It was said that the dungeons were gloomy. No prison is ever very cheerful, but the prisons of the Inquisition were better than any other in Rome or out of Rome. When our informant asked one of the officers if they were on the ground-floor, he exclaimed with unfeigned horror: “Impossible, for the ground-floor is damp.” They are spacious, vaulted rooms, dry, and exposed to the sun. The inquisition had cellars, which were used for the store-rooms of the officers and servants of the house, but criminals were never placed in them. In the cellars were niches to hold casks of wine, and the Republicans were glad to have it believed that condemned criminals were walled up in them.

It has been mentioned that the palace consists of several buildings, united into one by Vignola. Over a vacant space between the main walls of two of those buildings, *the agents of the Republic caused an opening to be made in the solid vaulting, in order that it might be believed that criminals had been cast through it against iron-points fixed along the sides of the trap-fall, and so left to perish. But after the entrance of the French, it was quite evident that this opening had been recently made.*

Thus much hastily respecting the Inquisition, and Achilli's statements. Why has he not even pretended to describe what *he* saw in February, instead of waiting till April-fool's day, to answer the invitation of the government? It is plain that he had every opportunity; but preferred looking at the place after it had been duly garnished with horrors.

One word more on this subject. We do not believe, that, except when he was arraigned before that tribunal, and condemned to seclusion at Nazzaro, he ever was in its hands. He was arrested by the tribunal of the Cardinal Vicar, the ecclesiastical judge of Rome, not by order of the Holy Office, which at that time was not in activity. We do not even believe that he was in its prisons; but only in the Castel Sant Angelo. We shall have further information perhaps later.

We must now conclude. In whatever we have stated, we have been supported by authentic, and generally official documents. These can be brought forward, if necessary, in further proof. We have generally indicated whence they came; but on looking back on what we have written, we find that in one case this has been omitted. We refer to Achilli's first offences at Viterbo. Our information on this head is derived from the secret, but official, report of the judge, at that time, head of the police in that city.

We trust, therefore, that this contradiction of the calumnies spread over the whole empire by this man, will have due weight. We have so much confidence in the uprightness and sense of justice of our fellow-countrymen, so much reliance too on the matronly dignity and modesty of our countrywomen, that we cannot for a moment fear that they will continue to countenance a man so little worthy to tread the same boards with either, still less to allow him to be exalted any longer on platforms, to bear witness

against us, instead of hiding his head in penance in some obscure retreat.

If not, if still infatuation will blind them so as to make them accept him for a hero, crown him as a martyr, and worship him as a holy man; if they will still cheer, applaud, and feast him; if they will listen to him as a preacher of morality and teacher of truth—then we shall begin to put faith in the truth of what we had always deemed a cruel satire even on paganism, and we shall propose to have it written over the hall door of the evangelical alliance, wherever that may be:

“Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris aut carcere dignum,
Si vis esse aliquid.”*

With this translation,—

“Would you that saints your glory should proclaim?
Make Norfolk-isle, or Brixton-gaol your aim.”

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Thoughts and Affections on the Passion of Jesus Christ, for every day in the year.* Drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of the Fathers of the Church, by FRA GAETANO M. DA BERGAMO, Capuchin. Translated from the Italian by the Rev. FATHER IGNATIUS OF ST. PAUL, of the Congregation of the Passion. Vol. I. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1850.

Catholics are familiar with the idea of meditating upon the Passion of our Lord, and many excellent works have been published upon this subject, suggesting pious thoughts and aspirations; but, so far as we know, nothing approaching to that for which we are now indebted to the charity of the Venerable Father Ignatius. In his preface the author draws the distinction between meditation and prayer. “Meditation,” he says, “is one thing, prayer another. In meditation we exercise the understanding;

* Juv. i. 75.

in prayer, the will. In meditation, the soul is recollected in itself; in prayer, it is lifted up to God. In meditation, the mind applies itself to thoughts; in prayer, the heart is excited to affections, &c." Following up these clear definitions, the author has combined meditation with prayer, in a truly admirable manner; dwelling upon his subject so long and so earnestly, as to draw from it the most profound and affecting considerations, before seeking to excite the affections. In proposing the plan of his work, Fra Gaetano says, "the whole idea of these thoughts and affections is only to give a literal, moral, and mystic commentary, to lead the mind to the understanding of the gospel history of the Passion of Jesus Christ, in its three principal senses," or, as he elsewhere explains it, "to represent, first, the passion of the heart of Jesus, tortured with an infinitude of most painful objects, and suffering an excess of sorrow for the sins of the world; secondly, the passion of his mind, afflicted and humbled with that load of shameful outrages and ignominies which he endured; thirdly, the passion of his body, tormented in every part with the most bitter and unspeakable pains." We need not point out to the Catholic reader the admirable reflections suggested by so profound a study of the subject. We have no doubt the venerable translator will be rewarded for his labours, and encouraged to proceed in them by a just appreciation of this first volume of the work.

II.—*The Golden Manual*: being a Guide to Catholic Devotion, Public and Private; Compiled from approved sources. London: Burns and Lambert, 1850.

It may seem strange, that after the numberless reprints of our old and long recognized prayer-books, the many modifications of these books, and the equally numerous new compilations which have been issued from the Catholic presses of England, Ireland, and Scotland during the last twenty years, there should still be room for a new compilation, entirely distinct from its predecessors, and in many respects independent of them all. Nevertheless "The Golden Manual" will be found to realize this description. In the greater part of its contents it is, in the fullest sense of the word, to English readers at least, an entirely new Prayer-book. There is a certain sense in which this character would be anything rather than a recommendation. We will own that we ourselves are far

from considering novelty or originality as at all a desirable quality, either in books of instruction or in manuals of devotion. But the originality of the "Golden Manual" is of a perfectly unexceptionable kind. It does not consist in the introduction of new and unauthorized prayers, or in the arbitrary and unsanctioned modification of old ones; but in the adjustment of the received prayers and devotional services in accordance with the best and most authentic usage, and particularly in adopting uniformly, and without exception, the form of each particular prayer which has been approved by the Holy See, and to which any indulgence has been specially attached.

Another and most commendable characteristic of the Golden Manual, is the large and frequent use which it makes of the best, the holiest, and the most efficacious of all forms of prayer,—those which the Church has consecrated by adopting them in her Liturgy. It has often been a subject of regret, that the faithful have been excluded, by the want of the necessary service books, from the edification and instruction, as well as the actual incentives to piety which are supplied by the public services of the Church ritual; and the want has been especially painful in those portions of the ritual which regard the administration of the sacraments. What prayers for the sick, for instance, or the dying, can be compared in tenderness, in unction, in impressiveness, and, we must of course add, in intrinsic virtue, with those of the Holy Viaticum, the Extreme Unction, and the Last Benediction? How would it be possible to devise a form of preparation for Confirmation so calculated to strike the young imagination and to touch the tender heart, as that which in the Church's own words describes the communication and in-dwelling of the Holy Spirit? And hence it is that we have ever desired to see the magnificent services of the Roman Ritual placed within the reach of every Catholic, and made familiar to the humblest of the faithful, not alone in the spirit and in the graces which they confer, but in the very words and forms in which they are administered.

We welcome, therefore, with very peculiar satisfaction, that portion of the Manual (Part III.) which concerns the use and administration of the sacraments, and the preparation of the faithful for duly receiving them. Besides all the ordinary devotions and instructions, it contains the actual serving of the administration of Baptism, Confirma-

tion, the Eucharist and Extreme Unction, and marriage, both in Latin and in English; and in these, as well as all the other church services introduced into the work, we cannot speak in terms of too high commendation of the accuracy, simplicity, tastefulness, and solemnity of the translation.

Another very important novelty in the Golden Manual, is the introduction of a variety of most useful prayers and devotional exercises, which, though unknown to Catholics in these countries, are, and long have been, familiar on the continent. Many of these are translated from the admirable *Colesto Palmetum* of Nakatenus, and from the *Libellus Precum*; but a large number also are from the Italian. And in these, also, especial attention has been paid to the devotions, to which indulgences are attached, on all of which full and satisfactory explanations are given. The collection of Litanies, also, is extremely full and complete.

In the various hymns and sequences Mr. Caswall's admirable translations are adopted; and the other matinal devotions interspersed in the volume, are not alone a great improvement upon their popular use, but are fully worthy of a place beside the best and most finished pieces of the *Lyra Catholica*.

III.—*The Philosophy of Language; comprehending Universal Grammar, or the pure science of Language; and Glossology, or the Historical relations of Languages.* BY SIR JOHN STODDART, KNT., L.L.D. Second Edition, Revised by the author, and edited by WILLIAM HAZLITT, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London, J. J. Griffin and Co., and Glasgow, R. Griffin and Co, 1849.

The philosophy of language has attracted, in recent times, very great attention from the learned. It may be considered in two views; first, as emanating from certain fundamental principles in the mental and bodily constitution of mankind in general; or, secondly, as collected from the various systems of speech, which different races and bodies of men have adopted in the communication of their thoughts and feelings. The first view alone engaged the attention of the early Grammarians of Greece and Rome, and also (as we have lately found) of the learned cultivators of the Sanscrit language, at a remote period of Indian History. The other view has naturally arisen in recent times, when the progress of discovery has laid open to us countries of whose existence the ancients never dreamed,

and brought us acquainted with dialects of endless variety, both in sound and construction.

The work before us, (a valuable portion of the New Series of "the Encyclopædia Metropolitana,) proposes to combine both those views. The learned author considers that *Universal Grammar* is properly to be deemed the *science* of language, and that the study which, of late, has been called *Glossology*, should comprise the *historical* relations of languages. He has, as yet, completed only the first part, but the other is said to be in the press. Much of the substance of both appeared under the head of "Grammar" at the first publication of the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana;" but the present volume has been (as, we presume, the future one will be,) almost entirely re-written, so that we may fairly consider it, as in fact, a new work. The author here treads, but not slavishly, in the steps of the ancient Grammarians. He is totally opposed to the school of Tooke, and takes every opportunity to expose, what he considers, the unsoundness of that writer's leading doctrine, namely, that all words are to be for ever deemed Nouns, or Verbs, because they were once used as such; and, consequently, that there are not, and never were, any such parts of speech as Adverbs, Conjunctions, Prepositions, and the like. The absurdity of this notion had, indeed, been exposed by Dugald Stewart, and the late Mr. Hazlitt; but Sir John Stoddart enters into it very fully in detail, and not only restores the old parts of speech to their old position, but proves that without them no cultivated language could exist; and he supports his argument by a great variety of examples, as well Greek and Latin, as Teutonic, and even, occasionally, Indian and Chinese.

A marked characteristic of the system laid down in this work is, that whereas most former Grammarians took as the sole basis of their speculations the *logical* connections of thought, Sir John Stoddart starts from the position, that Language is to be taken as the expression, not only of thought but of feeling; and as Grammar is here considered the science of the relations of Language generally, it follows that its rules should apply as well to the expression of feeling as of thought. Hence the author distinguishes Sentences into *enunciative* and *passionate*, and shows the necessary connection of the latter with the vocative case of Nouns, the imperative mood of Verbs, and

above all, with the *Interjection*, to which he devotes a whole chapter, showing the propriety of ranking it as a separate Part of Speech, not "brutish and inarticulate," as some have called it, but "employed by mankind in all ages, to express feeling, from the most light and evanescent to the deepest and most overpowering."

The chapter on *Particles* presents another marked feature (which is quite novel) in this system. The author gives satisfactory reasons for using this term to express, not as most writers do, certain parts of speech, (for, in truth, a Particle is commonly understood to be something less than a part,) but those small portions of words, which when used alone, have either no meaning or a meaning different from what they signify in composition. For instance, *en* in *Oxen* has a certain force, but standing alone it has none; whilst *ship* in *Friendship*, has a certain force, but standing alone it has a totally different signification. The author refers shortly to various uses of such Particles in Greek, Latin, Sanscrit, Zend, Russian, Swedish, Danish, Welch, Irish, German, Dutch, Gothic, Frankish, Alamannic, Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, Scottish, old and modern English; but a fuller development of this part of his system is to be expected in the future part of his Treatise.

The last chapter is on the *Mechanism of Speech*. This is altogether new; no part of it having appeared in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana." It differs too in a very material respect from the preceding part of the Treatise; for, whereas, the author had before proceeded by *deduction* from certain primary laws, (which he calls, in the proper sense of the word, *Ideas*,) he, in this concluding chapter, proceeds by *induction*, from observation of the organs of speech, to infer certain powers in those organs, enabling mankind to utter the sounds, articulate and inarticulate, which constitute spoken language. Nevertheless, this is to be deemed a part of Universal Grammar, for though it may be possible that various races of men may differ in the formation of certain parts of the organs of speech, (which, however, no anatomist has yet proved,) yet certain it is, that in their general powers of articulation, all races of men agree, however individuals may be liable in these, as in other parts of their bodily frame, to mal-conformation. The extreme importance of studying the mechanism of speech will easily be understood, when we

consider that on an accurate knowledge of it depends the formation of a perfect alphabetic system. The author asserts, and will, probably, produce his proofs of that assertion, in his future treatise, that "*there never yet was a perfect alphabet in any language.*" Meanwhile, Sir John Stoddart proposes an Alphabet, founded on that of the celebrated Bishop Wilkins, with certain corrections by that eminent anatomist, Sir Benjamin Brodie, as expressing, not indeed all possible articulations of the human voice, but all those of Western Europe, to which the author's observation has extended.

In conclusion, we beg to direct the attention of the learned to a work that cannot fail to reward their perusal, and to win their respect for its zealous, ingenious, and accomplished author.

IV.—*The Poets and Poetry of Munster.* A Selection of Irish Songs, by Poets of the last century. With Poetical Translations, by JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN, now first published with the original Music and Biographical Sketches of the authors. By JOHN O'DALY. 8vo. Dublin, O'Daly, 1849.

The full and comprehensive title of this interesting volume, almost relieves us from the necessity of describing its character or contents; but we are unwilling to lose the opportunity of recommending it in the strongest terms to our readers, not only for its own sake, but still more as the work of an author, who, with very slender resources, and, we fear, very limited support, has for years devoted himself to the—we are ashamed to say—thankless, task of illustrating our modern Irish Poetical literature. Mr. O'Daly's *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry*, which, in better times, and under more favourable patronage, would have entitled its author to the warmest gratitude of the Irish public, found too few purchasers to warrant any but a disinterested lover of his native literature, to repeat the experiment; and our object in thus earnestly recommending this kindred publication, is to stimulate those on whose position and opportunities the obligation most immediately falls, to make an effort in favour of its spirited and enterprising editor.

The songs comprised in the collection are selected from the compositions of the most popular Irish poets of Munster during the last century, and are prefaced by short biographical notices of the authors. They are accompa-

nied by the Irish original, in alternate pages ; and to each song is prefixed the music, such as it is still popularly preserved. The songs are of all possible shades of sentiment, national, political, amatory, bacchanalian. Many of them are rather curious as illustrations of character and manners, than valuable for their poetical merit ; but there are some which on every ground are well worthy a place as a national collection. We shall content ourselves with two specimens, both of which, although seemingly love-songs, are in reality addressed to the unhappy country of the writers, which they allegorize under the name of their mistress.

The first is entitled *Caitilin ni Uallachain*, (*Catharine Holahan*.) It is by the Blind Poet, William Heffernan.

“ In vain, in vain we turn to Spain, she heeds us not.
Yet may we still, by strength of will, amend our lot.
O, yes! our foe shall yet lie low—our swords are drawn!
For her, our Queen, our *Caitilin Ni Uallachain* !

“ Yield not to fear! The time is near—with sword in hand
We soon shall chase the Saxon race far from our land.
What glory then to stand as men on field and bawn,
And see all sheen our *Caitilin Ni Uallachain* !

“ How tossed, how lost, with all hopes crossed, we long have
been!
Our gold is gone ; gear have we none, as all have seen.
But ships shall brave the ocean’s wave, and morn shall dawn
On Eire green, on *Caitilin Ni Uallachain* !

“ Let none believe this lovely Eve outworn or old—
Fair is her form ; her blood is warm, her heart is bold.
Though strangers long have wrought her wrong, she will not
fawn—
Will not prove mean, our *Caitilin Ni Uallachain* !

“ Her stately air, her flowing hair—her eyes that far
Pierce through the gloom of Banba’s doom, each like a star,
Her songful voice that makes rejoice hearts grief hath gnawn,
Prove her our Queen, our *Caitilin Ni Uallachain* !

“ We will not bear the chains we wear, not bear them long.
We seem bereaven, but mighty Heaven will make us strong.
The God who led through Ocean Red all Israel on
Will aid our Queen, our *Caitilin Ni Uallachain* !

“O, Virgin pure! our true and sure defence thou art!
 Pray thou thy Son to help us on in hand and heart!
 Our Prince, our Light, shall banish night—then beameth Dawn—
 Then shall be seen our *Caitilin Ni Uallachain!*”

“SUMMING-UP.

“Phœbus shines brightly with his rays so pure,
 The moon and the stars their course do run;
 The sky is shining brightly without cloud or mist,
 To greet the true king with his troops o’er the sea.

“Our priests are as one man imploring Christ,
 Our bards are songful, and their gloom is dispelled;
 The poor Gaels of Inis-Eilge are in calm repose,
 Expecting James,* the son of James, and the Duket to land.”
 pp. 133-37.

The second is entitled *Roisin Dubh*, (*Little black-haired Rose*.) The translation has all the ease and grace of poor Clarence Mangan’s pen.

“O, bitter woe, that we must go, across the sea!
 O, grief of griefs, that Lords and Chiefs, their homes must flee!
 A tyrant band o’erruns the land, this land so green!
 And, though we grieve, we still must leave, our Dark *Roisin!*”

“My darling Dove, my Life, my Love, to me so dear,
 Once torn apart from you, my heart will break, I fear,
 O, golden Flower of Beauty’s bower! O, radiant Queen!
 I mourn in bonds; my soul desponds; my Dark *Roisin!*”

“In hope and joy, while yet a boy, I wooed my bride;
 I sought not self; I sought herself, and nought beside,
 But health is flown, ’tis old I’m grown; and, though I ween
 My heart will break, I must forsake my Dark *Roisin!*”

“The fairest Fair you ever were; the peerless Maid;
 For bards and priests your daily feasts were richly laid.
 Amid my dole, on you my soul still loves to lean,
 Though I must brave the stormy wave, my Dark *Roisin!*”

“In years gone by, how you and I seemed glad and blest!
 My wedded wife, you cheered my life, you warmed my breast!
 The fairest one the living sun e’er decked with sheen,
 The brightest rose that buds or blows is Dark *Roisin!*”

* The Chevalier de St. George.

† James, second Duke of Ormond.

“My guiding Star of Hope you are, all glow and grace,
My blooming Love, my Spouse above all Adam’s race ;
In deed or thought you cherish nought of low or mean ;
The base alone can hate my own—my dark *Roisin* !

“O, never mourn as one forlorn, but bide your hour ;
Your friends ere long, combined and strong, will prove their power.
From distant Spain will sail a train to change the scene
That makes you sad, for one more glad, my Dark *Roisin* !

“Till then, adieu ! my Fond and True ! adieu, till then !
Though now you grieve, still, still believe we’ll meet again ;
I’ll yet return, with hopes that burn, and broad-sword keen ;
Fear not, nor think you e’er can sink, my Dark *Roisin* !”

pp. 215—17.

We should add that the author has prefixed a short notice of the ill-fated translator, Clarence Mangan, which contains some interesting particulars of his life, not commonly known.

V.—*Notes and Queries*. A medium of intercommunication for Literary Men. London, Fleet Street, G. Bell, 1849.

This is a weekly periodical, especially intended to assist men of letters in their pursuits. It has been established for the purpose of supplying that which has always been felt as a great want amongst those engaged in writing works that required research, viz : the means of ascertaining facts, and dates, and explanations, upon matters which no toil or study on their part could procure for them. At the same time, it opens its pages for the purpose of receiving and giving circulation to those minute facts of which those, in reading, may take a note, and of the value of which the scholar is perfectly conscious, although they may not be applicable to the purpose or pursuit on which he is at the moment engaged. “Those who meet with facts worthy of preservation, may record them in its columns; while those again who are pursuing literary enquiries, may, through this medium, ask for information on points which have baffled their own individual researches.”

In giving this brief description of “the Notes and Queries,” we have, we conceive, stated sufficient to show how well deserving it is of the attention of all who take an interest in literature, whether they are writers or readers of books. We have perused with intense interest every

number of this periodical as it has appeared. We have found that as it has proceeded it has increased in importance and in value; and we have little doubt, that continuing to be managed as it has been, and as carefully edited as it is at present, it must become an established class-book in every library. The idea of founding such a periodical was an excellent one, and the manner in which it is carried out is fully equal to that idea. We shall be most happy to learn that this notice of "the Notes and Queries" has aided in promoting their circulation; and the writer of this short article is especially bound to express that wish, because he has tested their usefulness, in his own case, by certain "queries," for which he had, in vain, sought a solution by his own toil. To those "queries" the publication afforded him satisfactory answers.

VI.—*The Path to Paradise; or, Considerations on the Eternal Truths and the Passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* Translated from the Italian of the Blessed Leonardo, by a Father of Charity; and revised by the Very Rev. J. B. Pagani. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

A short, but admirable compendium of meditations upon the Passion and seven last words of our Lord, introduced by devout reflections upon the last end of man, and the benefits of God to him. The style of the meditations is simple, fervent, and impressive; and each meditation may be said to contain the heads of many, being filled with the deep thoughts of a most pious soul.

VII.—*Reasons of my Conversion to the Catholic Church; in Letters to a Friend.* By the Rev. JOHN GORDON. Fifth Edition. London: Burns, 1849.

In the notice of Dr. Pagani's *Church of the Living God*, in a former number, (liii.) we accidentally overlooked the circumstance, (acknowledged by Dr. Pagani himself,) that a long and interesting passage which we extracted, is taken from the little work which stands above.

We take the earliest opportunity of correcting this mistake, and of, at the same time, recommending in the very strongest terms, Mr. Gordon's most admirable "Reasons of his Conversion." They are a model of what controversy ought to be.

VIII.—*Collection of the Laws of Patent Privileges of all the Countries of Europe, the United States of North America, and the Dutch West Indies.* Published by CHARLES F. LOOSEY, Civil Engineer, &c., in Vienna. London: John Weale. Paris: H. Bassange. Vienna: at the Government Printing Office.

In this volume there are collected the Patent Laws of not less than sixty-seven distinct States in Europe or in America. The volume is an authenticated publication of those Laws in the original languages of the States in which they are enforced, and therefore of great importance to all desirous of obtaining patents for their invention in science, or in the arts. It is very justly observed by the author, Mr. Loosey, that “the want of a perfect and complete Collection of the Patent Laws, wherever they do exist, becomes more apparent as the application of science to practical purposes has extended over the civilized world,” and that “however important such a Collection of Patent Laws will be to the inventor, it must be equally important to Lawyers and Statesmen, to enable them to judge of the value of a foreign Patent, and of the practical working of the law itself.” Mr. Loosey, in collecting these Laws, has found how important it is to his purposes as a Patent Agent in Vienna, to be acquainted with the most minute details of them, and therefore the reader may feel assured that in this work he has embodied all the Patent Laws of the civilized world. This volume is itself a proof of the extension of science: it is carefully compiled, and will be found of great interest to all persons, and of vast service to those who are desirous of procuring patents for their inventions, and deriving in foreign countries, large and abundant rewards for their discoveries.

IX.—*Congregational Singing: Two Instructions on the Duty and Privileges of Congregational Singing.* By the REV. HENRY FORMBY. London: Burns.

Every one who has had the happiness of hearing a Catholic congregation in Italy, in France, or in Germany, join with one voice,—either in the public service, as, for example, in the *Magnificat* of Vespers or the *Te Deum*, or in the popular hymns or canticles in the vernacular languages of the people, must have been painfully struck by the contrast with our own silent and voiceless masses at home, in proportion as he was impressed by the solemnity,

the grandeur, and the devotional character of the melody, no matter how simple, in which so many voices are united.

The discourses now before us are an appeal for the introduction of such congregational singing among ourselves, by the Rev. H. Formby, already so well known by his warm and zealous advocacy of the Gregorian Music. The arguments by which he enforces his views, are extremely solid and judicious; and cannot fail to find an echo in the hearts of all who have ever tried to enlist *the feelings* of the people in the work of their own sanctification. No more powerful agent could be devised than the pious practice of congregational singing properly organized, and under judicious restrictions.

We recommend Mr. Formby's Discourses in the strongest terms to all who feel an interest in the subject; and we shall conclude with a single extract.

“In the chant which St. Gregory collected from its existing tradition, and gave to the Church in a definite form, there is an absence of the contradiction, not the less real from being undesigned, which ensues, from praying on the one hand, on behalf of the people, that they may be admitted to a share in what constitutes the social joy of the angels, and on the other selecting a kind of music, the artificial intricacy of which makes the taking a share in it, even to those who desire to do so, absolutely impossible. And the Church, in adopting it, shows that she herself, in her own gifts, is the true mother of her children, who knows what is good both for the old and the young. St. Ambrose, speaking of the chant of the Church offices of his own day, which was more than two centuries before the time of St. Gregory, characterises them ‘as sweet to persons of every age, and equally suited to every sex. Old men,’ he says, ‘may lay aside the stiffness of age and sing them, and worn out veterans answer in the joy of their hearts. Young people will sing them, without danger, and youth find delight in them, without risk to their purity, and without danger of temptation. Young matrons may sing them without loss to their matronly reserve, and young maidens without injury to their modesty, as well as with perfect gravity and sobriety, may use their own sweet voices in hymns to the praise of God. They are the delight of the young, and the charm even of infancy, which turns away from all besides.’ And what is this but the experience of every period of the Church that has been free from the ambition of being wiser than the wisdom of the saints, and the vanity of inventing something of its own? and if we now have the misery of seeing the sacred song of the Church offices, to so great an extent, absent from the hearts as well as from the mouths of her people, and scarcely find surviving vestiges of the popular enthusiasm that in

the days of St. Ambrose brought adoring multitudes into the temple to sing, '*Hosanna in the highest : Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord ;*' we have also seen the influx of those who imagine themselves to know better than the Pontiffs, saints, and doctors of the Church, who framed the order of her Liturgy and its chant, what is suited to their age and its supposed wants."—pp. 19-20.

X.—*The Saints of Ireland*,—January, February, March. Dublin, Richardson and Son, 1850.

This little series has now reached the third month. It has no pretension beyond that of registering, in the order of the Calendar, the leading facts of the lives of the Saints of Ireland. As such it fills a want in our religious literature, and is a step towards that full and complete development of the materials of our sacred history, which has long been the dream of every lover of the true glories of Ireland.

XI.—*Sick Calls, from the Diary of a Missionary Priest*, mostly re-published from Dolman's Magazine, by the Rev. Edward Price, M.A. London : Dolman, 61, New Bond Street, 1850.

The readers of Dolman's Magazine will well remember the beautiful stories which gave it so much interest, and will be delighted, as we have been, to find them collected, with some additions in a separate volume: it is a very valuable one; a Catholic will learn much in it of the nature of that poverty by which he is so constantly surrounded, and which he is often willing to assist, but uncertain as to the best method of doing so. Protestants will see in these little histories more of the beneficial and most blessed working of the Catholic religion, than pages of argument could teach him. These records of a priest's experience affect the heart with the unmistakable force of truth; they are full of such strange vicissitudes of fortune, such contrasts in man's nature, such awful glimpses into the dealings of God with man, as cannot but afford matter for sympathy and meditation. The Rev. author requires no compliment from us, any more than his subject requires enhancement; yet, we must touch upon the elegant and simple style, the gentlemanly tone of mind, which heighten the pleasure we derive from his edifying reflections, and most interesting and curious histories.

XII.—*The Vespers Book for the Use of the Laity, according to the Roman Breviary; containing also the Offices proper to this Country, in their respective Places.* Permissu Superiorum. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

Mr. Richardson's long promised edition of the Vespers Book has at length made its appearance, and will be found very valuable. This edition appears to be exceedingly correct and well printed, and well suited to accompany the Missal, of which the same publisher has given us an edition long known to, and approved by, the public.

XIII.—*Ruins of Many Lands, a descriptive Poem,* by NICHOLAS MITCHELL, 2nd Edition, enlarged. London: Tegg and Co. 1850.

WE have formerly spoken with high praise of this very original and elegant poem; and we are glad to see a second edition of it, which has received the last point and finish the taste of the author could give; and has also been enriched by many descriptions previously omitted, and which yet seemed necessary to complete the plan of the work. Layard's wonderful discoveries were certain to awake a touch of enthusiasm in an antiquarian and a poet, and Mr. Mitchell has thrown over them the glow of his own feelings: we quote the ensuing lines not as a specimen of his highest poetical powers, but rather to exemplify his talent for recalling and realizing the visions of the past.

“The shapes Ezekiel saw of monstrous mould,
 Half gods, half mortals, now our eyes behold—
 The lion winged, the bull with human face,
 Pondrous as towers, yet carved with passing grace.
 Long galleries wind, and courts around us spread,
 Where pictured pavements glow beneath our tread;
 And still beyond, we enter stately rooms,
 Gay once with silks from soft Assyrian looms;
 Now shattered helms, fair ivories strew the ground,
 And, quaintly carved, tall sculptures gleam around—
 Portraits of kings who ruled ere Rome was born,
 Or pealed in Salem Israel's trumpet-horn;
 Priests, trees of life, with mystic symbols hung,
 And sieges, battles, such as Homer sung.
 Lo! where yon platform sweeps—a floor of stone—
 There blazed perchance the Assyrian's jewelled throne;
 Here Ninus sat, Semiramis the proud,
 And here to Tiglath Israel's captives bowed.

The heart beats high, and while warm fancies glow,
 We think of days whose glories none may know,
 Till, as eve's golden sun-beams mellowing fall,
 Light up each vault, and guild the sculptured hall,
 Those monarchs in the midst appear to rise—
 Crowns on their heads, and terror in their eyes ;
 While slaves kneel trembling, courtiers stand in awe—
 Each look a mandate, and each nod a law.

* * * * *

Sleep, city ! nought is time to thine and thee,
 Sleep till God's judgment, mystic Nineveh !
 Years raise up states, then dash them to the dust ;
 Mortals are weak, but call not heaven unjust.
 No change to thee will come—thou liest there
 In cold obstruction, type of pride's despair.
 Oblivion watches, as dark ages close,
 Thy buried glory, and thy dread repose ;
 Death sits, grim tyrant, on thy mound strewn plain,
 And thunders to awake thee peal in vain."

We have no space to give even an idea of the additions the author has made to his notices of the ruins in Nubia and Egypt, although we have been greatly pleased with them.

The Author has considerably amplified his notice of the ruined cities of Central America, but here, perhaps, the imagination may seem to flag, to labour somewhat,—overpowered by the vague, vast, dreary doubt, in which as yet they rest ; appealing less to remembrance, less to sympathy, than any other of the ruins upon our changing earth. In India the poet renews his strength ; we think there is something so rich and soft in the following picture as to deserve selection.

“ A moment yet we linger 'mid the bowers
 Of northern Ind—a land of fruits and flowers,
 Where the proud Affghan treads a blessed soil,
 That yields all nature asks with little toil,
 A land where God his heavenliest smile hath thrown
 O'er all beneath—man, man the blot alone.
 Oh ! who Cabul's sweet region may behold,
 When spring laughs out, or autumn sows her gold,
 The meadows, orchards, streams that glide in light,
 Nor deem lost Irem charms again his sight,
 That wondrous garden rivalling Eden's bloom,
 Too bless'd for man to view, this side the tomb ?

Flowers here of every scent, and form, and die,
 Lift their bright heads, and laugh upon the sky,
 From the tall tulip with her rich streaked bell,
 Where, throned in state, Queen Mab is proud to dwell,
 To lowly wind-flowers gaudier plants eclipse,
 And pensile harebells with their dewy lips.
 There turns the heliotrope to court the sun,
 And up green stalks the starry jasmines run :
 The hyacinth in tender pink outvies
 Beauty's soft cheek, and violets match her eyes ;
 Sweet breathe the henna-flowers that harem girls
 So love to twine among their glossy curls ;
 And here the purple pansy springs to birth,
 Like some gay insect rising from the earth.
 One sheet of bloom the level greensward yields,
 And simple daisies speak of England's fields ;
 Drawn by sweet odour's spell, in humming glee,
 Flits round the bloomy stock the robber bee,
 While to the gorgeous musk rose, all night long,
 The love-sick bulbul pours his melting song.
 Then, too, the fruits through months that hang and glow,
 Tempting as those which wrought our mother's woe ;
 Soft shines the mango on its stem so tall,
 Rich gleams beneath the melon's golden ball ;
 How feasts the eye upon the bell-shaped pear !
 Bright cherries look like corals strung in air ;
 The purple plum, the grape the hand may reach,
 Vie with the downy-skinned and blushing peach.
 Though small, its place the luscious strawberry claims,
 'Mid snowy flowers the radiant orange flames ;
 To quench the thirst the cooling guava see,
 And ripe pomegranates melting on the tree,
 And here, too, England's favourite fruit is seen,
 The red-cheeked apple, veiled by leaves of green ;
 Ah ! at the sight sweet thoughts of home awake,
 And foreign lands are welcomed for its sake."

Let us contrast with this the following description of nature in a grander aspect.

"Ye mountains! with your feet in earth's deep caves,
 Where burns the central fire, the earthquake raves,
 While your hoar brows are reared above the cloud,
 As if for this our world too vast and proud !
 Shrinking we view your wild stupendous scene,
 Rude as first chaos—dread, yet how serene !
 Strength here has calmness like a giant's sleep,
 Awful repose on each eternal steep.

There is a charm in terror, and we feel,
 When dumb with awe, a pleasure o'er us steal.
 'Mid rocks and shaggy caves, and aged trees,
 That sigh like restless spirits to the breeze :
 'Mid torrents dashed from heights with echoing roar,
 While far above wild eagles shriek and soar ;
 'Mid sounds and scenes to peopled tracts unknown,
 It is not lonely e'en to be alone :
 The soul, absorbed, forgets her cumbering clod,
 Holding high converse with great nature's God.

* * * * *

Yet not alone in calm, or when the moon
 Rides o'er the heights in soft and tranquil June,
 And star-beams sleep in beauty on the snow,
 And cascades fall in showers of pearl below,
 Climb ye the Alps, but view the giants there,
 When storms let loose the demons of the air,
 And darkness, like a pall, descends on earth,
 And the sky-cleaving lightning has its birth.
 Here let us stand where floods have worn the rock ;
 Clouds roll on clouds—it comes, the tempests shock !
 The wolves for shelter flee, their long deep yell,
 In ghostly chorus, echoing from the dell ;
 The tall black pines that lately tower'd on high,
 Like ebon pillars carved against the sky,
 Bend low and lower to the rising blast,
 Their murmur like a trumpet wailing past.
 Where the dense clouds embrace yon rocky spire,
 Quick from their blackness shoots a lance of fire ;
 Away, across the sky, across each height,
 Zigzag and blinding, darts that line of light ;
 The oak is crashing, and the rock is rent,
 So swift thy work, mysterious element !
 Ere the deep thunder rolls upon the air,
 Now muttering like some demon in despair,
 Then bursting forth like dread artillery's sound,
 From peak to peak the echoes doubling round ;
 Still are those peals renewed, when peals expire,
 As if the Almighty spoke in tones of ire,
 While sheets of flame, that light heaven's concave now,
 Seem the fierce anger on His awful brow."

We know of no finer descriptive poetry than this ; and even in a mere notice such as the present, we have not scrupled to give long extracts,—they enrich our pages, and convey, when nothing else could, an idea of the pleasure to be derived from a perusal of the work. We

must add, that the merit of the poem is singularly well sustained; it contains nothing trivial, heavy, or bombastic, to balance (as so often happens) occasional flights of daring or graceful imagery; nor amidst so many beauties will there be found a line which will not be congenial to the reader of taste and cultivation. We must pause here; we have no space to remark upon Carthage, the ruins of ancient Africa, and of the south of France, or upon the many other new beauties which give value to this edition. The notes have been proportionately enriched; the author has bestowed great pains upon this portion of the work, and has given us in them the gems of his ample stores of observation and learning.

XIV.—*The History of the Old and New Testament, interspersed with Moral and Instructive Reflections, chiefly taken from the Holy Fathers, from the French, by J. Reeve, in two vols. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.*

This is a cheap and convenient reprint, of a work, long well known and highly valued by Catholics. It has been too highly sanctioned to require any further recommendation, and we rejoice to see it rendered more generally attainable.

XV.—*The Double Claim. A Tale of Real Life. By Mrs. T. K. HERVEY. 8vo. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co., 1849.*

The story of "the Double Claim" is constructed upon an old and traditionary plot. The heroine, Margaret, has been stolen in infancy by gipsies, and educated by a kind magistrate, in whose house she was left by the gang, in making their escape from the hands of justice. A clue is obtained, after a number of years, to the name and residence of her parents; but, just as Margaret makes the discovery, she also discovers that her place has been already filled up by another claimant, who, in support of her claim, was able to produce the very clothes worn by the lost child on the day of her abduction.

The motive of this attempted imposture was the hope of gaining the affection of the youth for whom the lost child had from infancy been destined by her parents, and to whom she had been formally betrothed. But, failing in her hope of winning his love, and touched by remorse when she discovers that Margaret, the real daughter, is

still alive, she confesses her fraud, and gives way to the true claimant.

She herself is at the same time discovered to have been similarly stolen by the gipsies, and is restored to her parents.

There is a little love episode in the tale, which is also brought to a happy termination at the same time. The tale is agreeably and interestingly written, but, as will be gathered from the above outline, makes but little pretension to originality.

XVI.—*Letters to a Lady.* By the BARON WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT. From the German. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co., 1849.

We need not say a word to recommend these charming and well-known letters. The cheapness and elegance of this edition will place them within the reach of every reader.

XVII.—*A Translation of the Hermann and Dorothea of Goethe*, in the Old English measure of Chapman's Homer. By M. WINTER. Dublin, Kelly, 1849.

The Hermann and Dorothea is too well known to need any introduction at our hands. It is only necessary for us to say, that the present translation is an exceedingly accurate and spirited one, and preserves, in a very remarkable degree, the simple beauty which is the great charm of the original.

The "Old English measure" is an admirable representation of the hexameter of the original, and we doubt whether it is not quite as well suited to the peculiar character of the poem.

XVIII.—*Apostolical Baptism, considered in a few words.* "But what saith the Scripture?" "And his disciples remembered that it was written." London: J. J. Guillaume, Chester Square.

A thorough Protestant performance; the author having, by the above texts, of most doubtful application, established the sole and solitary authority of Scripture, proceeds to dismiss it from his reasoning, and to give us his own theory upon Baptism:—that it is a regeneration only as being a mark of obedience, but that the gift of the Spirit may precede, accompany, or follow it; inasmuch as "He has not made His Holy Spirit subservient to man's

caprice. He has not reduced his own beautiful and simple covenant-rite to a mere incantation, so that man can summon the Divine Spirit at his pleasure." There is something new in this description of the effect of a Sacrament, for all must equally lie open to it. But it would be waste time further to discuss a work of this kind.

XIX.—*The Life of St. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi. The Life of the Venerable servant of God, Benedict Joseph Labré.* London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

The indefatigable Fathers of the Oratory, in somewhat less than three months, have presented us with the lives of two more saints—lives not sketched out hastily, but admirably written; full of wonderful details, and illustrated by the comments of wisdom and experience; such comments as are necessary to guide the minds of ordinary christians through the depths of such mysteries.

St. Mary Magdalene was indeed a saint of superhuman greatness,—in peril, in suffering, and in glory; her life must be read in the deepest humility and faith.

The Venerable Benedict Joseph Labré, was a poor and uneducated youth, devoted to austerity, and seeking with all his heart admission into the severest orders. God suffered him not to enter them; apparently that he might add yet further sanctity to the life of a pilgrim by his love for holy places, and his meek following of the footsteps of his Saviour, when He went to and fro, without a roof to shelter His head,—in toil, watching, and hardship.

XX. — *Comptum*; or, The Meeting of the Ways at the Catholic Church. The third book. London: Dolman, 1850.

We congratulate our readers upon the appearance of a third volume of this most valuable work; more easy and flowing in style, more rich in illustration, more abounding in beauties, we think, than its predecessors. The learning of this author would seem to be inexhaustible; the wisdom of holy men of all times, their beautiful sayings, and the multitude of quaint, old, charming stories with which he is so familiar, and which he has probably preserved from oblivion, seem to assimilate with the cast of his own mind. They flow from his pen without stint and without effort; harmonizing perfectly with his own meditations, and with his pure, somewhat old English, so naturally rising from a somewhat quaint simplicity into eloquence.

XXI.—*The Cousins ; or, Pride and Vanity.* By AGNES M. STEWART.
London : C. Dolman, 61, New Bond Street.

This is a pretty little story, to which, individually, we have no objection to make ; on the contrary, it is interesting, and pleasingly written ; its faults are those of a *class* of books for young people, of which we do, in great measure, disapprove. Professing to inculcate a particular model, they do it in so indefinite and inconsequential a manner, as to involve the whole subject in confusion. In “the Cousins,” there is a good girl and a bad one ; the former is rewarded by happiness and a husband, the latter appropriately punished. This is all very well, for children require this quick retribution to keep up their interest ; but the distinction between pride and vanity is very ill defined. There seems no particular reason for allotting pride to the heroine of the story, neither is it clear where the young lady is supposed to be struggling, and where to be yielding to the vice. There is much of pious feeling throughout the story, but very vague notions of religion ; altogether we should have liked the story better, had the authoress not aimed so high, but contented herself with making it one of general amusement and good example.

XXII.—*The Lives of the Venerable servant of God, Fabrizio Dal’Aste, Founder of the Congregation of the Oratory of Forli,—and of the Venerable servant of God, Father Mariano Sozzini, Priest of the Congregation of the Oratory of Rome.* London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

The lives of these two eminent servants of God, will be read with unusual interest ; both of them belonged to the Oratory, and not only directly, but indirectly, by the tenor of their lives and the distinctive character of their sanctity, great light is thrown upon the nature of that holy Congregation, long unknown in this country, and to which Catholics are now looking with such earnestness of joy and expectation.

The lives of these holy men were not remarkable for extraordinary events or miracles, but a larger portion than usual has been preserved of their devotional maxims and instructions, which are most edifying. Both these saints attached themselves to their beloved Father, St. Philip, and to his congregation, with the most profound affection ; it was the study of their lives to penetrate themselves with

the spirit and intention of St. Philip, to carry them out to the highest point of perfection, as they did; and to exemplify in their own lives, not only the zeal, charity, and holiness which are nourished in the Oratory, but the wisdom with which they have been brought to bear upon the wants and difficulties of the times. No one can mark this, and the success which has so unfailingly attended the Fathers of the Oratory, without joyfully anticipating what great things they will, by God's blessing, perform in England.

XXIII.—*Woman in France during the Eighteenth Century.* By JULIA KAVANAGH. In two vols., with portraits. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1850.

This elegant and entertaining work well deserves a longer notice than it is in our power now to give it. To examine into the nature of that extraordinary influence exercised by women in France, during the eighteenth century, over politics, literature, and society, was an excellent thought. It was not the least remarkable circumstance in those strange times; and the source of that influence, and the mode in which it was exercised, are so unlike to anything we know at present, that it cannot but be a curious study.

The authoress begins by drawing a strong and faithful picture of the state of society, and of the court on the death of Louis XIV.; and proceeds by giving short memoirs of the women who exercised a public influence during the regency, the reign of Louis XV., and the commencement of that of his successor; Courtezans, in the first instance, afterwards the patronesses of literary coteries and the "bureaux d'esprit," in whom depravity did but take a more dangerous character. Then follows a slight sketch of Marie Antoinette while she might still be said to reign, and with her, women better intentioned, and more deeply suffering; and, at last, the heroines and the victims of the revolution. A second beautiful notice is given of the queen in what may truly be termed her agony,—the queen pre-eminent in everything. This introduces a vivid picture of the crowds in the prisons, too great to be numbered; where the women who had played so different a part, maintained their influence over this gloomy society; stamped it

with their grace, their levity, their heroism,—dying for those they loved,—dying in the peace of religion,—dying in the pride of their birth and their cause, with the daring of ancient chivalry. It is like a romance. We cannot but praise the manner in which the authoress has touched upon what was often dangerous ground. To have made no allowance for the influence of that demoralizing society;—not to have done justice to the better aspirations, the natural goodness of many of the unhappy women who were corrupted by it, would have been not to write their history at all; but the morality and good feeling of the authoress are not misled for a moment by this lenient discrimination.

XXIV.—*Stories for Summer days and Winter nights*. Vol. I. London: Groombridge and Sons.

This is a re-publication of stories already favourably known to the public; they were issued by the editors of the *Family Economist*; and are well deserving of attention, if we may judge from the specimen before us. In a cheap and well got up little volume, we have five very pretty stories, of which only one—the rythmical history of William Tell—is really excellent.

XXV.—*The Life of Philibert La Feuillade, a Catholic Soldier of the 16th Century*, A.M. D.G. London, Dublin, and Derby; Richardson and Son.

We know not from whence this record has been taken, nor how authenticated; but it has preserved the memory of a precious gem, in the vast treasury of the Catholic church. A soldier who continued a soldier till his death, and died upon the field of battle amongst the bravest of the brave; and who, nevertheless, died in the odour of sanctity, venerated by men, and faithful before God! A man becoming a saint, and living as such in his own station of life, and that station one so perilous, is not this an instance worth preserving? The authoress (for we believe it was written by a lady) has judged wisely in making this account of the saint's life a very popular work. It is nicely got up, and costs only two-pence. This is so far well; the style is simple, elegant, and impressive; and the story of La Feuillade's conversion, and singular subsequent holiness, is told in a most interesting manner.

XXVI.—*The acknowledged Doctrines of the Church of Rome*, being an exposition of Roman Catholic Doctrines as set forth by esteemed Doctors of the said Church, &c. By SAMUEL COPPER. London: Gilpin, 1849.

This is a laborious collection of the notes of that edition of the Douay Bible, published in 1609. They have been drawn up under various heads, and the author informs us—and we see no reason to doubt the fact—that they have been carefully collated with the edition of 1816, and that every variation between the two editions has been pointed out. The object of all this pains has been to prove to the world that the Catholic Church not only claims, but uses, the right to put an interpretation upon scripture;—and he goes on to draw the inference, that as in unworthy hands such power might be badly used—ergo it is a power which should not exist; we think his object might have been attained at less expense of trouble; meanwhile here is a collection of Catholic doctrine, which, though we have not examined into its correctness, (to do so it would have been necessary to verify each separate note,) has every appearance of being drawn up in good faith; by Catholics it will not be wanted, but it may do much good among Protestants. One thing we can say sincerely—we wish every one who carried on the controversy on this worthy man's side, would adopt means as guileless and as blameless as the one that he has chosen.

XXVII.—*Life and Death in Ireland, as witnessed in 1849*, by SPENCER T. HALL. London: Simpkin Marshall, & Co., 1850.

Few things written upon the subject of Ireland have struck us with so great an air of truthfulness as this short account of a ramble in Ireland. The author has redeemed his pledge, “to let every object or occurrence make its legitimate impress upon him, and no more, whether in favour of old predilections or not; and, to avoid all approbation or blame of natural or national peculiarities, except as they might affect the manifest interests of humanity.” Accordingly, there is no bitterness or exaggeration in the narrative. Mr. Hall relates what he saw in a simple and feeling style, and with impartial sagacity. A sad picture it is; the same sad scene we are too well used to; but a small portion has been taken and lighted up with a bright ray, which has

brought out all its features with the distinct fidelity of a miniature,—of a daguerrotype.

Such are the results of a corrupt and complicated social system,—none worse could be produced by the combination of despotism and lawlessness. But thus fully unveiled on every hand, let us hope these evils are not to continue; but that, with the blessing of God upon the good intentions of men, a remedy may be found for them.

XXVIII.—*The Child's Guide to Devotion, compiled from approved sources, with numerous Engravings.* London: Burns and Lambert.

We think this the prettiest, and best imagined child's prayer-book we have seen. It contains morning and evening prayers,—prayers for occasional objects, devotions, for mass, and instructions for confession; all excellent of their kind, and not too long. The remainder of the book is made up of exactly the devotions which a child would delight in, and by which the feelings of the young mind might be excited to fervour;—litanies, beautiful hymns from the *Lyra Catholica*, and from other sources;—translations and paraphrases of the church hymns, and passages from the gospels;—all these are illustrated by pleasing engravings. Pains have been taken, by vignettes and other embellishments, to ornament the little book, to give it variety, and make it altogether what a child would treasure.

XXIX.—*The Children of Mary, or Lives of several Young Pupils of the Maison des Oiseaux, Paris.* Translated from the French, with some account of the institution and rules of the Congregation of our Lady. London: Burns and Lambert.

The introduction to this charming little work, is an account of the sodality or congregation of our Lady—known in Rome by the title of *Primo Primaria*, or first and principal Congregation of our Lady—of its origin and rules, and the illustrious names connected with it; information in itself most valuable. It is followed by the lives of twenty-two young girls, brought up in the Convent des Oiseaux, the principal establishment of this congregation; young innocent creatures, with hearts so overflowing with divine grace, that they seem rather to resemble angels than human beings. There cannot be more edifying and agreeable reading than this for children; and, to the heart

of all Catholics, how consoling to reflect upon the multitudes of the church's children, whose obscure position,—perhaps their early deaths—render them of as little account in the great fabric of society, as are the minute flowers on which the foot of the traveller presses, under the shade of some vast forest; yet which, like those flowers, exquisite in their kind, and filled with grace, as they with the dew of heaven, are ever offering up unknown, unnoticed by the world, a sweet incense of beauty and praise to their Creator.

XXX.—*The Holy Bible, and the Manner in which it is Used by Catholics.* By the Rev. RICHARD SMIDDY. London: Richardson and Son. 1850.

The information contained in this book will be useful to the Catholic laity, and may here and there convince a Protestant—such as can be convinced—of the care with which the Catholic Church has guarded the Bible and watched over its preservation. It is a short account of the history, the general division, and the different writers of the sacred volume; with a few clear instructions upon what we may call the *mode* of its inspiration. There follows a notice of the languages in which the different books were written, and of the time of their being collected and sanctioned by the Church. The author then gives a short account of the various editions and versions of the Bible, of the great watchfulness of the Church that the sacred book should not be corrupted, and especially in lavishing all that human learning and care could do upon the version which she has stamped with her authoritative sanction, the Latin Vulgate. A translation made in the fourth century from the original tongues, by the illustrious St. Jerome, at the request of the reigning Pontiff.

XXXI.—*Some account of the Apparition of the Blessed Virgin on the Mountains of the Alps.* Derived from the Pamphlet of Monseigneur CLEMENT VILLECOURT, Bishop of La Rochelle. London: James Burns. 1848.

It would be injuring the interest of this wonderful little history, if we were to make extracts from it. It will be enough to say that it has every evidence of truth and authenticity to entitle it to the devout attention of our Catholic readers.

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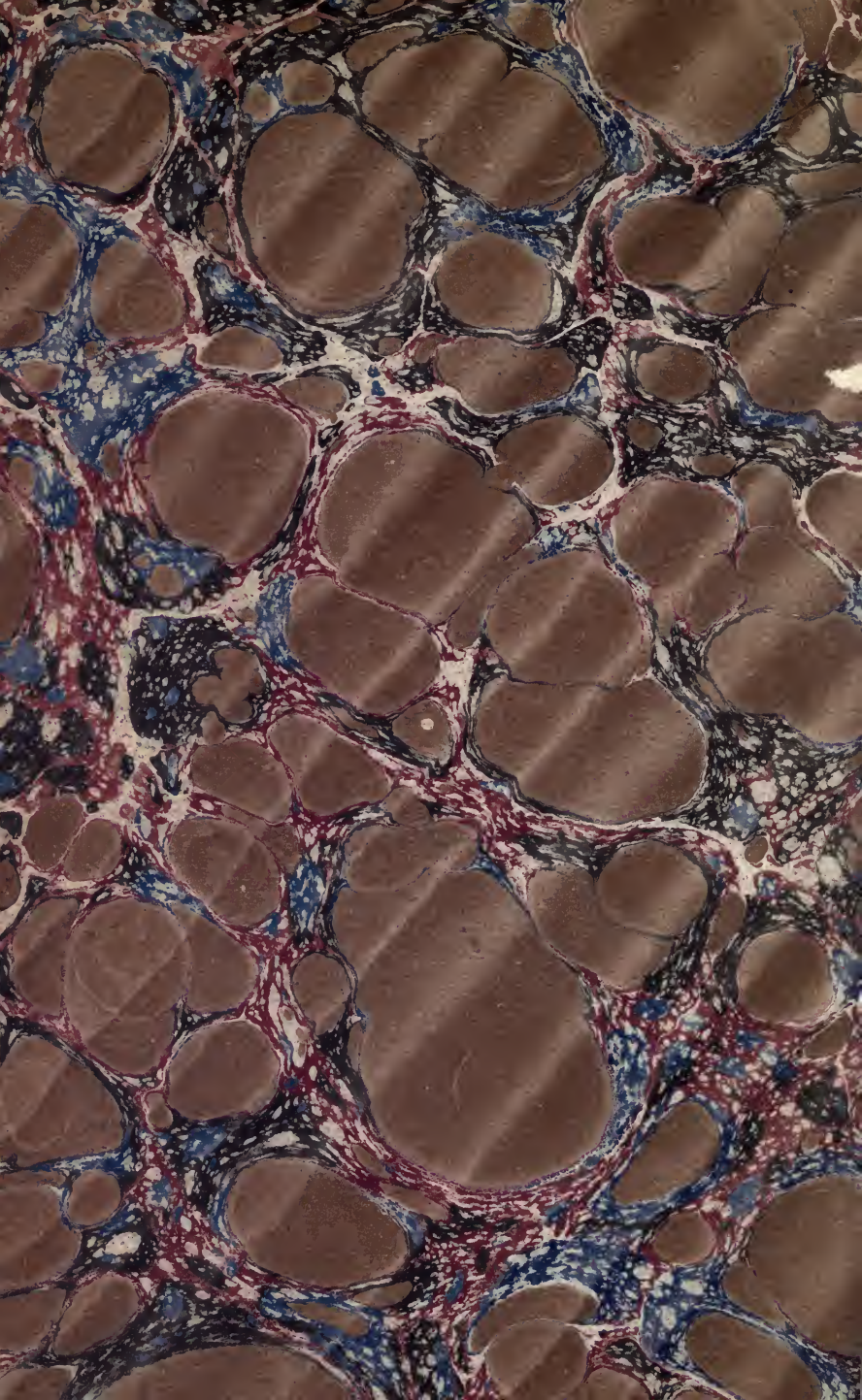
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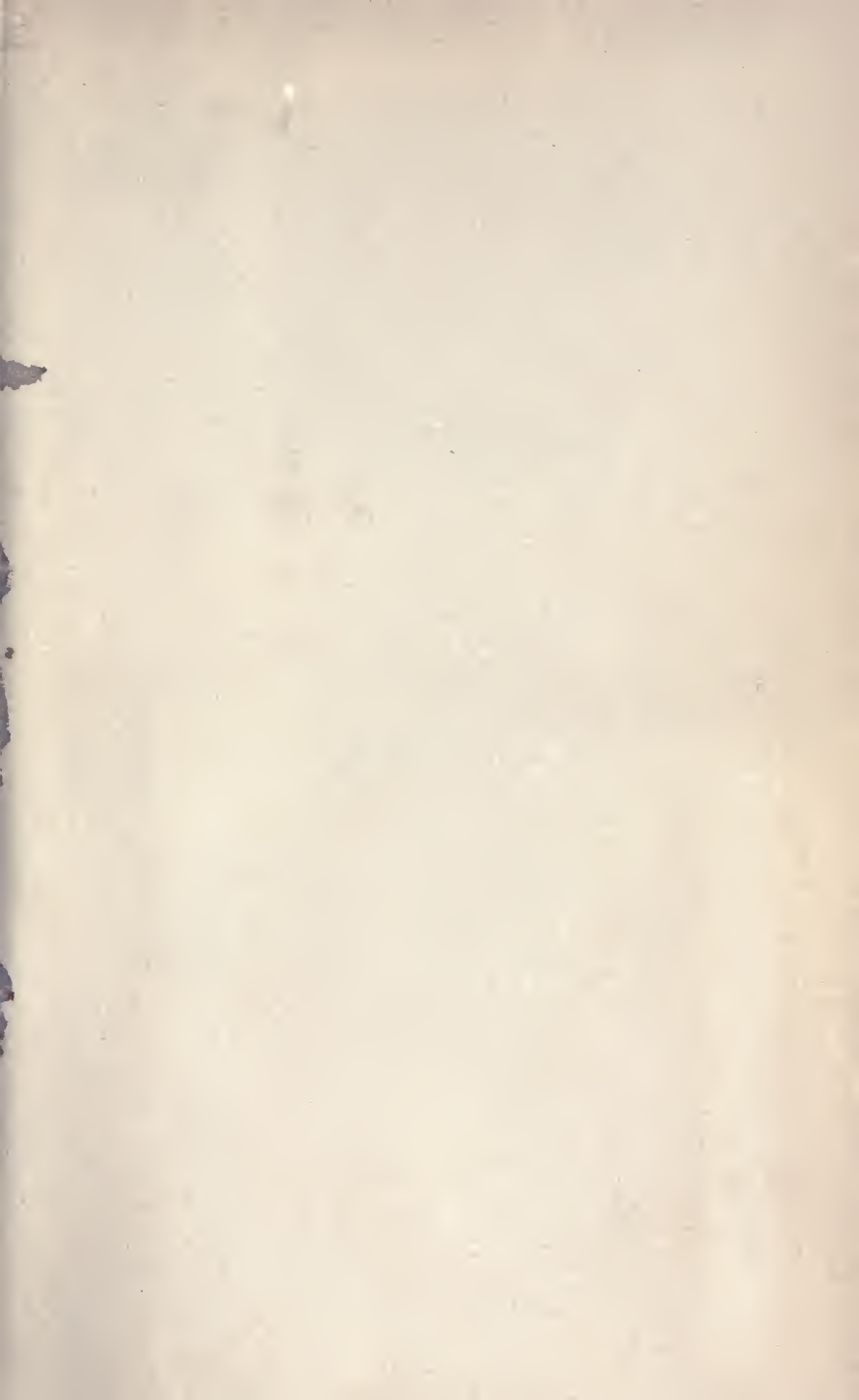
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