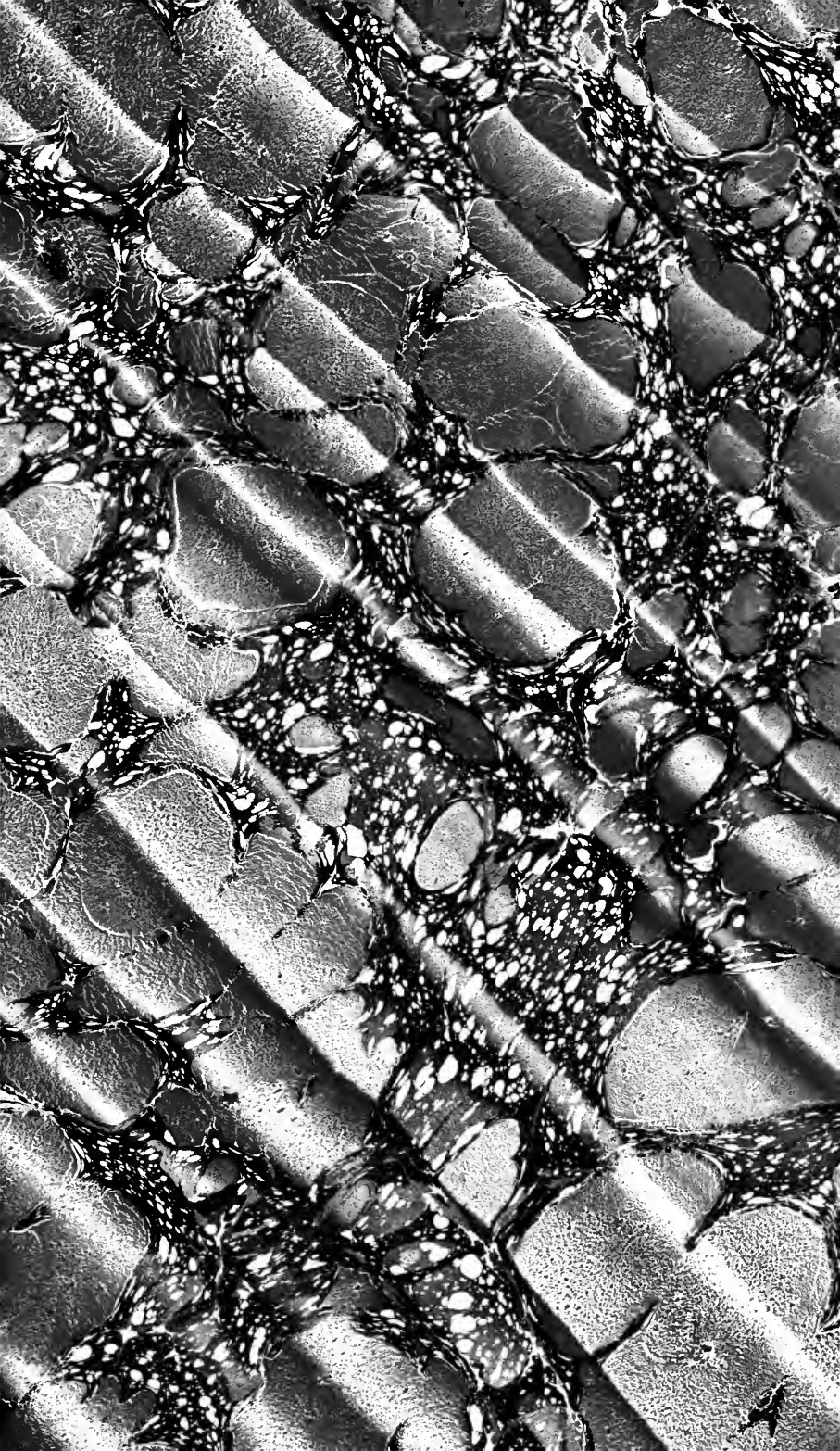


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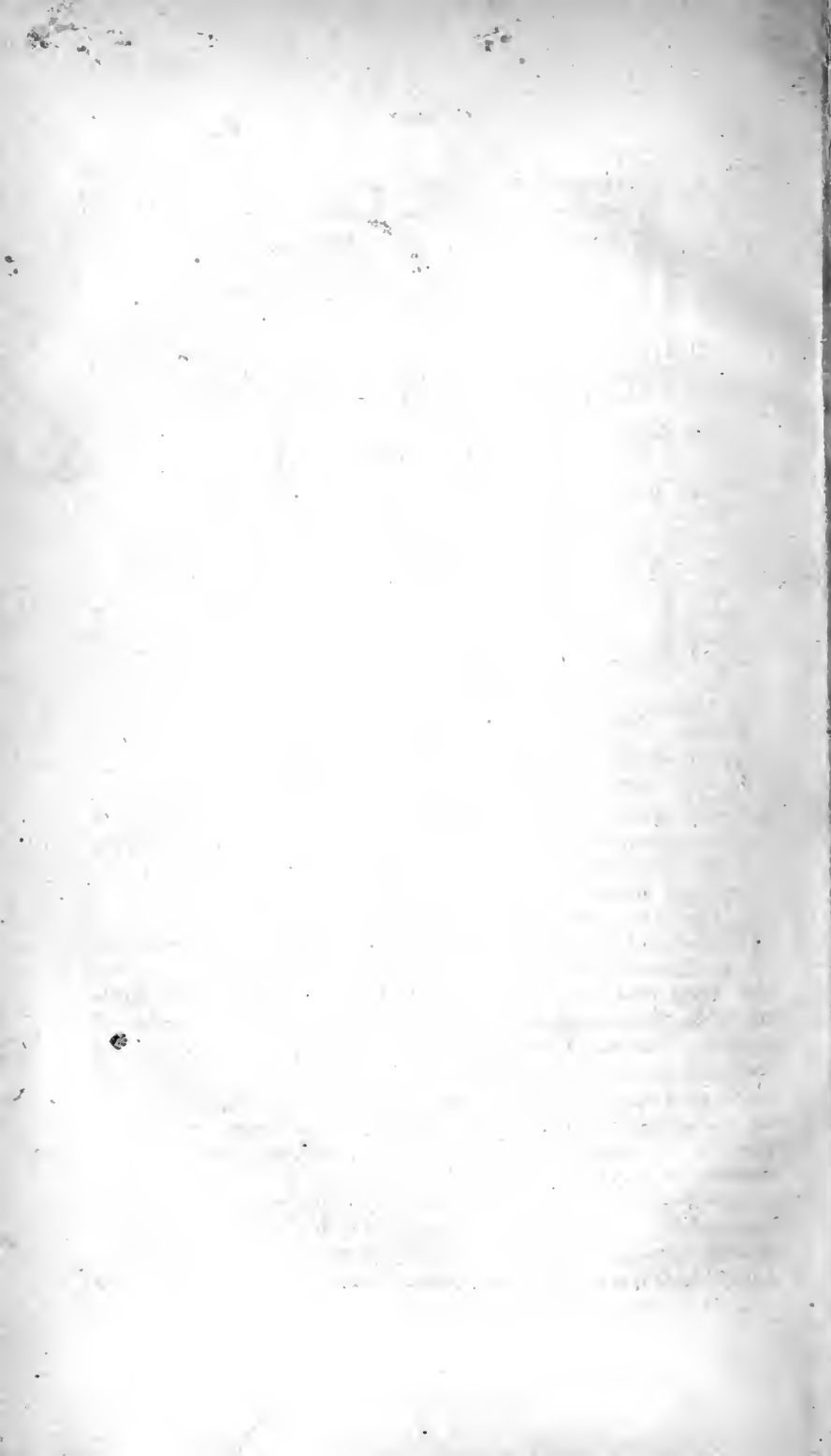
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MARCH, 1854.

ART. I.—*The Grounds of Faith. A Series of Four Lectures*, by the
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A STORY is told of one of the Esquire Bedels of Oxford, that, being on his death-bed, he sent for some one to administer spiritual consolation to him. The clergyman who came reminded him of the special privilege he had, by virtue of his office, enjoyed, of assisting at all the sermons preached by the greatest lights of the University. "Yes, Sir," the man replied, "for six-and-thirty years I have listened to the discourses delivered from the pulpit of the University, and, thank God, I die a Christian."

This is discouraging, and more especially in a religious communion, which enjoins on its members that, as the necessary part of a Christian education, "they shall chiefly be called upon to hear sermons." But we are not come to this. Amongst ourselves people sometimes complain of sermons being too long or too dull—that they take no pleasure in assisting at them, and feel them to be a bore, but that the result of a long course of sermons should be such as we have referred to, we must regard as a development belonging exclusively to a false communion.

But why is it that the faithful are oftentimes found to complain of preaching as if it were a thing rather to be endured than delighted in? Whence does the distaste

arise? In the present day especially, lectures on all subjects seem the rage. There are lectures on Music, on Chemistry, on Electricity, on the Polarization of Light, on Rotation of Crops, and the Elements of Guano. They are well attended, and the audience are interested, they are attentive at the lecture, and pleased afterwards. Why is it that sermons seem treated in a totally different way? Does this arise solely from the difference of the subject? And does it admit of a remedy? We intend to say a few words on these points, and, in short, to set for once a bad example by criticising and discussing Sermons and Preachers.

Why, then, we ask again, are people bored by a sermon, who are interested in a lecture on the rotation of crops? The primary reason is this, that in the one case the audience is composed of all sorts of people, those who are interested in the subject and those who are not; whereas in the other, it is composed mainly, if not entirely, of persons who have acquired a previous taste and knowledge on the subject. They have made it already a matter of study and reflection, and they bring with them minds prepared to enter into and sit in judgment on all that is said. We can always bear to hear men talk on a subject which is a fancy of our own. Whereas sermons are oftentimes addressed, if not to an unwilling audience, yet to persons who unfortunately feel but little interested in what they relate to. When, on the contrary, a discourse is addressed to a devout and religious congregation, there is but little difficulty in keeping up their attention. The subject is one in which they feel a very lively interest, and that is enough. Hence it has been said, and with truth, that a devotion to sermons is a mark of spirituality.

But though the main cause of this interest, felt in ordinary lectures, arises, as we have said, from the taste and character of the audience, yet it is not the only one. Sometimes a man will address an audience but little interested in his subject, and not only keep alive their attention, but fill them with astonishment and admiration. There are some men who can speak on anything, and make any subject interesting. They enliven it with anecdote and illustration. They have plenty of ideas and a fruitful imagination. They possess a fluency of language, which enables them to clothe any object with life and beauty. What is it which in this case rivets the attention of the audience?

Not the interest of the subject, but the genius and eloquence of the speaker.

Besides this, there is a third way in which the attention of an audience may be commanded when neither the interest felt in the subject is sufficient to ensure it, nor the talent of the speaker. Have we never been struck with the natural eloquence with which persons will speak on a subject in which they are deeply interested? There is a life and energy in their expressions which it is difficult not to be moved by. How painfully interesting are the few perhaps simple words which a criminal will use in pleading for mercy, or the poor child who follows us and entreats for some means of relief from hunger or from cold. Hear the tale of a man who has passed through strange perils and accidents, or met with hair-breadth escapes. Or, take again a person under the influence of excitement, an Irish woman in a passion, for instance, and observe how truly eloquent, as well as energetic, is the language in which they will declaim or deplore, inveigh or imprecate. The keenness of their feelings gives force to their words. And if those they address are ever so uninterested, yet the earnestness and energy of the speaker claims and obtains their attention.

It seems, then, that the pleasure and attention with which an audience will listen to a speaker or discourse depends on the interest they feel in the subject which is treated of. And that, if this interest does not already exist, there are two ways by which it may be created. One a spurious interest, excited by, or rather consisting in, the interest taken in the speaker, the liveliness of his ideas, and beauty of his language. The other a legitimate interest excited, not by the personal qualities of the speaker, but by his genuine earnestness and energy. Let us apply these principles to the subject of Sermons.

We have already pointed out as the first cause of the want of appreciation for Sermons, the character of the audience. Many do not care for sermons, or dislike them, because of their distaste in general for spiritual things. And this want of interest in the subject it is, which is the cause of their perverting the use of sermons, and looking upon them altogether from a wrong point of view. From their want of interest in the subject, their attention is rather turned to the manner than the matter of the discourse. They look upon the thing as if it were intended to be,

not speaking to the point on a practical subject, but a display of eloquence and artistic skill. If the style of the preacher, his language, or action dissatisfies them, they are dissatisfied with the sermon, for this is their idea of a sermon. They come away, and the reflections they make are not on the subject of the discourse—this escapes their notice—but simply and entirely on the skill or manner of the preacher. This is all that interested them.

Now it is not quite to the point, but we cannot resist the temptation, *en passant*, of observing that this perverted state of things amongst our congregations, so far as it exists, is sure to meet with an appropriate punishment. If they will look for what they have no right to expect, they will certainly be disappointed. And we rejoice thereat. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not wish, for a moment, to abolish good Preachers, or to suppress first-rate discourses, but such great qualifications, and so many of them, are required to make what people ordinarily mean by a good preacher, that it can in the nature of things be but seldom that they can be indulged. And as it is only a perverted taste and distorted view of the subject that makes them look for this sort of gratification from sermons instead of the much higher end for which they were intended, we cannot but look upon it as a happy thing that such a perversion should be thwarted and discouraged. "You come," we should say to them, "to the house of God not to be instructed but to be pleased, not to be stirred up to greater earnestness in saving your soul, but to be entertained by the eloquence and skill of the Preacher. You go away not making reflections on yourself but criticisms on him. You quite mistake the object of preaching, which was not meant to be an exhibition of skill, but for instruction and edification. If, therefore, you do not find what was never intended to be given you, you should not complain: the fault lies with yourself in expecting it."

And, indeed, we are persuaded that this vicious taste for eloquence in Sermons can only be cured by disappointment. So far from gratifying it the Preacher must not even pretend to do so. His attitude must be that of directing their attention to the same object that he himself is contemplating. Like the Apostles, when the people were in admiration at the miracle they had worked, he must say, "Why look ye upon us?" No doubt he will never succeed in making all look on Sermons as practical discourses

which treat of their own affairs, and concern themselves. Some there certainly will be who will still be displeased and dissatisfied; but it is their taste, let it be remembered, and not his discourses, that needs to be corrected. And even if, notwithstanding his efforts, they remain unmoved and uninterested, yet, even this may be of some use in leading them to see the difference, in this respect, between themselves and more devout people; and that the fault is in themselves. They can, and no doubt will, be critical, but they will be equally so, and with far more justice, if Sermons are preached which seem to recognize their perverted view of them. It would be well that people should be reminded, from time to time, what they have a right to look for in Sermons. They have no business to expect every preacher to be a man of first-rate talent, and to grumble if they do not find him so. What a congregation have a right to expect is, that a Sermon should be a discourse on some definite subject, with an intelligible aim and argument, and tending to some definite result or conclusion. But to confound sermons with orations, and to turn Preachers into public orators, is not only a great mistake, but a mischievous one.

It has already been noticed that there are two ways in which this primary difficulty of want of interest in the subject may be overcome. The first, when the speaker is a man of rare eloquence and genius, who can fix the attention of his hearers, if not to the subject, yet to himself. Shall we recommend this with Sermons? Far from it. It is in great measure the cause of the mischief: for as the chief fault or defect of people which leads them to complain of sermons is, that they forget the end and aim of preaching, and look for something in which they were never intended to be gratified, so the parallel fault or defect in sermons is when the Preacher loses sight of the end, and leads his audience to the contemplation of himself, instead of his subject. And it must be confessed that the perverted view in the congregation is very apt to arise from that of the Preacher.

If people hear, week after week, sermons that have no point or aim in them,—that are full of turgid language, of flowery metaphors, and well-got-up periods,—sermons in which the tone of voice and the action is everything, and in which the whole thing leads them not to contemplate the subject, but to take the measure of the preacher;—what

wonder if the audience comes at length to look upon them in the light in which they seem purposely to be put? If preachers should choose for their aim the pleasing, entertaining, and showing off, what more just judgment could befall them than to be taken by their own rule? They aim at entertaining their hearers, and they succeed, though not exactly after their own meaning. They endeavour to show off themselves, their talents, and powers, and they do show them off most accurately. The discriminating part of their audience go away with a most just idea of their qualities, both moral and intellectual.

A story is told of an Anglican clergyman who was called up to Oxford from the country to preach before the judges at the assizes. The service being concluded, the preacher strolled about, still full of his performance, and encountered an old acquaintance. After greeting him, he spoke of the reason of his coming there. "You know," he said, "I came here to preach before the judges; did you hear my sermon? What did you think of it? You know I had £10 for that sermon."—"My dear friend," replied the other, "I consider you a very ill-paid man. I would not have preached your sermon for fifty!"

It will, we fear, be thought that we are too hard on preachers, and require from them more than can be reasonably expected. Quite the contrary. For our own part, we should like the great bulk of preachers to be thoroughly convinced that they are not orators, and never will be. Not that we mean anything in the least disparaging or disrespectful to them. Do we, then, take a low view of their office? On the contrary, we do not wish preachers to degrade their high office by aiming at being orators. The office of a preacher is not less than that of an orator, but greater. What we mean is simply this, to make a great preacher, as people use the word, i. e., an orator, a great many high and difficult qualifications are necessary, such as will be found in very few men. Hence good preachers in this sense, they never can be. It is unreal to attempt it.

For just consider what is required to make a great preacher. An orator, like a poet, "*nascitur non fit.*" The qualities required are rare in themselves separately, and in their union still more so. In the first place, he must be a man of ability to be able to see so far, not to say farther, than most men; for otherwise, he will never be able to

grasp his subject in that masterly way, which is essential for a deeper, and, above all, a clearer view than other men take. His knowledge must not be confined, but must extend over a wide range of subjects, otherwise, how can he elucidate his subject by illustrations, by analogies, by historic examples? Hence he must be a learned man.

And even these qualities will be obscured or lost without the assistance of a powerful imagination, in order that the representation may have life and colour given to it. Imagination is of the greatest assistance to an orator, to enable him to interest his hearers, and to set things before their minds in the animated beauty of real existence. Yet, once more, all these great qualifications will be next to useless unless the owner combines what is quite a distinct and independent one,—a power of language. To what purpose is a man possessed of the most striking ideas, or the most commanding views—supported, it may be, by every argument from nature and history, illustrated by analogy, and enlivened by colouring and imagery, if all is locked up within himself, and he has not the power of giving utterance to a hundredth part of what he sees so clearly, and feels so warmly? He longs to move his audience; he knows he possesses what would enlighten and interest them, but he cannot get at them.

Shall we say, now, that our orator is thoroughly armed? Scarcely yet. These are his weapons, but he must put them on. Oftentimes those who are possessed of these qualifications will fail to persuade, and this for want of care and pains. They will not take any pains to study and arrange their subject; they have confidence in themselves, and know they can please and attract: but because they will not go to the trouble of preparing themselves, they fail to make an impression on others.

Seeing, then, how much is required to make “a great preacher,” many are tempted to despair. For our own part we wish that all were. And further, that they yielded to the temptation. It is much the best to look the matter in the face, and not to aim at what, from the rare qualities required, they cannot succeed in. What more ruinous mistake can be made than for men to leave their own talents to lie hid in a napkin, and to aim at something which is plainly not their vocation?

Terribly discouraging, this, we fear, to our youthful “rhetoricians,” who, with Cicero or Demosthenes as their

text book, have studied all the arts of an accomplished orator, who have warmed up, as they practised themselves, in the most graceful attitudes, in the most melodious inflexions of voice, in energy of style, beauty of expression, and high-flown poeticisms, with the fond hope that they should one day come out, and electrify people with their "thrilling eloquence." Terribly discouraging to tell them that, after all this pains and trouble, to become "great preachers" is a thing completely out of their reach. Still we hold it is better to look the thing in the face, and make the best of it.

However, we have a word of consolation, of malicious consolation, to "bad preachers." The sermons of "great preachers" are very inefficacious. We remember some pious persons going some little way to hear a great preacher. They came back in raptures; they had been up, not merely to the third heaven, but to the sixth or seventh, we forget which. It was celestial! it was divine! And "What was it about?" we asked, expecting that some very deep impression had been made. The question startled them. They had never thought of that, or had, at least, entirely forgotten it, though only a few hours before, and the explanation volunteered by themselves was that they had been so much enchanted with the preacher, his graceful action, his musical voice, his flowing language, his beautiful ideas, that the *subject* had not struck them.

Perhaps it may be a rather extreme case for a person not to be able to tell even the subject of a discourse with which he was in raptures, but of one thing we are sure, that fine sermons and eloquent discourses are not those which produce the greatest effects. The end of preaching is to persuade. And, therefore, the best sermons are those by which men are most persuaded. Just as the greatest sign of health is not having a sensible digestion, but being quite unconscious of all that nature is doing for us, and as the most successful painting is not that which makes us think of the artist, but which impresses the subject most vividly before our minds, so the perfection of preaching is when the preacher and his style are forgotten, absolutely forgotten, and the audience go away engrossed with the thought of what they have heard, striking their breasts, and renewing their resolutions.

We have been much edified at seeing, on different occasions, how much this is felt by really great preachers. For

the most part they are completely above any petty vanity and self-conceit at their own powers, and know as well as any that the compliments they receive, or the crowds that flock to listen to them, are not proofs of their success, but only a means put within their reach of attaining it. "The sort of preaching that I like," said one, "is that which ends in the confessional." And another celebrated man, when sent for to preach a course of sermons to a people who already knew and admired him, wrote to his superior: "How much will all those congratulations and vivas which I received heretofore cost me in purgatory! If I come now it will be to put aside all that sort of thing, and to speak plainly to people on the salvation of their souls."

We said that the main cause of the want of interest in Sermons was the want of interest in the subject; but this is not to be complained of too much, since one of the chief ends of preaching is to create an interest, and excite a taste not yet existing, for spiritual things. And it seems plain that it is not legitimate, as in mere matters of taste or amusement, to overcome this by a fictitious interest, excited by the personal qualities of the speaker. For this perverted view of preaching in the audience is the first great obstacle that stands in the way of its efficiency, just as the second great obstacle is a perverted view of preaching in the preacher. And, as it is essential to its efficiency that both these should be removed, so it appears that the former arises in some measure from the latter, and that the best way for the preacher to call the attention of his audience to the right point, is, himself to keep the end of preaching carefully in view. Moreover, we have already pointed out that even if preachers should aim at honour or applause, in most cases they could not obtain it: because the qualifications requisite for a man to be listened to for his own sake, are too great and rare to be within the reach of any but a few. The question then comes, what can they do? what *is* within the reach of most men? The Church is very practical in all that she undertakes; and when she made the arrangement that sermons should be continually preached, she neither intended, we take it, that the faithful should be periodically bored with flat and fruitless discourses; nor, on the other hand, did she expect that all preachers should be men of gigantic qualifications. She was not so unreasonable. But her intention was doubtless to establish an order of things, which, while it was beneficial

to the former, was not beyond the ordinary capacity of the latter. What, then, did the Church intend?

It has been shown that there is yet another means by which the attention and interest of an audience may be aroused and kept alive, namely, by the earnestness of the speaker. If a man makes any particular taste or science his study, if it continues to occupy his thoughts, and to engage his chief attention, he will always be able, under ordinary circumstances, to enlarge on it to others. Who does not know how fluently people talk on the particular subject which they make their hobby? And if it is a subject of practical importance, so as to awaken the feelings, as well as the taste or fancy of the speaker, who does not know that it enables him to speak on the subject to others with warmth and earnestness? Now, what does the Church expect of her preachers? Not anything too high or great, but simply this, that the care and edification of souls should be the chief study or pursuit of preachers; that it should be, in short, their hobby; that just as men of the world, engaged in schemes of speculation or benevolence, take up their subject, and study it till it engages their thoughts and their whole soul, and are able, in consequence, to write or speak on it with energy and vigour, and to command attention to what they say from their very earnestness,—so that those engaged in the sacred ministry should have their whole heart and soul engaged in their work; that it should be their taste, as well as their study; and when she calls on them to speak to others, she requires of them nothing more than what she supposes them able to do, from the strength with which they feel on the subject. She expects, in short, that we should be in earnest.

This, then, is the real essence of effective preaching. The preacher must keep the end in view, the edification of souls; and he must be in earnest. Earnestness will always make a successful preacher, and almost always a pleasing one. And why should not Christians be as fully engrossed with spiritual and eternal things as the men of the world are with their schemes, their enterprises, their pursuits? Or rather, how often have we seen religious and other men of ascetic life preaching with an ease as well as an earnestness, which arose from their being on fire with the subject. There can be no doubt that, being able to speak clearly and forcibly on a subject, is most intimately

connected with our feeling very strongly about it ourselves. And so it is that the sermons of monks and religious generally effect so much. It is not that they are, for the most part, more gifted even than others, but, by continual meditation and attention to spiritual things, they see them with a clearness and feel them with an intensity which others have not. Hence their earnestness is natural; and the true eloquence, which is an attendant on it, comes without an effort. St. Thomas of Villanova says that the words of a sermon should inflame the hearer. "But how," he adds, "can the heart be set on fire by those sermons which, though long and elaborate, issue, notwithstanding, from a frozen heart?" And, indeed, can we doubt that if a man were to make a meditation on the subject of his discourse, and were to speak with the impression thus made on his mind, he would preach far more effectively and pleasingly than if he had spent double the amount of time and attention on the brilliant metaphors, and flowery language, and rounded periods he was to use in it? If a man is not impressed with an idea or feeling, he will scarcely convey to others what he is not possessed of himself. The studied language with which he clothes his subject will neither adorn nor beautify it; it will but serve at best to cover its nakedness.

And this leads us to another argument, showing how much more effective earnestness is than talent in the work of persuading. For what is it that half the art of rhetoric consists in but in simulating earnestness? What an orator aims at above all things, is seeming to be in earnest, thus paying an involuntary homage to the true essence of effective speaking. How absurd does it seem that, while men of talent are endeavouring in this way to make the faculties of the mind supply for the deficiencies of the heart, those whose only strength lies in earnestness, should leave this to imitate the tricks and arts of those who are obliged to

* A preacher fell one day into conversation with an actor. "Why is it," he said, "that you, when addressing your audience on what they know to be fiction, can yet succeed in exciting their sympathies, and moving them even to tears; while I, though speaking to mine on the most important realities of their existence, often fail in gaining their attention?" "The reason," said the actor, "is this: I act as if I were in earnest; you speak as if you were acting."

use them for lack of earnestness. But it will not succeed. *Ex abundantia cordis os loquitur.* We think far too little of this. Men's thoughts and feelings make themselves known, not only by their language, but despite of it. It has, indeed, been wittily said that language was meant to conceal our thoughts. But the very point of the saying is the sarcasm it contains. For as it requires some skill to dress up an object so as to conceal its shape, so it is only those who have some skill in language that can make it convey feelings they have not themselves. And it is an interesting study to observe how much this is the case in all symbolic or imitative arts, in music, painting, architecture, dress, and language, in short, in all those arts which clothe and develope ideas. With how much accuracy they are frequently found to express the thoughts and feelings of their authors, despite their utmost efforts to the contrary.

Let it not be thought that we propose to discard the use of art in preaching; certainly not. The great S. Liguori, who took particular pains to instruct his clergy how to preach effectively, and who wrote instructions for this purpose, does not in the least disdain the use of art. He even descends into the minutest details. He gives advice respecting the position of the body, of the eyes, of the hands. He says the preacher should seldom strike the pulpit, and never stamp. He should not run about in the pulpit, and seldom sit down. The tone of the voice is regulated, and the kind of gesticulation. But are these the main things to be attended to? No; the arts of preaching are to be subsidiary. Or, if you like, the first point in the art of preaching is earnestness. "In the first place," he says, "the preacher, if he wishes that his preaching should produce abundant fruit, should propose to himself the *proper end*, that is, to preach not with a view to obtain honour or applause, or any temporal advantage, but solely to gain souls to God."

Indeed, so far are we from thinking that art is to be discarded in preaching, that it is the very contrary conviction forced upon our observation, which was the first occasion of these reflections. We have met with some most zealous priests, whose great difficulty is preaching, that is to say, making their preaching effective. Though not deficient in ability, they feel themselves to lack many of the qualifications necessary to make a good preacher. Perhaps

they feel the difficulty of keeping alive the interest and attention of their audience, week after week. They are so discouraged by these difficulties as to think that preaching is not their vocation; and are restless under a duty which they cannot perform satisfactorily, at least, not to themselves. Now we have been surprised to see how much really may be done by such persons towards preaching effectively by study and pains. So that, from thinking as we were once inclined to do, that unless a person possessed great natural endowments, he could not become a preacher, we now think that preaching is so far an art as to be attainable by almost all.

The distinguished man whose interesting volume we have prefixed to this article, has been heard to define preaching as "*speaking for God!*" And we can scarcely regard the intensely serious tone of his countenance and his voice, or the deep earnestness of his manner, or the thorough practical character of his reflections, without seeing how much impressed he is with the importance of the duty he is performing. The one idea that strikes us is that he is, according to his own definition "*speaking for God.*" Now this, once more, must be the aim of those who would learn the art of preaching. They must set the end of preaching steadily before them,—the edification of souls.

What we have hitherto said applies to all descriptions of sermons, but now we shall do better to distinguish between the different kinds. As there are two parts of a Christian's life, faith and practice, so there are two sorts of sermons concerned severally with these parts. A discourse, the end of which is to enlighten or impart knowledge, is called an instruction, whereas, a sermon, as distinguished from this, is meant to lead to exertion or practice. The instruction is of three kinds, according to the subject. For it may be on some point of dogmatic, or moral, or ascetic theology. For on each of these it is useful, and indeed necessary to give "*instructions.*"

Now, to refer to our old illustration, we every day meet with people, who, having made some particular pursuit or taste their study, are ever able, and generally willing, to enlarge on it to others; and for what reason is it not possible to do this with spiritual subjects alone? The truth is, that where it is difficult to give a useful and interesting instruction, it is almost always because a man has not

thought or read on the subject. Let a man only study his subject well, and unless he is lamentably behind the rest of his fellow-creatures in capacity, he is sure to have some results which will form matter for a very good instruction. All that is required is, that he should have a clear view of his subject beforehand, and his study and reflections will supply abundance of appropriate matter. There are in every congregation many ill-instructed, but well-disposed persons, to whom a clear and pointed "instruction" is of the greatest service and most interesting, and oftentimes it is the most efficacious means of bringing home to the careless and sensual, the reality and importance of spiritual truth. While it has the additional advantage of being within the reach of persons of very ordinary abilities. If only they take the proper means, they may not only do it, but do it well.

All very nice, we suppose some will say, but we cannot find time for study and reflection, it is just the very thing we cannot have. With all we have to do, that *must* be attended to, it is idle to talk of our studying. Very well, we should answer them, if you cannot find time to study your sermons, we should advise your not preaching so often. If this is not possible, and still you cannot find time to study your sermons, there is still one other course open to you,—to preach bosh. Only in this case do not look for any great success from your discourses, for it will not be. It is not, of course, that these persons are ignorant of the matter on which they speak, but it is a matter of well-known experience that, however familiar a person may be with a subject, he cannot continue to speak on it with vigour, except by continued study and reflection. The mind loses its freshness, and the very familiarity itself which he has with it, makes him dull and commonplace. Those who are most successful in teaching in any branch of learning, find it necessary to refresh their own ideas by reading and thought.

The second sort of discourses are what are most properly called sermons, and have for their end, not to enlighten the intellect, but to rouse the will. And these are certainly much more difficult. For instructions the chief thing required is to be well up in the subject. It is an intellectual process; but the success of sermons depends, as we have said, on earnestness, that is to say, on the preacher's having a lively conviction of the truth and im-

portance of what he is saying. And just as the analysis of politeness shows it to consist in an imitation of real Christian unselfishness in all its bearings and relations, so all successful preaching is only so from its being a more or less correct expression of real genuine earnestness. Of course there will be times when preachers, as being but men, suffer from weakness or nervousness; of course they will have their temptations to a little vanity, or display of learning or eloquence, and times when from fatigue, or overwork, they may well be glad to get through their duties as best they may. Not for a moment would we upbraid men for deficiencies they themselves will be the first to deplore. When the candidate for holy orders is presented to the bishop, and he asks, "Scis eum dignum esse?" The archdeacon answers, "Quantum humana fragilitas, &c." We must not expect too much. The quantum humana fragilitas must never be forgotten. But still earnestness, a vivid interest in spiritual things is the very substance of good preaching. And it is only as sermons proceed from, or approximate to this, that they will be successful.

Next as to practical rules, for as we have before said, a great deal may be done by studying the art of preaching, so long as this is kept in subservience to that which is its essence.

One most useful means is, to contemplate the character of the audience, and to consider what they most need to have urged upon them. One half the difficulty is surmounted when a man feels that he has something he wishes to set before them. We have heard of a preacher who in describing his performances, said that he did not know what he was going to say before he got into the pulpit; he did not know what he was saying while he was there, and when he came down he did not know what he had been saying. The result on the congregation we did not hear. But while this happened from extreme nervousness, we may assert in general that when a man goes into the pulpit without a definite notion of what he is going to say, his audience depart in a state of mind, the correlative of this, without a definite notion of what he has said. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* He had nothing to say and he said it. Whereas if on the contrary, a man makes up his mind beforehand, that the people he is to address are deficient in some particular point, or cold in some particular devotion, and

he wants to set them right, it becomes a much more easy thing, without any extraordinary qualifications, to speak to them earnestly, and to the point. For a preacher to ask himself, What am I going to talk about to-day? does not promise well for a useful sermon. For him to prepare his sermon by asking himself, About what do my audience most need to be spoken to? is a very different thing.

Next to a clear definite aim, the most useful thing is to adapt the language and ideas used, to the character of the audience. "The people," says Muratori, as quoted by S. Alphonsus, "are composed for the most part of the ignorant; if you address to them the most abstruse doctrines and reflections, and use words and phrases that are not adapted to ordinary comprehensions, what fruit do you hope for from persons who cannot understand you? Wherefore, the practice of those preachers will never be conformable to the rules of the art, or the principles of genuine eloquence, who, instead of accommodating themselves to the united capacity of so many of their hearers, appear to study to make themselves intelligible to the learned only; as if they were ashamed to make themselves understood by the poor, who have as good a right to the word of God as the learned." S. Francis of Sales, too, in urging this point, says that, "select language and sounding periods are the bane of sacred eloquence." Indeed, it is plainly a blunder, if not something worse, to attend more to the language than to the sense. You want to move or persuade your audience to a certain point, to impress them with a certain idea. What can be more plain than that to convey that idea to them you must use that language which will be most forcible to *their* minds? Grandiloquent language and high sounding words will not impress the audience who do not understand them with any idea of the *subject*,—the most it can attain is to give a magnificent idea of the preacher. "Did you understand my sermon to-day?" said a clergyman of the Establishment to an Irish peasant. The man drew himself up and expostulated, "Would I be so bould, yer honour?"

Yet it must not be forgotten that it is not always the most simple language that will be most forcible to a particular audience. Sometimes strong language, and a good deal of action, and other little ways and means are necessary to get at them. To study people, their modes of thought and expression, their feelings, ideas, and sym-

pathies, is not at all to be neglected by any man who would persuade them. On the contrary, it is the only way in which he can succeed. He can only impress them with a new idea or feeling, by working on those they possess already. The great difficulty is, how to adapt the language and ideas of a discourse to a mixed audience. But it seems the most natural thing to speak to that class that forms the majority, especially if that majority consists of the illiterate. Because the more educated classes can generally profit by a style adapted to the lower classes, whereas, the latter find neither pleasure nor profit in what is adapted to the former. Sometimes people complain of the rough language, or uncultivated style, or homely expressions of a preacher, forgetting that they themselves are not the whole of the audience, and that what they complain of is not so much the style of the preacher as of his audience.

The third important thing, and that most frequently neglected, is having an under-current of argument. St. Liguori goes so far as to say that the argument of a sermon should be a perfect syllogism. Not of course that it will do to make a sermon a mere process of ratiocination. Successful eloquence does not drive, but leads. To most men it is simply vexatious to have a logical conclusion forced on them. Major and minor premises may be perfectly unassailable, and the conclusion inevitable, yet if it is one they do not like, they will, notwithstanding, simply go on as they did before. The object of sermons is to influence the will. Now the reason cannot, as a matter of course, rouse the will; excited feelings can, but they cannot ensure stability or permanence of action. Hence, in order to be successful, the feelings must be excited, but they must be backed by reason. There must be no room for a man to think that he has simply been under a delusion, or has acted from the excitement of the moment. He must be able to see that what he has been persuaded to is reasonable and logical; that there are really good grounds for his acting as he does. The skeleton of a sermon must be a syllogism. Not, however, that the bones are to be left bare, they must be covered with abundance of solid flesh, they must have the beauty of figure and adornment, but in the meantime they must not cease to be the support and strength of the structure. A discourse without an argument cannot but be flimsy and unsteady.

The fourth suggestion we should venture to make is as to the value of strong categorical assertions. It is astonishing what an impression these make. It is as if the repetition of a pointed assertion acted physically, and made a deeper indentation each time it was renewed. Dr. Newman, in his sixth lecture on Catholicism in England, points out the wonderful influence for evil which this species of argument has had in this country, but undoubtedly it may be used for a good end as well as for a bad one. St. Liguori inculcates on catechists the practice of repeating salutary truths; "*Pluries repetiri præstat,*" he says, "*ut animo insideant et altiores in nobis agant radices.*" And with the same object it is a common practice in spiritual retreats or missions, to give out each day some maxim or truth to be repeated by each person many times during the day. This is useful even when the truth is ever so well known or familiar, but where people are ignorant, or ill-instructed, it is peculiarly efficacious. To expect such persons to follow long arguments, to see nice distinctions, or to understand the refutation of error, is hopeless. What is required to produce an effect on them is to enunciate plain truths, to explain them, to enforce them, to illustrate them, and then to enunciate them again.

If we are not very much mistaken, this is the most efficacious way of attacking Protestantism. As for controversy, or controversial sermons, we have very little faith in them. If Protestants had any accurate notions, or rather any notions at all, on theology, it might be well, but those who call themselves by this name are densely ignorant on spiritual truths, or even ideas. Their religion is simply a matter of feeling. Argument will not touch it. If you defend Catholic doctrine, or attack theirs, you have achieved but little, for doctrine of any sort does not guide them. It is with them a speculative affair, not one that has practical consequences. "*I believe,*" said one, "*in the Catholic Church; oh, yes! we profess this in the creed, but we, you know, are Protestants.*" But, on the other hand, preach doctrine to them, teach them that there is such a thing as truth, and what it is, and you will have gained a point. They have, as immortal beings, a nature that is capable of receiving spiritual truth, and that craves for it. If once they taste the food they will find it suit their appetite, and will come for more; the void in

their nature will have been filled up, they will confess themselves enlightened, and feel that they possess something they did not possess before. If we can succeed in fixing one truth of religion well into a man's heart, it will strike there, and go on working its way and growing, until, through sheer importunity, it produces results. As a man who has a craving passion at work within him, or who is, as we say, "possessed with an idea," is restless and unsatisfied unless he is doing something to gratify it, so let a man be possessed with a religious truth, and this, too, will, by the grace of God, work out its way into practical results.

It has been our business to speak of preaching as an art, but we do not pretend for a moment that a man has only to attend to certain rules, and to follow a certain system, and he will be sure of success. No, turning men's hearts is a much deeper and more difficult matter than this. Who can say what subtle influences are at work, who can tell on what it depends to be able to achieve so delicate an operation as to touch the heart of a man? Paul may plant, and Apollo may water, but it is God alone on whom depends the increase. Does the preacher want to command success? He must be a man of prayer. Preaching is not the power which moves men's hearts, but the preacher is an instrument for so doing in the hands of God. And prayer alone can bring down the grace of God. Every one remembers having heard of a certain preacher who, by his earnestness and eloquence, was the means of numberless conversions. On a particular occasion, when the effect of his sermon was more than usually apparent and astonishing, the cause of his success was revealed to him. "You think," it was said to him, "that all these conversions come from your great power, your fervour, your eloquence, but look! there in an obscure corner of the church is a poor creature whom no one regards, she is saying her beads, and offering up her prayers for the success of your sermon, *and to this you owe it.*"

- ART. II.—1. *Some account of Domestic Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century.* By T. HUDSON TURNER. Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1851.
2. *Some account of Domestic Architecture in England, from Edward I. to Richard III.* By the Editor of the "Glossary of Architecture." Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1853.
3. *The National Miscellany, No. vi.* Oct., 1853. Oxford: J. H. Parker.

THE last fifteen years have witnessed a progress in the study of mediæval architecture which, as we look back upon it from the present day, is truly astonishing. The revival of the study has formed quite an era in the annals of England. But it is clear to the most casual observer that, for the most part, those individuals whose names are allied in our minds with this revival, have devoted themselves almost entirely to the strictly ecclesiastical portion of the subject, while the principles of domestic architecture, as they were recognized and applied during the middle ages, have been comparatively forgotten. There are few, perhaps, who will not at once acknowledge that the name of the late Mr. Pugin is an exception to our statement; but excepting Mr. Pugin himself, we believe that Mr. Hudson Turner was the first who pursued a systematic enquiry into the subject of English Domestic Architecture. The results of these inquiries he laid before the world in 1851 in the shape of a dissertation, which carried the subject down to the conclusion of the thirteenth century; and we had occasion at the time to speak* in terms of considerable praise as to the manner in which he had executed his task. But soon after the publication, the author was cut off by consumption in the very prime of life, leaving a sad gap to be supplied in the field of archæological literature. It was Mr. Turner's intention, had his life been spared, to have followed his subject down to a much later period; and much as we regret his loss, we are happy to say that, in "the Editor of the Glos-

* See Notice in Dublin Review, Sept., 1851, p. 288.

sary of Architecture," that is in Mr. J. H. Parker, of Oxford, has been found an individual in every way able and competent to carry on the work which was left unfinished by his friend. Accordingly, being fully acquainted with the intended plan which Mr. Turner had proposed to himself, from the fact that all along he had directed his labours, Mr. Parker has arranged and digested the few scattered materials relating to the fourteenth century, which were left by Mr. Turner in a very slight and imperfect state.

Prefixed to the former of these volumes, is a very valuable introduction by Mr. Turner, in which he gives us a brief but interesting account of the progress of Domestic Architecture in England from the earliest times: and though many of his inferences are conjectural, he has supplied us with a great amount of really valuable information.

Mr. Turner begins by ascribing to the ancient Roman occupants of our island, the first steps made by our countrymen in domestic architecture. The aboriginal Britons, it seems, though far more exposed to the inclemency of the skies than the inhabitants of the sunny plains of Italy, were wonderfully behind them in all the arts that appertain to refinement and civilization. Thus it was to the Roman Auxiliaries who once occupied our land that Britain owes the very first rudiments of house building. Nor were these Romans the flower of their country: far from it; "neither the wealth nor the climate of the country were such as to induce any extensive settlement of the more polished subjects of the Cæsars. A few merchants who had come from Belgium and Gaul, a few veterans who had become colonists, a few of the chief native inhabitants who had received the honour of citizenship and some tincture of southern civilization, together with the army itself, formed all that could strictly be termed the Roman, in contradistinction to the aboriginal population."

What, then, were the features of the domestic buildings raised by the Romans in England? The various parts of a Roman house are familiar to all readers of antiquities; we have all of us read books by scores on Pompeii and Herculaneum; and, accordingly, no very great detail is necessary here. We are not, however, disposed to think much of the comfort of an ordinary Roman house, especially when

we learn that the small bed-chambers were built around the hall, and derived what little light they could, internally, from apertures opening into it; or if they had windows in the external wall, at all events had no glazing, nor even wooden shutters to keep off the wind and rain; in this case we do not wonder at finding that the *atrium* or hall was the general sitting-room and kitchen too of the family. And to judge from the outline of a private Roman house in England, fifteen centuries ago, as described by Mr. Turner, they must have fallen considerably short of those comfortable edifices with which we are familiar in the pages of Cicero and Pliny.

For an account of Domestic Architecture in London under the Romans, at a time when London *was* to Rome what Sydney *is* to London, we must refer our readers to a very interesting article in the "National Miscellany" of October last, entitled "Roman London," containing a fund of information which will amply repay the reader for his pains. Considering that, at the present day, Roman London lies beneath the present surface of the city at a depth of from nine to thirty feet, and that in order to arrive at a view of it we have only to "scrape off the thick stratum of dirt which intervenes between us and it," we may well wonder that so little is known of the condition of its private edifices, in the old days when "early Roman colonists associated what now is May-Fair, and the West end, with horrid visions of painted savages, chariots armed with scythes, and thick woods fitted only for ambuscades and Druidical orgies." The substance of what Mr. Turner says upon the subject is summed up in the following lines:

"Of domestic habitations within towns during the Roman dominion in this country, we know very little.....Ground not being so valuable as in Rome and other cities of the continent, we may conclude that the houses were generally built without an upper story, a contrivance which appears to have been originally suggested by the difficulty of accommodating an increased population within a limited area. Of the meaner classes of houses, as shops, for instance, we are left to form an idea from an inspection of the remains of such buildings in Pompeii."—p. v.

But the Romans passed away, and the Saxons came. Still the early Saxon period was one of incessant warfare, and besides, it is buried in fable: the only certain fact:

relating to it is that it was an age unfavourable to the progress of the arts.

“If we turn,” says Mr. Turner, “to the Sagas and other early records of the history and manners of the northern races, we find that the dwellings of their kings and chiefs consisted of only two apartments, and that sovereigns and their counsellors are described as sleeping in the same room. The habitations of the mass of people were wood-n huts, rarely containing more than one room, in the centre of which the fire was kindled. Such was the style of domestic architecture which the Saxons would bring with them to this country; and in this fashion most of the houses were built down to the latest period of their dominion. To this method there was nothing repugnant in houses erected on the Roman plan, which they found on their arrival; and we may be pretty certain that wherever, in town or country, such houses existed in a habitable state, or capable of being made habitable, however rudely, they were occupied by the invaders. The Saxon chieftain would find better accommodation in a large Roman house, with its spacious atrium, than he had been wont to enjoy; and in its essential features the plan of the edifice did not vary from that of the rude habitation of his fatherland; but still there was the hall for feasting his numerous retainers, and more chambers for other domestic purposes.”—pp. vii. viii.

Owing to the badness of roads, and the loss of mechanical skill in the working of stone, it appears that such domestic buildings as were erected during the Saxon period were built of wood, which was very abundant in most parts of the island, and thatched with reeds or roofed with shingle. Still, as before—and as we shall see was the case to a much later period—the capacious hall was the sitting-room of the lord and his retainers, and served, as in the Roman times, for the purposes of the family kitchen, besides doing additional duty as the sleeping apartment, always of the “hearth-men,” and sometimes of the lord himself. That the roofs of the houses were of thatch is a point which Mr. Turner establishes from various manuscripts, detailing the legends of the Saints, such as that of St. Swithin, by Lantfred, (a record belonging to the latter period of the ninth century) in which the houses of the persons to whom that saint appears are styled *tuguria*, or huts, a word which in classical writers at all events is never applied to any building of a higher class.* Some

* Thus Virgil, Ecl. i. 69. “Pauperis et tuguri congestum cespite culmen.” It is thus that we can understand how Winchester, in

of the houses of the wealthier "thegnes" or "thanes" may possibly have been rudely decorated, as Mr. Turner remarks, with carvings like those which ornamented the beaks of their galleys; but whether this was the case or no, it is certain that the Anglo-Saxon house, constructed as it usually was on a small scale, and barely more than water-tight, was almost always "rude alike internally and externally, faintly lighted, badly ventilated, and wanting in every appliance for comfort and decency." The later centuries of Saxon dominion may and must indeed have contributed to improve the condition of architecture in England, by the increased intercourse then kept up between this island and the continent, when Englishmen, both clerics and merchants, were in the habit of visiting not only the cities of France and Italy, but also Constantinople and Syria, on their way to the great annual fair held at Jerusalem. But the influence of this intercourse, it would seem, was felt rather in the improved style of ecclesiastical architecture which now arose, than in the domestic edifices of the period, if we except the case of royal

the Saxon times, could have contained so numerous a population as it is reported to have done. Mr. Hallam, in his supplemental notes to his valuable *History of the Middle Ages*, estimates it at 10,000; and Mr. Turner acquiesces in his estimate (p. 117.) though he considers that the population of London at the same period was about the same in square numbers, and that Mr. Hallam is greatly mistaken when he estimates it at double that number. Apropos of the subject of London, we may here append some remarks of Mr. Turner's, which are not devoid of interest. "The houses of London in Saxon times could not have been superior to those of Winchester. A statement made by the chief inhabitants of that city in the 12th century, expressly declares that, down to the reign of Stephen, the houses were built of wood, and covered with thatch. At length the frequent recurrence of disastrous fires compelled the citizens to employ, when possible, more enduring materials; but London, nevertheless, continued to be a town mainly of wood and plaster, almost to the period of the great conflagration in the seventeenth century." It may here be observed that although the houses were mostly of wood and straw, stone was extensively used in the building of the churches in London during these mediæval times—a marked proof, by the way,—if proof be necessary,—of the superiority of those Catholic days to an age like the present, when private houses are built of stone, while cheap churches are executed in brick.

courts. In the latter, at this time, the *furcæ* or wooden posts which had hitherto supported the roof, gave place to "columns of stone connected by circular arches, and light was admitted by round or square headed windows;" the roof being covered with oval-shaped tiles or shingle, and the doors adorned with iron work of an intricate and luxuriant design. Chimneys, we may remark by the way, were at this time wholly unknown: the fire was lit in the centre of the hall under the dome of the roof, and the smoke escaped through an horizontal or perpendicular aperture above.

Such were our English homes less than a thousand years ago. What change was wrought in them by the Roman Conquest? Mr. Turner shall answer for himself. "It is not easy to perceive, that a substantially built Saxon hall could have differed materially from a Norman hall of the same period, any more than a Saxon house could have differed in its arrangement from a Norman house. The chief difference was, probably, that the latter had an upper story, a feature which seems to have been uncommon in England until late in the twelfth century. Both the Saxon and Norman had originally been built much in the same style; and both derived every modification and improvement of that style from the same source,—an imitation of the details of Roman architecture."—p. xvi.-xvii.

The Roman Conquest, then, which operated so powerfully in England as to cause a sudden and complete revolution on the face of the political world, by the immediate introduction of the feudal system with all its attendant train of social consequences, worked but little alteration in the general arrangement of English homes. The amount of accommodation in most cases was much the same as before, consisting of the large hall and the narrow bed-chamber. William had something else upon his hands besides the improvement of private residences; what little work he did in the way of architecture was only the erection of such fortresses as were necessary for the preservation of his conquests. Hence, though there are many Norman churches now standing which belong to the eleventh century, it is probable that we have very few private buildings of an earlier date than the twelfth. In towns the houses or huts were built of timber, mud, and clay, stone being, in most parts, as before, a rare and costly luxury. Bricks were at this time made like tiles in the Roman fashion,

and most probably passed under that name ; for although it is certain that bricks *were* used in building in different parts of the country where clay abounded, it is equally certain that the *word* does not occur in documents relating to architectural details of this and the two following centuries. Glass, too, though painted and adopted in churches as early as the twelfth century, does not seem to have been used in domestic buildings ; the windows were mostly closed with iron shutters, iron stanchions being also introduced for purposes of safety ; canvass, too, was sometimes used as a substitute for glazing.

So few domestic edifices of the twelfthth century are standing, that for anything like a detailed account of the architecture of this age we are obliged to have recourse to such unsatisfactory sources as ancient documents relating to the conveyance of property, the earlier accounts of the Exchequer, the notices of chroniclers, and the pictorial illustrations of contemporary manuscripts. By a patient comparison of these, however, Mr. Turner has contrived to place before us a tolerably clear and distinct picture of the interior of a Norman residence. The general features were of one uniform plan, namely, that of a large hall (called in Latin *aula*, and in Norman French *la sale*, or *salle*, and in Anglo-Saxon 'heall'), with chambers adjoining. The hall was generally on the ground floor, or else above another story, which was partially sunk below the level of the ground ; and, as in the old Saxon times, it served the purpose, not only of a sitting-room for the master and his retainers by day, but also of a dormitory by night. Even the king's houses were on the same plan, and surpassed those of the nobles and landowners in size only, and perhaps in having the appendage of a chapel. Some of the halls of this period were so large, that they were divided by one or even two rows of arches, resting upon pillars of wood or stone, which partitioned them into three parts, like the nave and side aisles of a church. "One hall of this description," says Mr. Turner, "remains at Oakham Castle, in Rutlandshire, being part of a structure erected by Walkelin de Ferrars, in 1180." Another hall of the same period now serves as the place for holding the County Court at Winchester. The upper part of the hall, where the master and his personal friends sat at their meals, was slightly raised, and called the '*dais* ;' behind this *dais* was generally a chamber called the '*cellar*,' and

used as such, communicating with the hall by a door, and above this cellar was the *solar*, or *sollero*,* the private chamber of the great man himself, and communicating with the hall by stairs of wood or stone. At the lower end of the hall was often a screen, such as are now to be seen in College halls, and at the Inns of Court, with two small doorways opening into the kitchen and buttery respectively. Some large houses were built with an upper story, access to which was gained by an exterior flight of steps: specimens of this construction still remain at Boothby-Pagnell, Canterbury, Lincoln, Southampton, and Bury St. Edmund's. The fire-place and chimney occur only in the solars of this date, the smoke of the fire, if one was lighted in the centre of the hall, escaping, as before, through an aperture in the roof. As to interior decorations, the apartments seem to have been confined to tapestry hangings and some rough daubings painted upon a kind of mortar, with which the walls were finished internally; the whole stock of a nobleman's domestic furniture consisted of the bed and chest in his sleeping apartment, and the rough tables and benches of the hall; the chest doubtless, as Mr. Turner says, "serving the place of a wardrobe, and holding the cumbrous apparel and valuables of the owner." It may seem strange that there was at this time but one private chamber in any of the houses of the period, but Mr. Turner makes no exception in favour even of royalty. "We find," he says, "that when our sovereigns did not attend to public business in the hall, or give audience in their chamber, they used the chapel for that purpose. In the chroniclers of the twelfth, and even of the thirteenth century, there are frequent notices of the transaction of secular business in the domestic chapel." (p. 17.) As to the good citizens of London, it is from an early document, well known as the 'Assise' of the first year of King Richard I., quoted at considerable length by Mr. Turner, that we learn what was the condition of their domestic buildings at this period. We can imagine how the wealthy merchants, bankers, and shopkeepers of Cheapside and Lombard Street would

* In later times this solar came to be used as a sort of parlour or withdrawing room for the master and his family; in this case it very often commanded a view of the hall by means of a window pierced in the wall above the dais.

stare if they could be transported back in mind some seven hundred and fifty years, and take a view of the mean hovels and reed-thatched huts* which then were standing on either side of old St. Paul's, and along the then outlying suburb of Fleet Street,—the neighbourhood which, as we learn from various documents, was the head quarters of the “ale-wives and felt hat makers,” just as Watling Street and Thames Street were occupied by cookshops, which in the process of time, as private hospitality grew more stinted and rare, became in their turn the progenitors of divers inns and hostelries.

We have not time to dwell here on the very interesting chapter which Mr. Turner devotes to a detailed examination of the “existing remains” belonging to this century; we will only mention, among other edifices as worthy of particular attention on the part of our antiquarian friends, the hall at Oakham,† the King's House at Southampton, a Norman house at Minster in the Isle of Thanet, the Jew's House at Lincoln, the Refectory at Dover Priory, the ancient manor house at Barnack, Northamptonshire, and the former hostelry in Southwark (now destroyed), which once belonged to the Priory of Lewes. The engravings with which these interesting remnants are respectively illustrated, are particularly well executed, and convey a very accurate impression of their former state.

The first half of the thirteenth century, as a whole, was not very favourable to the progress of the peaceful and

* Their stability may be readily inferred from the fact that by the assize it was provided that the aldermen of the city should each be provided with a proper hook and cord, to pull down about the ears of the unfortunate inmates any house, the owner of which refused to conform to the regulations laid down as to party walls and other points of details. It must be supposed that these hooks and cords were sufficient to pull down a tenement in case of fire or any other emergency. Indeed, it is difficult to see by what other method the course of a fire could have been arrested in those times, when Mr. Braidwood and his fire-brigade were unknown and unheard of. It may here be remarked that in the first year of Stephen's reign a conflagration spread from London Bridge to St. Clement's Danes, in the Strand, destroying the Cathedral of St. Paul; thus covering very much the same space as the great fire of 1666.

† Described at full length by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in the fifth vol. of the *Archæological Journal*.

useful arts. The wars between king John and his barons kept the kingdom in such a state of continual turmoil, that in the way of architecture nothing great would seem to have been executed, with the exception of the fortification of existing castles. A different era arose with the accession of Henry III., who was an eminent patron of architectural skill; and under the Edwards, as our readers are aware, Christian architecture reached, if not its full development, at least its highest perfection. The cessation of civil wars gave an impetus to the erection of domestic buildings; and as vast territories of land grew more generally divided, manor houses increased and multiplied. We find, however, in most of them, the same general plan and outline followed on which we have already dwelt, in treating of the previous century, with the addition of an oratory or chapel, otherwise called an oriel, (*oratoriolum*) adjoining the solar. An approximation, too, may be traced to the quadrangular ground-plan, which afterwards became so generally adopted throughout England. The finest examples of this period are Stokesay Castle, near Ludlow, and Aydon Castle, in Northumberland; each of them, however, partake, to a greater extent than perhaps was usual, of the military character, owing to their respective situations on the border lands of Wales and Scotland. Little Wenham Hall, in Suffolk, is another specimen, curious in its way, from being one of the earliest known instances of the use of bricks in the mediæval times. This century is to be remarked for the general introduction of glazed windows into domestic edifices,—though glass was mostly imported from abroad—and for the erection of separate (though, it would seem, frail and temporary) buildings for culinary purposes,—the advancement of civilization, perhaps, having gradually rendered the ‘cook’s room’ in the hall more acceptable than his ‘company.’ At this period, also, rooms began to be wainscotted, at least in the royal palaces and larger monasteries, and the wainscot itself was adorned with polychromatic devices, derived, probably, from the Greek school of art. It was the fashion also to adorn the stone or marble mantel-pieces with the same decorations. From this time also is to be dated the introduction of screens into the halls of the nobility, and of tiles, first plain, and then ornamental, for paving the floors. But this refinement very probably was confined to the dais; for we hear of the space below.

the dais being frequently called 'the marsh,' by way of distinction; and the name may possibly have been appropriate enough; for carts and horses were not uncommonly introduced into the hall, as we learn from an order in the reign of Henry III. to widen the doorway of the Great Hall at Winchester, so as to admit the entrance of carts. It may be interesting also at the present day to know that Henry III. was the first author of the sanitary movement, and the first who commenced the great work of drainage.*

We have said that throughout these ages the *hall* seems to have been, without exception, the most prominent feature in every manorial or military residence. Nor can we be at a loss for the reason of this fact. We do not think that the feudal system alone adequately accounts for it; and indeed, halls were in use before the Norman Conquest introduced the feudal system into England. We read in it a clear recognition of the great doctrine which teaches us that we all constitute but one family, as brethren in the Church of God. This was the solemn Christian truth which, though recognized in words by us, was realized in deed by our forefathers in the olden times, and to which the great halls still remaining in our ancient country houses still bear their testimony. And we cannot well fancy a more grateful spectacle than that which these halls must have afforded at Christmas tide, with the lord and his relatives seated at the dais, and the rest of his family (for then servants and dependants were held to come within the meaning of this term) at the tables down either side, partaking of the good old English fare of roast beef and plum pudding,—“high and low, rich and poor, one with another.” Mr. Turner's remarks do not, indeed, go to this extent, but he certainly would seem to imply some-

* It may here be remarked that the earliest conduit made in London was established by the monks of Westminster; and Mr. Turner informs us that to this day the precincts of the Abbey are supplied from the original source. Verily these “idle drones” were not, after all, so backward, even in matters relating to mere physical health and comfort!

“The refuse and dirty water from the royal kitchens had long been carried through the great hall at Westminster, until.....the foul odours arising therefrom, seriously affected the health of persons congregating at court; to remedy this evil, a subterranean conduit was devised, which conveyed this offensive matter into the Thames.”—p. 94.

thing approximating to it, when he speaks about the hall as applied to purposes of charity and hospitality.

“The general plan,” he writes, “of buildings of the thirteenth century strictly resembled the arrangements which were usual in the previous age. The new style of architecture, called Gothic, or Early English, gave, of course, an entirely novel and distinct appearance to the details of secular as well as ecclesiastical edifices; but it did not generate any change in the ordinary features of either; for the plain reason that those religious forms and social usages which had originated the structural peculiarities of sacred and civil architecture still continued in full force. Indeed, it is a fact that must not be lost sight of, that the feudal system itself executed a direct and readily perceptible influence in the character of domestic architecture. The ample jurisdiction, not unfrequently including royalties, granted by the crown to its great tenants, rendered every baronial seat, and, in its degree, every manorial house, a miniature regal establishment. As the sovereign entertained his court and the judges of the realm held pleas in the hall of Westminster, so the lords of honours and manors, aided by assessors, held their royalty courts and courts-baron at their chief seats, administered justice, and entertained suit and received service of their dependants. Then the large manorial hall was rendered necessary for other purposes than the exercise of hospitality; for in those times there was no village inn at which the lord’s agent could receive the suitors... Thus the hall was essentially feudal in its origin and purpose, and continued to be the chief feature of every mansion until the decay of that social system in which it had its origin.”—pp. 69, 70.

The following passage will be read with a sigh for the good old times which are gone by:—

“Capacious as these apartments generally were, the profuse charity and hospitality of the age often required further accommodation. At Westminster and at Windsor, respectively, there were, in this century, two halls, a greater and a lesser. It was the practice of John and of Henry III. to order both the halls of Westminster to be filled with poor people, who were feasted at the royal expense; and when a parliament was assembled, or when the king held a *cour plenière*, and wore his crown, as at Easter or Whitsuntide, extensive temporary accommodation was provided for the concourse of guests.”—p. 64.

We fear that we must omit to follow Mr. Turner through very many pleasant subjects, and content ourselves with referring our readers to his most readable and instructive volume for information relative to roads, carriages, and

travelling in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the then condition of the chief cities of the kingdom, next after London, such as Winchester, Lincoln, Northampton, Lynn, and Southampton, as well as the more strictly domestic matters of bedsteads and their furniture, knives, forks, and spoons, and the out-of-door duties connected with horticulture. On each and all of these subjects, the antiquarian reader will not fail to be delighted with the vast amount of well-digested information set before him. On one matter, however, we are bound to pass a remark. The social and physical benefits conferred upon England by the wide spread of the monastic system, constitute a subject on which it was impossible for Mr. Turner to be silent; and we have great pleasure in observing that he never scruples, where occasion offers, to do justice to the monasteries, and to admit their merits with perfect fairness. Would that all Protestant writers, and even Protestant antiquaries, had done equal justice to their saintly memories! In this respect, we cannot but feel that Mr. Turner's book must be productive of good. We have already seen how he confesses the first conduit in London to have been constructed by the monks of Westminster: he shows that in the lack of inns, the monasteries afforded food, and shelter, and convenient supplies to the weary traveller; that they reclaimed the wildest and most waste spots of marsh and forest land; that the religious, and especially the monks of the Carthusian order, were the chief agriculturists and horticulturists* of the kingdom, their documents being to this day

* The horticultural skill of the Cistercian monks of Warden, in Bedfordshire, a foundation dating from the 12th century, produced at some early but uncertain time, a baking variety of the pear. It bore, and still bears, the name of the abbey; it figured on its armorial escutcheon, and supplied the contents of those Wardon-pies so often named in old descriptions of feasts, and which so many of our historical novelists have represented as huge pasties of venison or other meat, suited to the digestive capacities of gigantic '*Wardens*' of the feudal times. It is time, in justice to these venerable gardeners, that this error should be exploded. Their application to horticultural pursuits, even up to the dissolution, is honourably attested by a survey of their monastery, made after that event, which mentions the 'great vineyard' and the 'little vineyard,' a hop yard, and two orchards, doubtless the same

the best sources of information relating to mediæval husbandry; and especially that the noble abbeys of Yorkshire, Fountains, Rievaulx, and Kirkstall, served as useful outposts and strongholds in troublous times, and were the pioneers of civilization in a rude and semibarbarous district.

The historical illustrations, taken mostly from the Liberate Rolls of the kings during these two centuries, contain several most valuable extracts illustrative of the manners of the times, and especially of the great care bestowed by our English kings upon the chapels, which were invariably attached to their royal residences, upon their fitting decoration, and the erection of suitable images of the Saints, and especially on the appropriate adornment of the sanctuary and altar. These are full of lessons which, we fain would hope, will not be lost upon Protestant archæologists. The supplemental notes of foreign examples, with which the volume closes, contain very many choice and elaborate specimens of domestic architecture of the same period, from the various towns of France and Germany, among which we may mention Tours, Beauvais, Ratisbon, Angers, and Fontevrault. The ancient kitchen belonging to the abbey at this latter place, which generally goes by the name of the octagon chapel, or tower of Evrault, is perhaps the most curious specimen of foreign domestic work; it is well known to architects and archæologists as an almost unique specimen of the kind; the only building which at all resembles it, is the Abbot's kitchen at Glastonbury, though the latter is of a more recent date.

With the end of the thirteenth century, Mr. Turner brings his volume to a close; and as we said above, Mr. Parker, in another volume, has carried down the history of English Domestic Architecture to the end of the succeeding century, which brings us to the accession of Richard II. The Edwardian period, as we have said above, has been justly celebrated for having brought to its perfection that style of Architecture which is generally known as Gothic, in its decorated development. The peace and prosperity of the first Edward's reign, and the constant intercourse maintained with France, on account

in which the Wardon pear was first reared. The Wardon is still known in the West and other parts of England, as a winter pear." (pp. 137, 138.)

of the English provinces upon the Continent, added to the king's personal fondness for the arts, and his encouragement of artistic skill, resulted in an immense development not only of ecclesiastical but also of domestic architecture. The connection of William of Wykeham with Edward III., his skill displayed in the restoration of Windsor Castle, and his magnificent structures at Winchester and Oxford, are too well known to be mentioned here.

The corresponding improvement made during this century in domestic architecture, is to be traced in very many examples still existing: for, as might have been expected, the remains of this century are fully as numerous as those of all the preceding centuries together. Among the most important, too, as we might infer was probable from the magnificent splendour and temporal riches of the Church during this century, are the Bishops' Palaces at Wells, Lincoln, St. David's (now in ruins), Southwell, and Norwich. The houses and castles of the nobility built at this period, were very many in number, the finest existing specimens being those of Penshurst, Dacre, Belsay, Nunney, Raby, and several others of lesser note; it may be remarked that while in the centre and south of England, these residences lose something of their military character, still on the Welsh and Scottish frontiers the more military style still prevails. In these parts doubtless during this century as during the preceding one, every Englishman's house was his castle; it is asserted by Mr. Parker that, in the former locality, the walls which surround the fortified manorial residences, were fixed by licence at a minimum of ten feet in height. But in fact, as Mr. Parker observes, the general appearance of a country house, whether of a baron or squire, partook of the castellated character, in its battlements, towers, and drawbridge,* though on closer examination, the domestic features become more apparent. Even in the more domestic buildings, there is generally some one tower of strength, pierced with loopholes, and surmounted with battlements; while conversely in the stronger fortress, the domestic portions have often a semi-military character;

* A remarkable example of this construction, though dating from the following century, occurs at Hever Castle, in Kent, which belonged to Sir Thomas Boleyn, father of the notorious Anne Boleyn.

so that it becomes no easy task to distinguish between a fortified dwelling-house, and an actual castle or fortress which had habitable parts, such as Carnarvon and Caerphilly castles in Wales, which partake of both characters, though certainly belonging rather to the class of castles than of private houses.

The volume descriptive of the fourteenth century, after a very interesting chapter consisting of remarks on the general features of the domestic architecture of that time, comprises three chapters, devoted respectively to a description of the Hall, the Chambers, and the Offices, with another on the general features of mediæval towns, and closes with two other chapters which give a tolerably complete catalogue of the existing remains in England and on the Continent respectively. We do not observe that the Editor has even attempted to extend his researches to either Scotland or Ireland: but we venture to think that something might be done in the latter country to follow up the field of enquiry which has been already opened by Mr. Archdall. Neither the Catholicity of England; nor the feudal system, as yet, had received a blow in merry England: and so we are prepared to find the same arrangements carried out in the houses of the great with respect to the apartments. The hall consequently, as before, remained the principal feature of the house: but some improvements may be traced in its fittings. Our chief sources of information here are the Chronicles of Froissart, the poems of Chaucer, and early metrical ballads and romances, such as "Piers Plowman," and "Sir Bury of Hamptoun." The hall was often raised above cellars, or vaulted rooms, and paved with stones or tiles; the dais was surrounded with hangings of finer tapestry. A window was opened from the solar to command it, the wooden roof was often richly ornamented with timber work, and on the outside surmounted with an ornamental crest; and the louvre,* or lantern over the centre, still remained for the escape of the smoke from the fire which blazed on the hearth in the middle of the hall: the windows were occasionally glazed with glass, fitted into moveable frames or

* It would seem that no original louvre of the fourteenth century is remaining at this day. That on the top of Westminster Hall, however, according to Mr. Parker's account, is an exact copy of the original one erected towards the end of that century.

casements, on account of the scarcity and value of that article; over the screen* was the gallery for musicians; at either end, occasionally, were inserted in the gables, circular windows, filled with elegant tracery; fire-places were introduced at the sides, surmounted with stone hoods and chimneys; stone lavatories and ornamental sideboards were often inserted in the wall, near the screen, as at Lincoln, and at Dacre Castle; the lower walls of the hall were wainscoted below, and richly painted above, with subjects either of a religious character, or taken from legends of love and chivalry: wooden chairs occasionally supersede the old wooden benches, and among the rich were occasionally covered with cushions; pewter or wooden platters, silver dishes, cups,† and salt-cellars, mazer-bowls of maplewood, with knives and spoons, (for forks were almost unknown, and their use thought a sign of foppery and pride,) fill up the catalogue of furniture of the hall,—unless we take into account the live additions of musicians in the gallery, striking up their merry tunes while the dishes are being carried in, and while business is proceeding at the different tables; and also the universal, and as it would appear, the almost necessary, appendage of a fool to make merriment for the assembled guests. Occasionally, however, we read of graver and more salutary occupations.—“It was an ancient custom,” says Mr. Parker, “among Churchmen, while at meals, to listen to the reading of Holy Scripture, and several ecclesiastical canons enforce attention to this point. Reading at meals soon became common among the laity. Eginhart tells us that the emperor Charlemagne loved to hear some diverting story read to him at table, and king Alfred observed a similar custom. The usage was continued down to a late period: thus, in the statutes given to New College, Oxford, by William of Wykeham, about the year 1380, the scholars, for their recreation, were allowed, in the hall after dinner and supper to entertain themselves with songs and other diversions, and to recite poems, chronicles of the

* The screens were usually of wood. They were called also spurs, spures, or spoeres: in Latin, sporum, esporrum, or espurum.

† Drinking cups were also made of wood and horn: glass was still a great rarity.

kings, and the wonders of the world. But the romantic and mirthful recitations of the

Jestours that tellen tales
Both of wepyng and of game,

proved most acceptable to the popular taste.”—p. 69.

Next in importance to the hall, in almost all manor-houses and castles of this century, was the chapel, which, though of necessity smaller than the average of parochial churches, yet in plan followed their outline. The chapel generally looked to the east, and had a large eastern window decorated according to the prevailing style, under which stood the altar, with piscina and sedilia for the priests as usual. The body of the chapel was often divided by a sort of gallery into two stories, in each of which was often a fire-place; the upper floor being reserved for the lord and his guests, the latter for the domestics. This practice was continued down to a much more recent date, and clearly originated the position of the tribune which is so frequent in private chapels belonging to Catholic houses at the present day. Frequently the chapel was very small, and consisted only of a sacrarium, shut off from the hall or other adjoining apartment, by a door, window, or screen, as at Chepstow, Little Wenham, and Lyte's Carey House; and besides the regular chapel, there were frequently common oratories in the houses. Sometimes we find instances in small chambers at the top of a turret, as at Chepstow and Brougham castles, and attached to the chapel were generally two rooms for the priest who served as chaplain. Of the chamber which is so frequently mentioned in the Liberate Rolls, and other ancient documents, as the oriol, oriole, or oriel, Mr. Parker gives the following account, which may serve as a specimen of the method in which he treats the subjects which respectively come under his notice.

“The exact meaning of the word has long been a question; Dr. Copleston wrote a learned essay upon it, (which is printed in Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua*, vol. ii.) in which he inclined to the opinion that it signified the porch or entrance with a chapel over it. Dr. Ingram was of opinion that it was an abbreviation of the word *Oratorio'um*, and signified the private oratory; and various entries in the Liberate Rolls give countenance to this opinion. But it had also another meaning connected with this, although not exactly identical. In our description of the chapel, we have shown that it

was commonly divided into two stories by a floor; the upper one being open at the east end to the chancel, which was the entire height of the building. These two rooms, which may be called the upper and lower parts of the nave of the chapel, were not exclusively devoted to sacred purposes. They were separated from the chancel by a screen, which could be closed by wooden shutters, or by a curtain, and they contained fire-places. The upper room was called the *oriole*, and it frequently formed a sort of landing-place, or waiting-room outside the door of the principal chamber."—p. 82.

The instances—(and they are twelve in number)—quoted from the liberate rolls by Mr. Parker, in support of this opinion, are certainly reconcileable with it, and with no other. On the other hand, it is quite clear, as Mr. Parker shows from other sources, that the word oriel is sometimes applied to other parts of the building, such as to a "parvise" or chamber over the porch; and in one instance to the minstrels' gallery in the hall; Matthew Paris indeed uses the word more loosely still, as equivalent to a refectory, "in Refectorio vel Oriolo;" and again, he speaks of "Atrium nobilissimum in introitu, quod Porticus vel Oriolum appellatur."

Of the solar we have already spoken; so we will only add, that when the use of fire-places and chimneys became more general, and ideas of comforts grew stronger, the custom, which we have mentioned, of the whole family dining together, as a family, in the common hall, was gradually abandoned, and the lord and his nearer relatives began to adopt the practice of dining privately in the solar. It is probable, however, that on Sundays and greater days the common table was spread, as of old, in the hospitable hall. Mr. Parker attributes this change to increased refinement; we should rather incline to refer it to an increasing forgetfulness of the fact that all the household are one family, and that all the family are equal in the sight of God. We should add, that in the larger houses, besides the lord's solar, and communicating with it, was the lady's chamber or bower; the attendants were lodged in the turrets, and the apartments for guests were in the towers. The bed chambers, as well as the hall, were very frequently used as places wherein kings and nobles received their courtiers, held councils, and granted audiences. Tables and chairs of this period are both very rare, and are only known by the illustrations of contemporary MSS.,

though the family plate sometimes was displayed on an oaken sideboard; the parlours, too, were commonly covered with wainstcot below and painted on the upper walls with scenes from popular romances, &c. The bed-chamber would seem to have been in proportion far more comfortable, often fitted up with baths; the besteads being frequently covered with a tester or canopy, and hung round with embroidered tapestry; the walls, too, being painted and the windows glazed. The counterpanes, or coverlets, the blankets and sheets are also mentioned in contemporary ballads and romances in a way which certainly implies a considerable advance upon the preceding century. Clocks, too, are first mentioned in this century as articles of domestic furniture. And candlesticks of a handsome pattern in silver, and even in gold, were in frequent use among the rich. From the great difficulty of travelling, it is clear that large and commodious wardrobes must have been necessary; these were often small rooms adjoining the dais of the hall and situated under the solar. Answering to the wardrobe in its modern signification were large chests, often ornamented with very handsome paneling and carving, among which the sacred monograms of our Blessed Lord and our Lady are very frequently conspicuous.

The offices of the larger houses were generally on a very large scale. First and foremost among them stood the kitchen; noble specimens of these kitchens remain, not only at Fontevrault, as we have mentioned before,* but also at Durham, Glastonbury, and Chichester; these are well-known to antiquaries, and have been often engraved. That in the ancient palace of St. David's is now in ruins, but its arrangement is still clearly to be traced. The very noble specimen formerly existing at Penshurst Castle, Kent, has been removed within the last few years. The kitchen was generally of a square or octagon form, detached from the house, and connected with it by means of a covered passage or alley from the screen. It is clear, however, from contemporary illustrated MSS. that the cooking was often carried on in the open air; an illustration from the MS. Romance of Alexander in the Bodleian library, Oxford, is given by Mr. Parker. The process is

* See above page 33.

going on evidently in the front of an inn, over the door of which is hung out the sign of the cross crosslet.

We much regret that want of space forbids us attempt to follow Mr. Parker through all his detailed account of the other domestic offices, larder, scullery, buttery, pantry, &c., or the more remote parts of the barns and stables, and the carriage department of five centuries ago. For these, and for various other interesting accounts, as to the condition of the wards, the mills, and the sanitary condition of the gard-ropes or privy chambers, we must refer our readers to the volume itself.

The concluding chapter on mediæval towns is perhaps, after all, the one which will afford the greatest interest to the Catholic reader; and we cannot but be glad that Mr. Parker has supplied us with such full details on the subject. Like a wise and prudent king, Edward I. was well aware of the great advantages which trade and commerce would reap from the establishment of such towns on advantageous sites; to say nothing of the check which they presented to the excessive power of the landed nobility in various parts; and, accordingly, he founded many of them in his continental provinces of Aquitaine and Guienne; in England there are two only such towns, Winchilsea and Kingston upon Hull. Each of these was built upon a fixed and settled plan, and duly fortified; Hull remains to this day a flourishing seaport town; but Winchilsea, owing to the retreating of the sea, choking up the inlet and harbour which had once made it one of the most prosperous of seaports, and given to it an almost entire monopoly of the trade in foreign wines, had fallen into decay so early as the reign of Elizabeth, and is now a desolate village, with a population of 700 souls, without trade or manufactures, though its noble gateways are still standing in solitary grandeur, bearing their silent witness to its former importance.

These towns were unlike such ancient Roman towns as Chester, Colchester, or Lincoln; they differed much from those ancient cities which had grown up by degrees around an ancient castle, as at Norwich, or under the shadow of an Abbey, as at Bury St. Edmund's. They were built regularly and symmetrically, with a specific end and object in view, and afford an excellent plan for imitation by those who are laying out lands for building on an extensive scale. "They combined," as Mr. Parker observes, "very close

packing with great convenience, while the principal streets were wide open and straight, crossing each other at right angles only." The streets were alternately wide and narrow; the latter serving the purposes of a mews and also for draining off the surface water. Near the centre of the town was a vacant spot set apart as the market-place, planted often with trees, at one corner of which stood the church, and near it the market-house. These free towns were endowed by the sovereigns with most valuable privileges and exemptions, and played a very important part in the advancement of civilization in Europe. The burgesses were all free men, and held by direct tenure under the crown; and they possessed the immunity of free trade. The site of the town of Winchilsea was divided into forty equal square allotments, thirty-nine of which can be distinguished at the present day. Upon the continent, among the towns built upon this plan are Villefranche de Rovergne, Libourne, Molieres, Sainte Foy, and many others.

Slightly different from these free towns would seem to have been another class which had their origin in the old Teutonic institution of guilds or fraternities, to which Mr. Parker is not mistaken in assigning an origin at once social and religious. Small at first in numbers and importance as the guilds must have been, the principle of voluntary association for religious and social benefits would naturally be very readily extended: and communities sworn together to assist each man his brother in cases of fraud or violence, bound by the sacred and holy ties of common rites and devotions, were too much in harmony with the Catholic spirit of the times, and we may add with that of true religion, not to have been fostered under the maternal wings of the Church, and so to have become a most important element in the social system of mediæval Europe. The most remarkable instance of the progress of a city from a mere merchant guild to a great metropolis is to be found in the history of Paris. It is observed by Mr. Parker that the metropolis of England most probably had a similar origin, and that while no traces of Roman institutions are impressed upon its early history, it is a striking fact that the principal place of meeting for the citizens of London is known to this day as the Guild Hall. These guilds were not confined to the large towns, but there was one at least, if not more, in almost every parish and village; the hall belonging to them was generally

some timber building near the church, very frequently over the lich gate. Stowe mentions one or two guilds in almost every London church. They were of three kinds, municipal, commercial, and religious, or charitable. The first of these three kinds frequently became incorporated by royal charter, and was charged with the local government; the second became the foundation of the more modern denomination of "Companies," while the third continued down to the Reformation, and then perished in the extinction of the Catholic religion which had borne them.* Mr. Parker correctly derives the term Guild from the Anglo-Saxon word *Gildan* to pay or contribute;† but he is little acquainted with what is now going on in this country when he asserts that "the word guild is now becoming obsolete in its original sense, and is only known by its continuing to denominate the halls or places of meeting in which these confraternities used to assemble on public occasions." Even our Anglican friends at Leeds and elsewhere have made some efforts to restore them; and the revival of the religious guilds among the Catholic body is already begun, and in a few years they will be seen to bear fruit in the shape of definite and tangible results.

It will be observed that in the above remark we have contented ourselves with treating the volumes of Mr. Turner and Mr. Parker solely in an archæological point of view, without a hint as to the possibility of turning them to any object of practical utility in the nineteenth century. But we cannot help, in conclusion, quoting some expressions by the late Mr. Pugin, which bear directly upon the subject, and show the view in which he regarded it,—without, however, pledging ourselves to a perfect agreement in

* Blomfield, in his history of Norfolk, vol. iii., makes mention of two guilds at Oxburgh, in that county. "These guilds," he says, "gave annual charity stipends to poor persons, found beds and entertainment for poor people that were strangers, and had people to keep and tend the same beds, and did other works of charity... The houses on the south side of the church at Oxburgh, belonged to one of the guilds, and is called in old writings the Guild Hall; on the east side was another, that belonged to the guild of Corpus Christi, the ceilings being painted with the portraiture of our Saviour, the five wounds, &c., as may be observed to this day."

† Similar confraternities seem to have existed at Athens in the early ages. Hence the phrase *συντελεῖν, συντελής, &c. &c.* See Soph. Œd. *ἀστὸς εἰς ἀστούς τελεῶ.*

all that he says. In this apology for the revival of Christian architecture in England, he writes thus :

“It will not be difficult to show that the wants and purposes of civil buildings are now almost identical with those of our English forefathers. In the first place, climate, which necessarily regulates the pitch of roof, light, warmth, and internal arrangement, remains of course precisely the same as formerly. Secondly, we are governed by nearly the same laws and the same system of political economy. The sovereign with the officers of state connected with the crown,—the houses of peers and commons, the judges of the various courts of law, and forms of trial,—the titles and rank of our nobility,—the tenures by which their lands are held, and the privileges which they enjoy—the corporate bodies and civic functionaries are all essentially the same as in former days. There is no country which has preserved so much of her ancient system as England. We still see the grey tower of the parochial church rising by the side of the manorial house; and in many instances the chantry chapel still remains, with a long succession of family monuments, from the armed crusader to that of the parent of the actual possessor.”

Then, after some remarks on the splendour and beauty of the royal palaces at Windsor and Westminster, restored according to the ancient model, he continues :

“How painful is it to behold in the centre of a fine old English park and vast domain, a square unsightly mass of bastard Italian, without one impression of the faith, family, or country of the owner ! How contrary to the spirit of the ancient mansions, covered with ancestral badges and memorials, and harmonizing in beautiful irregularity with the face of nature ! Any modern invention which conduces to comfort, cleanliness, and durability, should be adopted by the consistent architect : to copy a thing merely because it is old, is just as absurd as the imitations of the modern pagans. Our domestic architecture should have a peculiar expression illustrative of our manners and habits ; as the castle merged into the baronial mansion, so may it be modified to suit actual necessities, and the smaller houses which the present state of society has generated, should possess a peculiar character : they are only objectionable when made to appear diminutive representations of larger structures. And it is not only possible, but easy, to work on the same consistent principles as our ancestors in the direction of all our domestic buildings. It would be absurd, with our present resources, to build wooden houses in towns, which originated with the superabundance of that material, and the difficulty of transporting stone or brick ; but brick fronts adapted perfectly to internal conveniences, and in accordance with the legal provision for town buildings, may be

erected, which are capable of producing an excellent effect, if consistently treated, and terminated by the natural form of the gable.

“There is no reason in the world why noble cities, combining every possible convenience of drainage, water-closets, and conveyance of gas, may not be erected in the most consistent, yet Christian character. Every building that is naturally treated without disguise or concealment, cannot fail to look well. If our present domestic buildings, were only designed in accordance with their actual purposes, they would appear equally picturesque with the old ones. Each edifice would tell its own tale, and by diversity of character, contribute to the grand effect of the whole.”—pp. 37—39.

One word in conclusion as to Ireland by way of suggestion. We cannot but think that, in spite of the disastrous consequences of the civil wars from which Ireland has so long suffered, the domestic architecture of that country might furnish the material for a separate volume. It is true, that for the most part the castles and baronial residences of Ireland, have been erected on a smaller scale than here in England, and that very many of the older edifices have been gutted and destroyed, or so restored as to retain but scanty vestiges of their ancient internal arrangements. Many of these have been thus disfigured in our own times. Kilkenny castle was the most venerable and perfect, perhaps, of all, before it was rebuilt by the late Marquis of Ormonde. Antrim castle is a moated house with a curious antique shrubbery, though it has been rebuilt in a modern style, and so much altered and added to, that although the foundations are of great antiquity, there is no part standing of earlier date than the sixteenth century, if we except the massive vaulting of the basement-story, which may possibly be of the twelfth. Within the memory of persons now living, the moat remained in its original state, and several isolated buildings, such as the prison, still existed within the *enceinte*. Of small fortalices, towers, &c., there is a great abundance, and of various periods. There are also many fortified abbeys, but these are for the most part in a bad state of preservation. The old parish church of St. Sylvester, now in ruins, adjoining the castle of Malahide, contains the remains of a priest's house on the South side of the chancel: it is entered by a staircase from the exterior, like many fourteenth century examples given by Mr. Parker. Ancient town-houses are very rare: Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, formerly consisted of a curious assemblage of fortified houses be-

longing to the different branches of the house of Desmond, but very little of it now remains. Galway has some very curious houses, of a foreign type and character, but they are of the sixteenth century at the furthest. One of the most interesting remains of domestic architecture in Ireland, and most characteristic of the period, is Dowth Castle, near Drogheda, now the residence of a religious community, but formerly one of the seats of the Viscounts Netterville; it must formerly have been one of the finest specimens of an old Irish baronial residence. We cannot but hope that the ancient remains of domestic architecture in Ireland and Scotland may hereafter form the subject of a separate volume. In Mr. Parker's hands the work would be sure to meet with the treatment which it deserves.

ART. III.—*The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Second Edition: London: J. and C. Mozley, 1853.

MOST of our readers have read—or if not, they ought to read—an amusing and instructive paper on Anglican “Church Parties,” which has lately excited some amount of public attention, and which its author, Mr. Conybeare, has reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review*, in which it first appeared. If so, they will be at no loss under what head of division to place Archdeacon Wilberforce, were it only on account of the very active part which he has taken for these many years past in the controversies which have most recently distracted and still distract the English Church; we mean, of course, the “Gorham Case,” and the agitation for “Synodal Action.” Some of our readers, also, may possibly know something of the Archdeacon from his former treatises on “Holy Baptism,” and on “the Doctrine of the Incarnation,” each of which have already excited much controversy in that communion, as the most bold and venturesome efforts hitherto made to build up for it a system

of theology upon some solid and substantial basis of objective truth. These volumes and the one whose title stands prefixed to these remarks, cannot and ought not to be judged apart; they are, in reality, a three-volumed treatise, whose end is to fix authoritatively the Creed of the Anglican Church, to identify it with primitive antiquity, and to base it upon a strictly Catholic tradition, independent of local and accidental circumstances. It may be remembered that Dr. Newman and his friends made a similar effort in the earlier Tracts for the Times; but they failed in the attempt. And if we venture to think that Archdeacon Wilberforce is destined to experience a similar failure in a like effort of his own, (able and excellent as it is,) we allude to such a thought here as a matter of hopefulness and thankfulness, and only because it is our earnest wish and prayer that he may conquer by failure, and that his labours may be crowned with the same issue and reward that has already fallen to Dr. Newman's lot.

Archdeacon Wilberforce, then, is, in a word, the leader of theological enquiry, and the most philosophical exponent of the views of the High Church Anglican school in its purest and best development, just as Dr. Pusey is of its devotional phase. The Scriptural and Patristic learning exhibited in the Archdeacon's two former treatises, (though accompanied with many defects when viewed from a Catholic point of sight,) won for him golden opinions and the warmest gratitude of his party, at the time when theological strife was running at its highest on the Baptismal question; and we feel justified in saying that with all their shortcomings and defects,* (for which, not the Archdeacon, of course, but his Church's system is responsible,)—they contain a vast fund of ancient learning, which beautifully illustrates some of the most important

* We allude, more especially, of course, to the fact, that in a Theological treatise on the Incarnation, there is no chapter devoted to a consideration of the share which our Blessed Lady took in bringing about that chief of all mysteries. This fact, however, may be explained by a passage in the present treatise on the Holy Eucharist, where the Archdeacon strangely says, "In the Incarnation manhood was purely passive, and the Godhead the sole actor. The union of the two natures was brought about, not by both, but by the Deity alone."—p. 148, Second Edition. (We may observe that we refer to this Edition throughout.)

doctrines of the Catholic Church, and at the same time crushes the whole Protestant system into atoms, by showing how infidel are its tendencies, results, and consequences. In this sense, we may say, as Catholics, that the Archdeacon's Treatises on the Incarnation, and on Holy Baptism, have been productive of the greatest service in preparing the minds of Anglican theologians to accept a fuller and more consistent statement of the Catholic Faith.

It is a remark of Mr. Conybeare in the essay above quoted, that the two principles of Apostolical succession and of Church authority, which are involved in the teaching of the Anglo-Catholic party, "may be made after all to mean but little," and that, when "veiled in a graceful mist of words, they may even become an ornamental and dignified appendage to a system essentially Protestant." However, this assertion may be true of some individuals, even of the extreme party, it is most unfounded as regards Mr. Wilberforce. On the contrary, though he is far from writing polemically, and though a harsh and bitter expression against individuals never escapes his pen, the definite dogmatic element is continually peeping out; and yet there is no reserve or misty equivocation about him; he is not disposed to mince matters or to soften down truths to a palatable consistency; he seems for ever reaching after a system of objective truth on which he can in confidence repose, but which for ever keeps eluding his eager grasp, just as the shores of Italy seemed for ever distant to Æneas and his companions of old:

"*Italiæ fugientes prendimus oras.*"

With these few remarks by way of preface, we will at once proceed to the book itself, which forms the subject of our present remarks, and which is somewhat satirically designated by the Guardian newspaper as "a work very much needed in the English Church." Whether such be the case or no, will be incidentally shown to our readers before we bring our remarks to a close.

The following extract from the "Introduction," will explain the scope and tendency of the work itself better than any words of our own.

"The present work is the sequel of a treatise on 'the Doctrine of the Incarnation,' which was published four years ago. It was

there asserted that '*Sacraments are the extension of the Incarnation,*' and a chapter was devoted to their consideration. But their relation to that great mystery was felt from the first to require more detailed consideration. The Doctrine of the Incarnation, therefore, was followed after a year by a work on '*the Doctrine of Holy Baptism;*' and the present treatise completes my design. In treating on Baptism, little reference was made to any authorities except Holy Scripture, and the formularies and divines of our own Church.....In the present instance, a different course has been adopted. The greater intricacy of the subject, and the confusion in which it has been involved by the adoption of an ambiguous phraseology, has made it necessary to mount up to the fountain head, and to enquire what was that interpretation of our Lord's words which was received among His first followers.....Such is the principle which is adopted in the present volume. The authority of Holy Scripture is just referred to, and its infallible decision set forth. When its meaning is disputed, reference is made to the primitive Fathers, as providing the best means of settling the dispute."

Now, although, as Catholics, we are bound to hold that where Holy Scripture is undecided or apparently ambiguous, the appeal lies not to the dead past, but to the living present—to the Church of the day in which God has been pleased to cast our lot, and not the Church of the first, or the fourth, or the seventh century,—or of whatever other period we choose to take as our standard of ideal excellence, still we cannot but rejoice to find Mr. Wilberforce establishing the whole system of Catholic doctrine with respect to the Holy Eucharist as at present received by the Church in communion with the see of Rome, by an appeal to the testimony of the earliest ages of the Church—to times anterior to the unhappy schism of Photius, which rent the fair provinces of the East from the unity of Christendom. And we may rejoice for this reason: not because it adds everything to the firmness of that faith with which we, as Catholics, repose on the present decisions of a living infallible guide,—but because the results at which the Archdeacon has arrived by patient research and dispassionate enquiry, cut away from under the feet of ordinary High Church Anglicans, the common ground of assault against us, and the strong point of their own defence; viz, that while we have departed from the simplicity of the early ages, and the purity of their faith, they have themselves retained, or rather have regained, the faith as it was held by the immediate successors of the

Apostles. The following words sum up the general outline of the treatise in a brief and compendious way.

“Whether Christ is truly present or not in the Holy Eucharist: whether we are to believe as though He were really with us, and are truly responsible for a divine gift: and again, whether in that holy ordinance there is a real Sacrifice—there are, in a great measure, practical questions on which it is possible to produce distinct evidence from Scripture, and the Primitive Church.....That Christ’s presence in the Holy Eucharist is a real presence: that the blessings of the new life are truly bestowed in it through communion with the second Adam: that consecration is a real act, whereby the inward part or thing signified, is joined to the outward and visible sign; and that the Eucharistic oblation is a real sacrifice;—these points it will be attempted to prove, by the testimony of Scripture, and of the ancient Fathers.”—Introduction, pp. 5, 6.

Such being the case, our readers will now be prepared to expect a treatise falling little, if at all, short of the dogmatic statements of the Council of Trent upon the subject of the Holy Eucharist: the more so, if they remember that on the occasion of that council being held, the writings of the ancient fathers of the Church were most scrupulously and carefully examined by the prelates, who drew up their dogmatic statements in opposition to the novelties of the Protestant schism: so that it is no wonder to find Mr. Wilberforce, in his honest and single-hearted search after God’s system of revealed truth, being led by grace to accept those very same conclusions which His Holy Spirit dictated to the Fathers assembled at Trent, three hundred years ago. The marvel would be, if there were any material variation between them, especially since our author has evidently, (though perhaps unconsciously,) allowed the dogmatical teaching of the Council of Trent to have considerable influence upon the matter of his statements, and his manner of expression.

The first chapter of the book, accordingly, takes as it were, for its text, the solemn words of Institution used by our Blessed Lord on the night in which He was betrayed,—“This is my body,” and then proceeds to consider the sentence in its logical connection of subject, copula, and predicate. The Archdeacon then shows that by the word “this,” our Lord speaks only of “this” which was then consecrated or set apart; and comparing the

passage under consideration with the well-known parallel example from St. Paul, (1 Corinth. xii.) he rightly concludes that "our Lord's awful words do not refer to bread and wine at large, but to That which He held in His hands, and what He had blessed." The quotations from Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and S. Augustine, by which he supports his inference, are apposite and convincing, as proving the importance which was attached to the simple act of consecration in those early times to which the Anglicans are in the habit of appealing with such fatal confidence. A further quotation from S. Chrysostom shows that the right of consecration was believed in the early Church to be inherent in the Christian Priesthood, and in it alone. The following passages will not, we think, be welcomed by many of those who appeal with such reliance to the first two centuries as making so directly in their favour.

"From the first origin, therefore, of the Christian Church it was laid down, that no valid Eucharist could be had, where there was no priest to consecrate. In the earliest of all uninspired Christian documents, the Epistle of St. Clement, the office of the Priest is described as that of presenting the Eucharistic Offering. In the next writer, St. Ignatius, the validity of the Eucharist is expressly limited to those who act by Episcopal commission. Then comes the Apology of Justin, stating that the 'principal minister offered the Eucharist.' This is fully confirmed by Tertullian, though some equivocal expressions of his have been cited as having a different sense. The Holy Eucharist, he says, was not received except from the hands of the Church's public ministers. And he speaks of it as characteristic of heretics, that they assigned priestly offices to laymen."—pp. 10—11.

"In the Apostolical Constitutions, the thing demanded for one who was called to the highest office in the ministry was that he 'might have authority to offer the pure and bloodless victim, which Thou hast appointed through Christ as the mystery of the new covenant;' and the ground on which the Priesthood is entitled to the reverence of the people is said to be, 'because they honour you with the saving Body, and the precious Blood, and release you from your sins, and make you partakers of the sacred and Holy Eucharist.'"—p. 12.

But here our author is met by an obvious difficulty. If the Anglican ritual attests the necessity of a consecration, how comes this matter not to have been more prominently put forward by its divines? He admits that the importance of consecration has been but little dwelt upon by

English theologians, and that the English people do not measure the efficacy of that sacrament by the validity of the Priestly consecration. Now we must observe, that, in our opinion, the answer of Archdeacon Wilberforce to this question is far from satisfactory; and we cannot think that, upon further consideration, he will consider it at all an adequate reply.

“The reason may probably be found in the popular unwillingness to break altogether with the foreign Protestants. For the Protestant bodies, with the succession of the ministry, had lost all value for that act of consecration, which is never found to be permanently appreciated, when men have renounced the ministerial commission, which is essential to its reality. Hence it was felt that to dwell upon this point as indispensable, would be to renounce all connexion with those communities.

“In those days men were not prepared to draw such conclusions respecting the necessity of adhering at all hazards to the principles of the ancient Church, as the course of events, and the progress of infidel opinions, have since forced upon all Catholic Christians. So that, in assigning to consecration the place awarded to it by the teaching of Scripture and the testimony of Primitive antiquity, we are not forsaking the principles of our own Church, but only bringing out those truths, which the circumstances of a former generation withheld it from expressing.”—p. 16.

The example which he gives of Bishop Cosin doubting the validity of a Puritan sacrament at Geneva, or elsewhere, is most unfortunate; because, as we learn from other sources, that prelate, though he could write on the subject of the Holy Eucharist with a certain appearance of a Catholic tone, still was a person who viewed the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as held by the Catholic Church (and by the Archdeacon too), as superstitious and idolatrous, and habitually received the Communion from the hands of foreign Protestants, not episcopally ordained, when he went abroad.*

* It is curious that Cosin was a predecessor of Mr. Wilberforce in his Archdeaconry of the East Riding. The following extract from Cosin's will is one which will justify the assertion which we make in the text. “Moreover I do profess, with holy asseveration, and from my very heart, that I am now, and ever have been from my youth, altogether free and averse from the corruption and impertinent new-fangled, or papistical superstitions and doctrines, long since introduced, contrary to the Holy Scripture, and the

But we must pass on. The design of the next chapter is to show that after, and by reason of, consecration, the blessing bestowed, whatever it may be, is conveyed *through* the elements. In this chapter the Archdeacon has shown great skill and power in discriminating between *moral* and *physical* media; and he has followed Estius, and other learned doctors of the Church, in explaining that the sacraments are *moral* instruments, whereby divine blessings are conveyed to us.

“When we speak of sacraments as moral instruments, we are merely discriminating between the order of grace, and the order of nature; we affirm that sacraments pertain to the first, whereas those things which are called physical instruments, belong to the second. For it has pleased God that the whole material creation should obey a certain set of laws, which are called the laws of nature. Every individual object, therefore, has its peculiar dimensions, bulk, and qualities; and by virtue of these does each act upon the others, in a certain uniform and appreciable course. The only exception would seem to be those responsible beings, to whom the Great Author has given that power of spontaneous action, which renders them in this respect an image of Himself. Hence it is that we are able to speak of the permanence of the laws of nature, and can calculate upon the regularity of their defects. And this we do, without implying that they are independent of the will of God, or can produce their effects without His co-operation.

“But in sacraments the order followed is not that of nature, but a higher one, which is referrible to the immediate interference of Almighty God. As a king might govern his dominions by unalterable laws, without laying down such general rules in his own family, so the gifts which the Most High bestows through sacraments in the household of faith, are regulated by a different law from those which are bestowed in the kingdom of nature. In the last there is nothing which to our observation betrays His interference; He allows things to move on according to the invariable law of

rules and customs of the ancient Fathers. But in what part of the world soever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of Christ, and professing the true Catholic faith and religion, worshipping and calling upon God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with one heart and voice, if I be now hindered actually to join with them, either by distance of countries, or variances amongst men, or by any hindrance whatsoever, yet always in my mind and affection I join and unite with them; *which I desire to be chiefly understood by Protestants and the best reformed Churches.*—(Life of Cosin, Ecclesiastical Biography, edited by Hook, vol. iv., p. 191.)

physical causation : but the means which are employed in the first, derive their whole efficacy from His continual intervention. It is not meant, then, that sacraments are less certain in their effects than physical agents ; nor yet that their *reality* depend upon those circumstances in their receivers, which are essential to their *utility*. But they are called moral instruments, because they derive their validity from the immediate appointment of Him, who acts in common according to that law, which He has imposed upon the material creation ; because they belong to the order of grace, and not to the order of nature.”—pp. 18—19.

The next point touched upon is the twofold heresy of Zuinglius and Calvin with respect to that Holy Sacrament, for which the latter professed to cherish such feelings of reverence. Mr. Wilberforce shows that there are three conceivable ways in which a gift may be important ; firstly, “ from its own intrinsic value ;” secondly, “ from the disposition of the receiver ;” and thirdly, as “ expressive of the intention of the giver.” Now, applying this principle to the gift bestowed upon us by God in the Holy Eucharist, it is easy enough to identify the first of these ways with the teaching of the Catholic Church for the first fifteen centuries, viz., that the Holy Eucharist was to be revered for Its own sake, as the appointed means of conveying to man the Body and Blood of his Redeemer. “ Zuinglius, however,” says our author, “ adopted the second alternative ; he maintained that the significance of the gift was derived entirely from the receiver : “ the Holy Eucharist,” he said, “ was not the communication of any objective gift, but merely a mode of giving expression to our own subjective feelings ;” and thus, in his opinion, the only use of the ordinance itself comes to be to associate the feelings of men with the past actions of our Saviour. Calvin, however, with his usual wiliness, adopted the third alternative, because it enabled him to do justice in words to the importance of the sacrament, without admitting the necessity of any regular consecration. According to Calvin, the sacraments in general, and the Eucharist in particular, are mere seals or tokens of grace already given ; and, as if this were not to degrade God’s gifts enough, he limited them to his ‘ elect’ alone ; thus throwing men back upon his dark and gloomy doctrine of reprobation. The Archdeacon, in the conclusion of this chapter, establishes the first of the above three theories indirectly, by proving the absurdities which result from the other two.

Of Calvin's system, and its influence in England, he remarks thus :

“It would be idle to deny that his theory on the sacraments has exercised a large influence upon our own writers. It could hardly be otherwise, considering that his *Institutes* were a text-book for nearly a century ; and considering the attractions of a system which promised a security against the abuses of a carnal interpretation, without detracting from that mysterious reverence with which this sacrament had always been regarded. Hence, many of his expressions passed unconsciously into the circulation of the English Church. The notion that the elements are mere *seals* or *title-deeds*, and not the instruments through which Christ's Presence is dispensed—that is, that they are *pledges* only of an absent, and not *media* of a present gift—was adopted, in ignorance that this theory was inconsistent with that principle of consecration which still retained its place in our formularies ; and that to be a substitute for a belief in consecration, had been the very purpose of its introduction.

“The consequences of the system developed themselves in time in England, as they had done in those countries where Calvinism was formerly established. No sooner did the dogma of an absolute decree sink, through its inherent unpopularity, than Zuinglius was found to have entered through the door which had been opened by Calvin.”—pp. 36—37.

Having thus disproved the two rival theories of Zuinglius and Calvin, Mr. Wilberforce proceeds in chapter iii. to consider the positive testimony of the ancient Church to the effects of consecration. Perhaps to our Catholic readers this chapter will be the most interesting in the whole volume. He shows that for proofs of the Church's belief in the reality of consecration we have no liturgical documents in existence which will carry us further back than the end of the seventh century. And though one or two palimpsests have been discovered of a date considerably more early, (possibly reaching to that of the Diocletian persecution), we find a more complete proof of the ancient belief where one might least have expected to find it, viz., in a comparison of the liturgical documents of the Eastern schismatics, who have been severed from the Church since A. D. 431 and 451, with the ancient Liturgies of the East and West. Of course it is quite clear, that wherever these two bodies of liturgical forms agree, we have the very safest and surest proof as to the antiquity of a point of belief ; since the absence of all intercourse between those bodies and the Catholic Church for upwards of fourteen

hundred years, proves that whatever they have in common is of earlier date, to say the least, than their separation, and very probably carries its antiquity up into the Apostolic age. Now, according to Mr. Wilberforce, "that which is found to be the essential characteristic of all ancient Liturgies,—the very purpose which not only speaks in their individual expressions, but gives shape and consistency to their whole arrangements,—is, that they represent a certain transaction, a certain course of events, of which the crisis and consummation is that which is *done* in respect to the sacred elements themselves." Accordingly he shows, that whereas in the commencement of the Mass, as it stands in the various Liturgies of antiquity, we find every possible variation, as soon as we come to the repetition of the words of Institution in the Canon of the Mass, we find the most striking sameness of expression. Even "the multiplied introduction of the Spanish and Gallic forms fall back into the appointed canon or order, so soon as the solemn words recur 'Who in the same night in which He suffered,' 'Qui pridie quam pateretur,' &c. Throughout all the churches founded by the Apostles, the exact repetition of those words which our Lord had originally uttered, were supposed essential to the consecration of the Eucharist; and hence in all Liturgies, with the smallest possible exception, they are found to be identical." As for the antiquity of these Liturgies, it should be added, that the two Liturgies which bear the names of St. James and St. Mark respectively, form a basis for all other Eastern Liturgies; the former having been introduced into the Church of Cæsarea in a revised form by St. Basil about A. D. 370 or 380, while its basis turns out to be identical with that of the Syriac Liturgy, which goes by the same name, and which has been preserved among the Monophysites or Syrian Jacobites, since their separation from the Church fourteen centuries ago, as we said above.

The number and variety of these Liturgies, each of which offer their independent testimony to the sacred doctrine of the reality of the Eucharistic consecration, is most surprising; and the short summary of them given by Mr. Wilberforce, will be most welcome reading to Catholics in general who are interested in the study of Christian antiquities. Taking as a basis the two main families of Eastern Liturgies, namely, those of Jerusalem and Alexandria,

he brings forward in turn the forty Syriac forms derived from the former, together with those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, which were modifications of it, and illustrates them by one Armenian and by three Nestorian Liturgies. Next in turn come three Coptic and ten Ethiopic Liturgies, all derived from that of Alexandria, which bears the name of the Evangelist St. Mark. Then follows that of Rome, better known as the Liturgy of St. Peter, which was in use in the Church of Rome in the age of Leo the Great. The Spanish Liturgy, and three varieties of the Gallic Liturgy, swell the list of independent testimonies to the number of seventy in all; sixty-two of which are of Eastern and eight of Western origin. Now all of these speak, as we have said, the same language; declaring, as with one voice, that the work commenced by our Lord in the upper chamber at the Last Supper, and consummated upon the cross on Calvary, He still continues to execute now that He is in heaven, through the ministry of His priests, who severally perform, not their own action, but the perpetuation of that priesthood of Melchisedech which their Great Head, at once the Victim and the Priest, was pleased to take upon Himself; that it is Jesus Christ Himself who, through the agency of His priests, sanctifies the offering on the altar; in a word, that He who is invoked is Himself the consecrator.

The following contrast between the practice of the ancient Church and of modern heretical bodies is admirably drawn.

“To this principle, then, the ancient Church bore witness, not only by its words, but still more by its actions. The care with which the words of consecration were repeated, implied a belief that they were essential to the validity of some great action. And if so, it must have been this action itself, and that with which it was conversant, on which the value of the ordinance depended. Its importance must have rested, not merely on a consideration of the Giver or receiver, but likewise on the worth of the thing received. The gift conferred in and through the elements themselves must have been the thing regarded. Nothing renders this more apparent than a comparison of the ancient forms with any of those which were introduced under the influence of Zuinglius or Calvin. In the ancient Liturgies the words of Consecration were quoted literally, and not in the way of narration: they were made part of a prayer, and the people were enjoined to answer, Amen. But in the Calvinistic formularies this prayer is changed into a

sermon ; and instead of a mystical action addressed to God, we have a narration for the instruction of the congregation.”—p. 55.

“ Here then we see the exact contrast between the ancient and modern services. The first suppose Christ to descend through the agency of His Spirit upon earth : the last suppose men to ascend through the action of their spirits into heaven. In the first, Christ is supposed to bestow an actual gift, which men may either accept or reject, and which is equally bestowed upon all. According to the last, no gift at all is bestowed through the ordinance itself ; it is only an emblem of the general good-will of the great Spiritual Being.”—p. 60.

An objection has often been drawn by Protestant writers against the dogmatic statements of the Church with regard to the Holy Eucharist, from the fact that the early Fathers are comparatively silent as to the precise character of the change which takes place in the elements by and through consecration. Mr. Wilberforce answers this objection most properly, by attributing it to the *disciplina arcani*, and the unwillingness of the ancient Fathers to expose sacred subjects to the profaneness of the heathen. His quotations, therefore, from the Catechetical Lectures of St. Ambrose, St. Cyril, St. Gregory Nyssenus, and St. Gaudentius, are on this account the more valuable testimonies to the truth as held of old. But what is the lesson, we ask, that such passages of St. Cyril as the following, taken out of the Oxford translation of St. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures, and quoted therefrom by Mr. Wilberforce, ought in consistency to teach those excellent individuals who appeal to the Fathers of the first three or four centuries, and yet are forced by their Church to disavow, and that in no very measured terms, the self-same doctrine as now held, taught, and enforced by the Holy See on all members of her communion ?

“ The bread in the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is mere bread no longer, but the body of Christ.”—(3 Myst. Cat. Oxford Tr., p. 268.) “ Contemplate, therefore, the bread and wine not as bare elements ; for they are, according to the Lord's declaration, the body and blood of Christ ; for though sense suggests this to thee, let faith stablish thee. Judge not the matter from taste, but from faith ; be fully assured, without misgiving, that thou hast been vouchsafed the body and blood of Christ.”—(Ibid, p. 271.) And therefore he tells persons to be “ fully persuaded that what seems bread is not bread, though bread by taste, but the body of Christ ; and that what seems wine is not wine,

though the taste will have it so, but the blood of Christ."*—(Ibid, p. 272.)

The same doctrine Mr. Wilberforce also establishes by inference from the early reservation† of the consecrated elements, from the practice of solemnly sending the Holy Eucharist as a sign of intercommunion, and also to the houses of the sick—usages so frequently mentioned in the early ecclesiastical historians, but which, of course, were simply unmeaning and absurd practices, except upon the supposition that some real and important change had taken place in the elements themselves. The same, of course, must be said of the ancient universal‡ custom of

* This is the passage which no less a scholar than Dr. Langley, the present Protestant Bishop of Ripon, condemned by mistake, when censuring a sermon of the Rev. Mr. Crawley, preached at St. Saviour's, Leeds. When his error was pointed to him, Dr. Langley put a bold face on the matter, and declared that St. Cyril had effectually guarded himself from any charge of advocating Transubstantiation by some of his preceding words. The reader who is curious upon the subject may refer, for further information, to the note appended to the article on "the Leeds Experiment in Anglicanism," in *Dublin Review*, vol. xxxii., p. 96.—(March, 1852.)

† This practice of reserving the consecrated elements in the Church is alluded to in the *Apostol. Constitut.*, viii., 13. The following extract will be read, with interest, as showing the antiquity of another custom. "A custom prevailed in the west in the sixth century, which shows another purpose which the reservation of the element was designed to answer. When the elements were to be consecrated, it was usual, it seems, to join with them a portion of that which had been consecrated on a previous day, as though by way of asserting the oneness and perpetuity of the oblation. This custom is noticed in the description of the ancient Gallic service by Germanus, Bishop of Paris, composed apparently during the sixth century, as well as by his contemporary, Gregory of Tours. Both of them call the vessel in which the sacred elements were preserved a 'Tower;' a name for which Germanus accounts, by supposing that it was designed to represent the rock in which our Lord's Body was entombed. A description of the Roman service, of somewhat similar date, refers to the same custom."—(Muratori *Liturg. Roman. Vetus.* ii., p. 979.)

‡ *Placuit Spiritui Sancto ut in honorem tanti sacramenti in os Christiani prius Dominicum corpus intraret, quam cæteri cibi. Nam ideo per universum orbem mos iste servatur.*—Augustin, *Ep.*

receiving the Holy Eucharist fasting; a custom which we find already existing in the second century, because incidentally mentioned by Tertullian and St. Cyprian,—while the dogmatical assertion that the Body and Blood of Christ are contained and received in each particle, however minute, of the consecrated elements, as quoted by Mr. Wilberforce from the Ambrosian Liturgy,* not only shows the identity of the Church's creed at this distant interval of time, but also, as Mr. Wilberforce admits, involves as a consequence the validity of reception under one kind only, as conveying the whole blessing bestowed through the medium of the Holy Eucharist.

The following passage is that in which the Archdeacon sums up the chapter which we have just been considering; and we think that for its forcible and apposite remarks

liv., 8. The practice has been recommended by several Anglican writers, among others by Dr. Jeremy Taylor, but only as a matter of expediency: In his "Holy Living and Dying" he says that we ought to pay this honour to the sacrament, "that it be the first food we eat, and the first beverage we drink each day, *unless it be in case of sickness, or other great necessity.*"

* The words of the Ambrosian Liturgy are these: "Singuli accipiunt Christum Dominum; et in singulis portionibus totus est; nec per singulos minuitur, sed integrum se præbet in singulis." How admirably is this doctrine expressed in the beautiful Sequence of the *Lauda Sion!*

Caro cibus; sanguis potus,
 Manet tamen Christus totus
 Sub utràque specie.
 A sumente non concisus,
 Non confractus, non divisus,
 Integer accipitur;
 Sumit unus, sumunt mille,
 Quantum iste, tantum ille.
 Nec sumptus consumitur.
 Fracto demum Sacramento,
 Ne vacilles sed memento
 Tantum esse sub fragmento
 Quantum toto tegitur.
 Nulla rei fit scissura,
 Signi tantum fit fractura,
 Quâ nec status nec statura
 Signati minuitur.

upon Protestants of the ordinary type, we cannot do better than insert it here.

“And as this conclusion has the sanction of reason, so does the authority of all ages witness in its behalf. In this particular do the Fathers of the first centuries agree with the innovators of the last. The former ascribed efficacy to the elements, because they believed the validity of the consecration: the latter deny it, because the validity of consecration is the very conclusion from which they wish to escape. Both allow, then, that consecration and the efficacy of the elements must stand together. Neither is it possible to suppose that those who reject one, can seriously intend to uphold the other. Those who deny that a gift is communicated through the elements, cannot really believe the validity of consecration. They may be willing to retain the rite, as a harmless tribute to ancient usage, but it is impossible that they should believe in the reality of consecration, unless they believe in its results. If they are content to retain the pregnant expressions of the early Church, it is with the understanding that they mean nothing. Yet what a mockery is a Priestly commission which confers no powers, and a form of consecration whereby nothing is made holy! If these things are real, their consequences should be admitted: if unreal, they had better be discarded. *Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*. But if a certain ritual was ordained by Christ, and handed down by His Apostles, can it be indifferent whether or not it is observed? As it would be presumptuous to invent, so to abandon it would be impious. And yet either, perhaps, were less heinous guilt, than to retain holy and sublime usages, pregnant with great truths, and associated with the love and devotion of all saints, yet to regard them with the cold contempt with which men treat the unmeaning and obsolete fashions of a barbarous age.”—p. 75.

The next chapter is devoted to a detailed proof that the real objective benefit in and through the Holy Eucharist is the presence of Christ Himself. In treating of this difficult subject, Mr. Wilberforce has shown a wonderful degree of precision and accuracy; his inferences follow in correct logical order; he has shrunk from no positive statement from fear of approximating too nearly to the Tridentine doctrine; and, being honest as well as learned, he has come, though by a tedious inferential process, to an acceptance of the very positions laid down with so much force and beauty by the Council of Trent. Accordingly he first lays down that this presence of our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist is the presence of His Humanity, and then proceeds to show that, by virtue of the

Hypostatic Union, the Godhead of necessity is present also.

“ Though the mention of Our Lord’s Body and Blood implies the presence of His man’s nature, yet by virtue of that personal union, whereby the manhood was taken into God, it involves the presence of His Godhead also. For since these two natures have been perfectly joined together, never to be divided, in the Person of Christ, it follows that His Godhead must needs participate in some measure in all acts and sufferings, in which His Manhood is concerned. For though it is the law of His nature, that His Manhood is not everywhere present, as is His Godhead—since the first does not partake in that attribute of omnipresence which belongs to the last—yet His Godhead is everywhere present with His Manhood, and has part in all its actings. Whatsoever was meant therefore by the giving the Body and the Blood of Christ, as by the force of the terms it implied the gift of His Manhood, so by virtue of the Hypostatic Union it involved that of His Godhead also. Whatsoever was done by the Man Christ Jesus, was done by one who consisted not only of soul and body, but of Godhead also ; and that which implied the action of His lower, implied likewise that of His higher nature.

“ When Our Lord, then, spoke of His Body and Blood as bestowed upon His disciples in this sacrament, He must have been understood to imply that He Himself, Godhead, Soul, and Body, was the gift communicated. His Manhood was the medium through which His whole Person was dispensed.”—pp. 77—78.

According, then, to Mr. Wilberforce, no less than according to the Catholic Church, the real presence of our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist is the presence of that self-same body and blood which He took of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance, and which, so shortly afterwards He offered upon the cross. “ This it is,” he adds, which forms the link between Him and man’s nature ; it was bound by the unutterable tie of personality to Himself ; and as He then gave it Himself to His twelve apostles, so He still communicates it, by the ministration of their successors, to the faithful in the Holy Eucharist.” The common objections urged against the possibility and probability of our Lord’s natural body being imparted to Christians, are answered by Archdeacon Wilberforce in a most cogent and satisfactory manner. We have no means of knowing what are the laws of matter, and of bodies, and what is the precise distinction between the material and spiritual world ; on the contrary, the process of physical science is continually showing to us changes and combinations

of matter, which prove how defective our present store of knowledge is. This is admitted on all sides, even by German philosophers. "How then," asks Mr. Wilberforce, "can the *possibility* of such a thing be denied?.....How can we tell that the very nature of Him whom they saw before them (at the last supper,) might not, in some unknown manner, be communicated to the disciples through that medium which their Master had appointed?" In answer to the alleged *improbability* of our Blessed Lord's human nature being made the medium of grace, he argues with considerable force the *a priori* probability which all must admit; viz., that since Christ is asserted in Holy Scripture to be the second Adam, and the perfect anti-type of the first Adam, if the taint of original sin comes upon us through the flesh which we inherit from the first Adam, there is a fitness and an antecedent probability that the flesh of the second Adam should, in a like manner, be the channel whereby life is given to man; in a word, that "if the person of the one (Adam) is transmitted through his flesh, so His (our Blessed Lord's) flesh should be the medium through which is transmitted the life-giving virtue of Jesus Christ." How far the Archdeacon, in this chapter, has travelled beyond the most advanced of his predecessors, may be learned from the following fact. Johnson, whose "unbloody sacrifice" was perhaps the nearest approximation to Catholic doctrine of any Anglican work of the eighteenth century, and who was a devout follower of the Non-jurors, confesses that he is "very much at a loss to see why our Saviour should make the eating His Body, and drinking His Blood, so important a duty." — (Unbloody Sacrifice, vol. i., p. 264, reprinted in the Anglo-Catholic Library.) To this the Archdeacon replies that clearly "instead of supposing that the Gospel was the central point in the world's history, and that the great events which it unfolded were the real relations between God and man, Johnson assigns the same origin to the Holy Eucharist as Tillotson did to the Priesthood, and to the system of expiatory sacrifice, and supposes it to be merely a compliance with the prejudices of men." When such is the position taken up and maintained by a writer like Johnson, who has hitherto been one of the highest of Anglo-Catholic authorities, and the most orthodox of its divines, we cannot be too thankful to see Archdeacon Wilberforce so wonderfully emancipating

himself from the trammels of that modern system in which his lot has been cast, and speaking in the following terms of reverence and faith on so lofty and mysterious a subject.

“Let the doctrine, then, of Our Lord’s Incarnation be admitted, and there will be no improbability in the idea, that His sacred Body should be the medium through which He communicates those gifts which have their origin in His Godhead. For that which Our Lord did in person at His last Supper, He has done ever since by the medium of His ministers, Through them does He still bestow that gift of His Body and His Blood, which He gave to His twelve Apostles. He still speaks the words of Institution, and thereby affirms the presence of Himself, of His Body, Soul, and Godhead. Neither is His Body any other than that Human Body, which, by the mystery of the Incarnation He made His own; that Body which was once humbled, but now is exalted, the selfsame Body, which He took of the virgin, and which suffered on the Cross.”—p. 95.

The consideration of the actual relation between the gift and the elements, is one which must present innumerable difficulties to an Anglican writer, unaccustomed, by education, to all precise and well defined statements upon so mysterious a subject, and hampered by the “stammering” and “ambiguous” statements of his own formularies. But here, too, the Archdeacon has, upon the whole, drawn out a most complete and logical statement of the Catholic doctrine, without wandering from the path of truth. To do so was a task requiring no ordinary patience and perseverance, still more of learning and research, but, most of all, of courage. It is, of course, a long and tedious path,—namely, that of individual study and research,—by which he has reached the end of his journey, and attained to the goal of orthodox statement. But he *has* reached it, under the guidance of God, so far, at least, as to have grasped this Catholic doctrine intellectually. He observes that, just as all supposable theories, with reference to the sacramental system in the abstract, may be reduced to three, two of which must of necessity be false, and the falsity of which establishes indirectly the truth of the third; so the words of our blessed Lord, “This is My Body,” viewed logically, will assume a threefold form, according as we consider the copula, or connecting link between the subject and predicate, as expressing the relation or connection of *identity*, *representation by likeness*, or *representation by authority*;

that of these three relations two must be inadequate; and if so, that the third relation is at once established as true. In other terms the words, "This is My Body," might, at first sight, be supposed to mean either, (1,) *this represents My Body, because it is like to it*, as a picture represents its original; or, (2,) *this represents it, because I will that it shall stand for it*, as being conventionally equivalent; or, (3,) *this is literally and truly it*. The remarks of Mr. Wilberforce on these three respective theories are here subjoined:—

"The principle of *identity* is coincident with that of the ancient Church, which supposed that the Holy Eucharist derived its value from the reality of the gift bestowed: that principle of representation which depends upon the *opinion of the spectator*, is plainly the theory of Zuinglius, who maintained that the Holy Eucharist derived its efficacy solely from the disposition of the receiver: lastly, that principle of representation which depends upon the *intention of the author*, agrees exactly with the system of Calvin, by whom the decree of Almighty God was affirmed to be its sole consecrating principle."—p. 98.

But there are different senses attached to the word "identity." Here again Mr. Wilberforce steers clear of all difficulties, and rejecting the idea of any personal or physical identity, he applies to it the fit and impressive term of *sacramental identity*, remarking that the ancient Fathers meant this when they spoke of the union of Christ's human nature with the consecrated elements as secret or mystical, because its nature and laws transcend experience, and are entirely hidden from our investigation; and because this Sacrament consists of two things, "united," as Mr. Wilberforce most beautifully remarks, "into one by a law of identity which is without parallel."

This brings him to a delicate and subtle point, the distinction, namely, which writers subsequent to St. Augustine have made, not only between the *sacramentum*, or material part, and the *res*, or *virtus sacramenti*—terms which that Father appears to have occasionally interchanged,—but also again between the *res sacramenti* and the *virtus sacramenti*, as denoting respectively, in spirit and technical phraseology, the *inward part*, and the further *benefits* which result to us from partaking of that inward part. But on this head, and on the intimate connection of the two points, our readers must

consult the work of the Archdeacon itself. He then proceeds to refer four chief errors respecting the Holy Eucharist to four different imperfect views of the relation in which the *sacramentum* and the *res sacramenti* stand to each other. "Since that which is participated in the Holy Eucharist consists of an outward part, and also of an inward part, and since these two must be duly joined together, it is clear that the nature of a sacrament would be overthrown if the one part or the other were omitted, or if the two were either unduly confused, or unduly separated." The Capharnaites omitted all thought of the *sacramentum*; the *res sacramenti* had no place in the thoughts of Zuinglius. And further, the outward and inward parts were confused together by Luther, and were separated by Calvin. All this is admirably drawn out by Mr. Wilberforce, who has the advantage over Catholics in one respect; viz., that while he looks upon the various and conflicting modern heresies on this head from a Catholic point of view,—intellectually at least,—he has, of course, had a practical experience of all these shades of opinion in his own communion, and of their working in many of his brethren, while he has also all along been viewing these same doctrines in their abstract form, and pushing their theory to their furthest intellectual conclusions.

The next point established by Mr. Wilberforce in his course of argument is, that this presence of our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist is real, and not merely symbolical, or virtual. By *real*, as he shows in detail, he means as the Church herself teaches, not a material, but a supernatural presence, such, in kind, as properly belongs to a glorified body, though infinitely, of course, transcending it on account of the hypostatic union of His Human to His Divine nature. And this he illustrates from the statements of Holy Scripture concerning our Blessed Lord's frequent appearances, from time to time, after His resurrection;—how, as St. Augustine says, "where sight could not penetrate, His body entered;"—when He entered the room where the disciples were gathered together with closed doors, for fear of the Jews. And yet he is most careful in guarding against the error of ubiquity into which Luther fell. By *real* he also shows that he means *sacramental*, and not *sensible*; *actual*, and not merely *symbolical*, or *virtual*. This statement of the Real Presence, he afterwards argumentatively supports

by the Scriptural authority of our Lord's well known words in St. John, chap. vi. ; and the testimony of antiquity is summed up by him as follows :—

“The Emperor Charlemagne might be said to be present *figuratively* or *symbolically*, throughout his vast empire, because justice was everywhere administered in his name : He was present throughout it *virtually*, for such was the energy of his character, that his influence was everywhere felt ; but really, he was only present in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle. If Our Blessed Lord's Humanity had no other than that *natural* presence which belongs to common men, His *Real* Presence would in like manner be confined to that one place which He occupies in heaven. But by reason of those attributes which His Manhood possesses through its oneness with God, He has likewise a *supernatural* presence ; the operations of which are restricted only by His own will. And His will is to be present in the Holy Eucharist ; not indeed as an object to the senses of the receiver, but through the intervention of consecrated elements. So that His Presence does not depend upon the thought and imaginations of men, but upon His own supernatural power, and upon the agency of the Holy Ghost. He is present *Himself*, and not merely by His influence, effects, and operation ; by that *essence*, and in that *substance*, which belongs to Him as the true Head of mankind. And therefore He is *really* present ; and gives His Body to be the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified.”—p. 152.

We have no room, we regret to say, for any extracts from the valuable testimonies to this doctrine, which Mr. Wilberforce has scattered over well nigh a hundred pages ; and naturally they are of less weight to ourselves, who have a present living voice to which we can directly appeal, than to any class of Protestants. Particularly among such individuals as hold what are commonly known as Tractarian* opinions, they ought to have a very great and wide-spread influence, as affording a plain and positive body of irrefragable proof that the appeal to antiquity, on which they profess to rely, when fairly and fully carried out, tells wholly in condemnation of the doctrinal positions of the thirty-nine articles, and establishes beyond all doubt and dispute the great outline of Tridentine dogma.

* We do not use the word offensively. It is adopted by Archdeacon Wilberforce himself in his Charge delivered to the Clergy of the East Riding, in 1850, to denote that section of the High Church party, whose sympathies are with what is called the Oxford School of Theology.

Before quitting the present subject, there is one other passage, to which we would especially direct the attention of our Anglican readers.

“The accordance of antiquity respecting the Real Presence is rendered more striking by its dissonance respecting the manner in which the Presence is brought about, and the terms in which it is to be stated. This doctrine is shown not to have been the result of a theory which everywhere suggested the same conclusions, but to have been a practical conviction, rooted in the deep and wide-spread belief of a whole community. In the East and West, whether men were opposing Nestorius or Eutyches, however they might express themselves respecting the outward elements which were the medium of conveying an inward blessing, there prevailed the same full conviction, that the Body and Blood of Christ were really communicated, under the forms of bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist. There might be a difference, therefore, as to the phrases employed, but there was none as to the fact which they were designed to attest. And how should there be such concert respecting the thing conveyed, while about the scientific statement of the mode of conveying it there was such diversity, except because this was a constituent part of the Church’s original deposit? What can be meant by her authority as the appointed witness to Our Lord’s declarations, if the consentient affirmation of undivided Christendom was fundamentally erroneous?”—p. 255.

The Archdeacon clearly perceives that the corollary to be immediately deduced from the doctrine of the Real Presence, is the rendering of Divine Honour to our Blessed Lord as there present. In fact, clearly the two things follow each other as cause and effect: if He is present, we must worship Him; if He be not, such worship is misplaced. And conversely, if the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament was a generally established devotion in the earlier ages of the Church, the fact itself is a plain and decisive proof of the equally wide-spread belief in the Real Presence. Hence Luther, as professing to believe in a Real Presence, retained the elevation of the Host in the service which he drew up for Wittenburg; and Calvin himself admits, in the simplest possible words, “*Sic semper ratiocinati sumus, Si Christus est in hac, esse sub pane adorandum.*”* (Cont. Hestius, Works, vol. viii. 727.)

* Archdeacon Wilberforce quotes from the Anglican Bishop Andrewes a similar argument, “*Christus ipse res Sacramenti, in et cum sacramento; extra et sine sacramento, ubi ubi est, adorandus est.*” Resoons. ad Bellar. viii. p. 266. Anglo. Cath. Library.) But the

Mr. Wilberforce next proves by a multiplicity of witnesses, that such was the belief of the Church from the very earliest ages. St. Cyril, for instance, bids men to approach the Cup of His Blood, not stretching forth their hands, but bending low and saying amen, in the way of reverence and worship." (Myst. Cat. v. xxii.) St. Chrysostom, too, speaks of Christ's Presence in the Holy Eucharist, as "a fearful and wondrous sight," and he calls the Eucharist itself *φρικτὸν καὶ φοβερὸν μυστήριον*. And again:—

"For if we come with faith, we shall assuredly see Him lying in the manger. For this table stands in the place of the manger. And there will lie the Body of the Lord; not wrapped as then in swaddling clothes, but on every side clothed with the Holy Ghost. The initiated understand what I say. And he states in various ways, that Our Lord, as present in the elements, is entitled to the same reverence which was paid Him when He was visibly manifest in the flesh. He speaks of the Euegumeni as introduced into Church to pay bodily reverence to Christ, by 'bowing the head' when His presence is bestowed in the Holy Eucharist, because they may not join in the Church's words of prayer. And again he describes them as brought in like prisoners, and placed as criminals would be at the time the judge was going to take his place, 'when Christ is about, as it were, to seat Himself on a lofty tribunal, and to appear in the mysteries themselves.' He speaks of angels as trembling at the Church's sacrifice,' and as 'ministering at that table.' And he describes them as seen in a vision standing round the altar, with eyes fixed on the ground, like soldiers before their king."—p. 259-260.

We now come to the other portion of Mr. Wilberforce's treatise, in which the Holy Eucharist is regarded as a Sacrifice. And here, in some sense, there would seem to have been no difficulty in his way; indeed at first sight it might appear as if, however far he had ventured beyond all

meaning of the words which we have italicised are far from clear. Does the author mean, that "*even without and apart from the Sacraments*, Christ is to be adored, and therefore also *in the Sacrament*," or does he mean that "He is truly the Res Sacramenti," but that He is also everywhere, and should therefore be adored, as present in the Holy Eucharist in no higher sense than that in which He is present elsewhere? The words of the learned foreign Protestant Divine, Gerhard, as quoted by Mr. Wilberforce, are hardly more satisfactory, "*Quis negat carnem Christi adorandam? Adoramus eam in Sacramento, sed externa Sacramenti symbola non adoramus.*" Why not "*Adoramus Eum?*"

Anglican writers in the earlier and more technical portion of his subject, in claiming for the Holy Eucharist the name of a sacrifice, he would be saying no more than a hundred other writers have done before him. Even the Reformers themselves acknowledged the Holy Eucharist to be a sacrifice; the great body of Elizabeth's divines scarcely disputed the name, however they may have disavowed the reality; Andrewes and Bramhall, Brevint and Saravia, Cosin and Laud, the whole school of Caroline divines, followed by Wilson, Ken, the Non-jurors, Butler, Lake, and others,* and of the present generation the whole Tractarian party, and all advanced Anglicans—yes, and even his Lordship of London himself—have admitted that it is a sacrifice. Yes, but what kind of a sacrifice? Here is the whole question. Even the mutilated Communion Office of the Anglican Prayer Book declares through the mouth of the officiating minister as he stands at the Communion Table, that “here we offer and present to Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls, and our bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee:” and it teaches him to pray that God's “Fatherly goodness” may “mercifully accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.” But it is in none of these equivocal senses that Mr. Wilberforce intends to employ the term. Even the highest views of the Non-jurors,—who, as is well known, separated from the communion of their Anglican brethren as much because they could not deny the doctrine of an Eucharistic sacrifice, as because they believed in the divine right of the Stuart dynasty,—rose no higher than to insist upon a Sacrifice of bread and wine, without admitting the doctrine of a supernatural change in the elements. And this view, too, Mr. Wilberforce condemns, as utterly unworthy of a place in the Catholic system, and by no means fulfilling the true conditions of a religion which, as contrasted with the Jewish system, is spoken of as “a better covenant, and founded upon better promises,” and as conveying the substance of which Judaism gave but the shadow. And not only this: but in reply to the

* Perhaps the most complete and systematic view of all is that which is taken by an anonymous “Priest of the Church of England,” who published at the end of the seventeenth, or beginning of the eighteenth century, a small volume entitled “Sacrifice the Divine Service.” The book has recently been reprinted at Oxford.

Protestant controversialists, who are for ever bringing forward such passages as Hebrews ix. 12, and x. 10, 26, to disprove the reality of the Christian Priesthood, Altar, and Sacrifice, he asserts that "the true object of such texts is to assert, against the Jews, that there can be no real sacrifice except that of Christ; so that they entirely accord with the assertion that the sacrifice which is perpetually presented upon the altar is identical with that which was once offered upon the Cross." "Wherein would this service have been superior to the Jewish meat offerings," he forcibly asks, "unless it had been the reality of which the ancient sacrifices were a typical representation? Yet such is the view always taken by the Apostles respecting the relation between the Jewish Law and the Christian Ritual. . . . And in this comparison the Eucharistic Sacrifice is represented as bearing its part."

The Archdeacon further shows how the Eucharistic Sacrifice is but the realization of the mediatorial office of our Blessed Lord; and giving the Catholic definition of a sacrifice, as an offering involving the further idea of the slaughter of that which is offered, he declares that so far from the Sacrifice of the Cross having been made "once for all," he renders the *θυσίαν εἰς τὸ διηνεχὲς* of St. Paul, (Heb. x. 12.) by the words "one *perpetual* sacrifice for sin," and attributes to our Blessed Lord the Priesthood after the order of Melchisedech in the full Catholic sense. What he means by this he further explains as follows:—

"If the Holy Eucharist is to be called in any peculiar manner the Christian Sacrifice, it can only be by reference to that one perfect propitiation upon the cross, by virtue of which we have in heaven an abiding sacrifice. And hence it is, that the Holy Eucharist is discriminated from all other acts of common worship. For it is by this service only that the real intercession which is transacted in the Church's higher courts, is identified with the worship of its earthly members. If it were the *sacramentum* only, or external sign, which was presented before God in this service, it could have no greater value than pertains to the corruptible productions of this lower world: but since it is also the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified, it is that very sacrifice which Our Lord has rendered perfect by the taking it into Godhead, and available by offering it upon the cross. And again, if this oblation were presented merely by an earthly priest, we might doubt whether his own sins did not impede his actions; but it is the peculiarity of this service, that those who minister it here below are only representatives of Him by whom it is truly offered: *He* speaks through

their voice; they act by *His* power: so that the Church's offering finds a fitting minister in that Great High Priest, who sacrifices in heaven. The Holy Eucharist, therefore, is fitly called the Christian Sacrifice, not only because it is the chief rite of common worship, but because it is the peculiar act, wherein the effectual intercession which is exercised in heaven by the Church's Head, reaches down to this lower sphere of our earthly service. It is no repetition of the sacrifice of the cross, nor any substitution of another victim, 'for although once for all offered, that sacrifice, be it remembered, is ever living and continuous—made to be continuous by the resurrection of Our Lord.'*—pp. 301-302.

* This last sentence is quoted by Mr. Wilberforce from the Pastoral Letter of Dr. Phillpotts of Exeter. But the force of the words is destroyed by other assertions of Dr. Phillpotts of an opposite kind. Moreover, how would his Lordship of Exeter stand the test, if he was asked whether he approves of the adoration of our Lord's Body as present in the Blessed Sacrament? Yet this is the very test proposed by the Archdeacon. We happen to know that his Lordship does not regard the remainder of the consecrated elements which are not consumed in the Church where he officiates, as "verily and indeed" the Body and Blood of Christ. Dr. Cosin, too, Bishop of Durham, could express himself in terms as nearly identical as possible. "Therefore, this is no new sacrifice," he writes, "but the same which was once offered (on the Cross,) and which is every day offered to God (the Father) by Christ in heaven, and continueth here still on earth, by a mystical representation of it in the Holy Eucharist. And the Church intends not to have any new propitiation or new remission of sins obtained; but to make that effectual, and in act applied to us, which was once obtained by the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross. Neither is the Sacrifice of the Cross as it was once offered up there, *more cruento*, so much remembered in the Eucharist, though it be commemorated, as regard is had to the perpetual and daily offering of it by Christ, now in Heaven in His everlasting Priesthood; and the reason was, and should be still, the *juge sacrificium* observed here on earth, as it is in heaven, the reason which the ancient Fathers had for their daily sacrifice." And yet, such is the inconsistency and mystification of Protestant authors in their theological statements, that this same Bp. Cosin wrote a long treatise, entitled the "History of the Popish Transubstantiation." What makes the matter worse, he wrote it for the benefit of Protestants in Paris, in order to prevent them from being gained over to the Catholic Church—a step which we feel sure that Mr. Wilberforce would be far from approving. The book was published in Latin in London in 1675, by Dr. Durell, and translated into English in the following year, by Luke de Beaulieu. It has lately been republished in the "Anglo Catholic Library."

Accordingly he thus sums up the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice :

“ This service must partake of that efficacy which appertains to the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ, once for all ; and the sacrifice of Melchisedech must be an application of the sacrifice on the Cross.

“ The doctrine, then, of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, has its foundation in the truth of the Real Presence. It is grounded upon the same circumstance which has been shown to be characteristic of the Real Presence itself, namely, that Christ is really present because of the presence of His *Body*. For ‘ although Christ does not appear to offer now,’ says St. Ambrose, ‘ yet Christ Himself is offered on earth, when His *Body* is offered.’ So that the Eucharistic sacrifice rests upon the fact that all access to God is through the intercession of Christ ; it implies that His intercession depends upon the merit of that slain Humanity which He presents before God ; and that the same Humanity which is present *naturally* in Heaven, is the medium of His *supernatural* Presence in His Church’s ordinances ; so that there is one sacrifice but many altars.”— pp. 313-314.

With reference to the ordinary class of High Church Anglicans, who profess to believe in *an* Eucharistic Sacrifice, while they deny it in its Catholic and ancient sense, the following are Mr. Wilberforce’s pointed and well aimed remarks :—

“ It cannot be expected that those who take the Zuinglian or Calvinistic view of this ordinance should see anything more in it, because they suppose that they are dealing only with a sacramentum, or external form, and deny the existence of the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified. But it would be surprising to find this notion shared by persons who believe in the Real Presence of Christ. If the effect of consecration be to join together the sacramentum and *res sacramenti*, why should persons exclude the one and offer up the other ? Why should they exclude the reality or thing signified, and offer up the mere form and shell of the victim ? Is not this to be deluded by a system of shadows ? There is a consistency in denying that this service is a sacrifice at all : it is to reject the concurrent sentence of all antiquity ; to divest the worship of the Christian Church of its reality, and to detract from the present efficacy of the Intercession of Christ : yet though a false system, it is harmonious with itself. But, to allow the Holy Eucharist to be a sacrifice, yet suppose that nothing is offered but its external shell and covering—that the Church honours God by presenting to Him the empty husk of its victim—is little consonant with the truth and actuality of the Christian dispensation. It is to substi-

tute the shadows of the Law for the realities of the Gospel."—p. 322.

The inward part of the Holy Eucharist having been thus fully stated, Mr. Wilberforce proceeds to the further question, what are the benefits accruing to Christians therefrom? And this question he answers as follows: showing how far he is from falling into the Capharnaite error.

"Though Christ's Body is orally received, yet *It* does not become part of *us* but *we* become part of *Him*: *He* is not resolved, as *it* were, into the structure of our minds, but *we* pass, on the contrary, into His divine organization. The *sacramentum* indeed, or outward part, is assimilated, like other food, to the body which receives it: but the *res sacramenti* is an energizing principle, which takes up and quickens that upon which it is bestowed.

"Now, such a mode of operation as this is spiritual, and not carnal; and addresses itself, not to the bodily organs, but to the inner man. 'Spiritual and corporal nourishment,' says a striking writer, 'follow contrary laws: in corporal nourishment the nutriment is converted into the substance of the thing nourished: but in the nourishment of the spiritual life, the thing nourished is converted into the nature of the thing which nourishes it, and of its nutriment; and the nutriment is not changed, but only the thing nourished.' That such should be the process, therefore, in the Holy Eucharist, shows the thing received not to be *dead matter*, which is to acquire life by being taken into the organization of the receiver, but a living principle, which has power to absorb and organize those by whom it is partaken. And this is the manner in which the Holy Eucharist is always described by ancient writers: 'the effect of participating of the Body and Blood of Christ is nothing else than that we pass into that which we receive:' 'as St. Paul says, a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, so the very smallest portion of the Eucharist resolves our whole body into itself, and fills us with its own energy.' 'The Body' (*i. e.* of Our Lord) 'which has been rendered immortal by God, having become present in ours, transforms and changes the whole of it to itself.'"
—pp. 352-353.

So much, then, for the speculative part of Mr. Wilberforce's book:—a work with which thus far we know of nothing that can be compared, as an instance of Catholic doctrine systematically elaborated by a long intellectual process and historical enquiry. In fact, with one or two exceptions,* it is the ancient Catholic doctrine of the

* For example, the Archdeacon says nothing of the value of the

Church, set forth once more in almost the very terms of the Tridentine definitions, by an authority wholly external too, and independent of, the Council of Trent. The value of such a testimony to the genuineness and antiquity of Catholic doctrine can scarcely be overrated, as to its probable results upon Protestants. It is of course the offspring of an act of private judgment—this we suppose that Mr. Wilberforce would scarcely feel inclined to deny—and just as Mr. Goode and Mr. Gorham have *their* theory upon the Lord's Supper, and the Bishop of London has *his* theory, and Dr. Hook has *his* theory, so Mr. Wilberforce has his theory also. His right to it cannot be disputed. Whilst his Church nominally and on paper pretends to appeal to the ancient Fathers and the early councils,—

Holy Eucharist as a sacrifice on behalf of the dead as well as the living. Yet even on this head, he might have quoted from early writers. St. Augustine, for instance, with respect to his deceased mother, in his Confessions, B. x. (we quote from the Oxford edition, 1838,) states that the following was her last prayer. "Ponite hoc corpus ubicunque ; nihil vos ejus cura conturbet, tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad Domini altare memineritis mei ubi ubi fueritis." And was remembrance made of her at the altar? "Cum offerretur" (continues St. Augustine) pro eâ sacrificium pretii nostri, jam juxta sepulchrum posito cadavere, sicut illic fieri solet," &c. And again he writes, "non ista mandavit nobis ; sed tantummodo memoriam sui ad altare Tuum fieri desideravit, cui nullius diei prætermissione servierat ; unde sciret dispensari Victimam Sacram." Ch. xi. xii. xiii. Another and an earlier authority is St. Cyril, who speaks thus in his Sixth Myst. Catechetical Lectures. "Then we make remembrance of those who have died before us ; first of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, that God, through their prayers and intercessions, may receive our supplication ; and next of the holy fathers and bishops who are dead, and in short, of all the departed among us ; believing that very great will be the benefit to the souls of those for whom supplication is offered, while the holy and most awful Victim is lying present. Thus we make supplication for the dead, though they may be sinners, offering Christ sacrificed for our sins, and rendering that God who is the lover of men, propitious to them and to ourselves." A variety of testimonies from the various Eastern Liturgies to the ancient belief of the Church in the Holy Eucharist as a propitiatory sacrifice, available both for the living and the dead, will be found in an admirable tract by the late Dr. Lingard, published among the Tracts of the Catholic Institute, entitled *The Widow of Woolfrey*, and the Vicar of Carisbrooke.

though all the time she binds up with her mutilated remains of Catholic formularies, the heretical decisions of Lutheran, Zuinglian, Calvinistic, and Anglican Reformers, in the shape of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and claims subscription to them from all her clergy, and from many of her laity—Mr. Wilberforce has been in reality prosecuting the appeal to antiquity; and we do not hesitate to say that he has far outstripped the limits of the tether with which his Church thought to bind him into slavish submission to her own fallible decisions. Mr. Wilberforce has sought, and he has found; he has knocked honestly, and the door has opened to his enquiry. The light that has broken in upon him from the deep study of the early fathers, is one which must, ere long, reduce to certainty the strong feelings which he evidently cherishes in spite of himself—namely, that the decisions of the Council of Trent are in strict accordance with the spirit of the Church as she existed in the earliest ages. If so, can his own formularies at the same time be really and truly couched in a Catholic tone and spirit, or in any way be brought into harmony with “the ancient fathers” of the Church? The effort to harmonize the two was made some twelve years since at Oxford: but it was made in vain; it was too fine spun a theory for honest Englishmen: the national voice rose up against it in indignant protest, and the powerful intellect of Dr. Newman was forced to give up the unequal contest. It must be so also, in God’s own good time, we feel sure, with Archdeacon Wilberforce. It cannot be for nothing that God has raised him up to set before the Anglican communion the doctrine of the Incarnation, of the Sacraments as the media of its extension, and especially the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, in a formal and scientific shape, though with sundry failings and short comings: and we think that in his comments on the practice of the Anglican Church, we can read the workings of a mind not only weary of its unrealities, but suspicious of its claims to credit on the score of adherence to the voice of antiquity.

At all events he does not shrink from contrasting in the one or two points which fall within his scope, the practices of the early Church with those of Anglicanism, as it exists in the nineteenth century. And his contrasts are most forcible and true. They cannot be parried by evasions. “Not only,” he writes, “was the Holy Eucharist daily

ministered in the Primitive Church, but its staple worship was the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Congregations which met from week to week without this act, and churches in which it was solemnized once a quarter were wholly unknown." "The present, therefore, is plainly an instance of discrepancy (from the early Church) which, according to primitive rules, admits of no justification, since it is at variance in a most grave and momentous particular, not only with the universal judgment of the ancient Church, but also with the acknowledged practice of the Holy Apostles." Again, he admits, that in consequence of Cranmer having "abandoned his belief in the Real Presence," all "mention of daily communion immediately disappeared from the Reformed Prayer-Book; and that, among other results equally to be deplored, the communion was forbidden to be celebrated except there were present 'a good number' to communicate with the priest; those who did not wish to receive sacramentally, were ordered to quit the church; and the mediæval abuse, known as the *Missa Sicca*, enjoined, when actual celebration did not take place.

"This order, to 'send the multitudes away,' was the cause both of the subsequent small attendance at the Holy Eucharist, and of the infrequency of the rite. For it was soon found, that if every one who was present was obliged to receive on every occasion, it was necessary either to give up the daily Eucharist, or to dispense with the attendance of 'the great congregation.' Yet the order was natural enough, considering that the ruling party had adopted the Zuinglian theory, and supposed the Holy Eucharist to be merely a commemorative feast. For if Christ's real Presence be denied, the primitive doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice must be abandoned also; so that to have maintained a spiritual participation in the Offering, would have been to keep up a practice which had lost its meaning. It was only consistent, therefore, to accommodate the usages of the Church to its new doctrines. The service, consequently, was divested of its sacrificial character; and no longer bore witness, as in early times, to the great event which is transacted at the altar."—p. 379.

With reference to the desirableness of restoring among the laity the custom of assisting at the Holy Sacrifice, even though they do not actually receive, he asks with some indignation, "Is it contrary either to natural piety or to any express command, to join in the sacrifice without going on to (receive) the sacrament?" And again, "there is a cus-

tom which has existed, as it would seem, from the very commencement of the Church, and which was for the first time forbidden, through the influence of the Zuinglian party, at the end of fifteen centuries and a half..... Why should men be debarred of that liberty which was allowed them in the primitive Church, unless it can be proved to be unlawful?" and he finds no difficulty in answering the question in the negative. "It is clear," he replies, "that some members of the Church who were present at her public prayers, and who must have been expected therefore to remain till the conclusion of the service, neither did, nor according to her canons, could communicate daily." Here, then, is another flagrant departure of the Anglican Church from primitive practice. On the effects of such a step as the exclusion of those who did not communicate sacramentally, Mr. Wilberforce remarks thus:—

"But beyond any benefit which may accrue to individuals, this practice has its importance for the collective Church. It was the exclusion of the mass of men from the Christian sacrifice, which made it necessary to substitute other offices, by which the daily Eucharist has been practically superseded. Now no circumstance has had more influence than this upon the belief of the people. We may trace to it the popular conviction, which no argument can efface, that congregations meet together merely for the quickening of their feelings, or for the imparting of instruction, and not that they may obtain their petitions. And thus the notion of the Church's *work*, as an actual operative transaction, is well-nigh lost.

"The effect of such errors in diminishing men's practical sense of the Mediation of Christ, it is impossible to overestimate, and when the Holy Eucharist ceases to be regarded as a real action, wherein Christ's very Presence is exhibited on earth, and whereby prayer is truly rendered available; men fall back upon some other system of approaching to God, and with a change in belief comes a change in the principle of worship. Thus do individual prayer, and private faith, and single piety, take the place of that collective action, whereby the whole Church was supposed in ancient days to offer itself to God; and are supposed not only to be necessary, which they are, to the Christian life, but to have right in themselves to acceptance."—p. 414-415.

Such being the case, our readers will not be surprised to learn that the Archdeacon openly advocates the restoration of a daily celebration of the Eucharist in the Anglican Churches. Indeed, he tells us in a note, that out of the twelve thousand churches belonging to the establishment,

there are already four where this practice is carried out, in spite of King Edward's mandate of 1552.* And possibly indeed, here and there, where he can find some clergy who are willing to live in a kind of religious community, as at St. Saviour's, Leeds, or at All Saints Church in Margaret Street, who are willing to restore the practice, something may be done; but, as Mr. Wilberforce remarks, the habit of such attendance, once lost, is not easily recovered.

———“neque amissos colores
Lana refert medicata fuco,
Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus.”

The reason is obvious. A belief in the Real Presence is extinct in the Anglican communion. We are leaving a large margin for unknown cases, when we express our firm belief that there are not twenty, out of the fifteen thousand Anglican bishops, priests, and deacons, whose names are in the *clergy list*, whose belief reaches the level of the archdeacon of the East Riding. And even if twenty such men were found, how shall the daily sacrifice be celebrated except by a celibate clergy? These are simple, yet stubborn facts; and they stand as inseparable objections to any efforts made towards bringing about such a revival in the Anglican communion.

One word in conclusion. It is the solemn and deliberate opinion of Archdeacon Wilberforce, after a long and patient search into the records of Christian antiquity, that “the leading principles of the early Church, were its worship of the God-Man, its belief in His Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist, in the powers of the priesthood, and in the efficacy of consecration. These, and similar facts,” he adds, “were built up into that intellectual system of doctrine which we call the Creeds. The work was one which it cost nearly five centuries to complete.” Now, we all know

* This mandate was withdrawn, or, rather tacitly omitted in 1662, when the Prayer Book was revised under Charles II. And on this ground Mr. Wilberforce urges that the restoration of the practice is not impossible or illegal. We think, however, that it was not in order to facilitate such a practice that the mandate was omitted, but because it was no longer necessary; the habit being lost, as he confesses. The habit, however, of course could not have been lost, had the doctrine of which it was the expression been retained.

that it is far easier to pull down than to build ; the apostate Cranmer and his Anglican brethren struck the first blow at the root of the tall tree of faith which had flourished in England, as elsewhere, above a thousand years ; the foreign Protestants nobly seconded their unholy efforts ; for a century the theology of Calvin was triumphant in England—what Calvin did not destroy, perished by the hand of Hoadley ; and in spite of every effort to revive the fallen tree, as a whole and a system, it still lies prostrate and dead. The efficacy of the one of its two sacraments was denied and destroyed at the Reformation ; within our own day Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, as the mouthpiece of Anglican ecclesiastical law, declared that the English Church knew nothing of altars, and therefore nothing of either priest or sacrifice ; and but four short years ago its only remaining sacrament was made and declared an open question, by the authority of her Majesty in council, and scarcely a voice was raised against the judgment. Can Archdeacon Wilberforce find any parallel to this state of things in the early and “undivided” Church ? And if not, can the Anglican body, upon his own showing, have any claim upon his obedience ? Is it in any sense a witness of God’s truth and a teacher of the faith of the apostles ? This is a solemn question ; and it involves another ; but we ask it not now ; God’s grace, in His own good time, will doubtless work out the true solution.

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- ART. IV.—1. *Lectures on Turkey.* By the Very Rev. J. H. NEWMAN, D.D. Dublin : Duffy.
2. *Downfall of Turkey.* By the Rev. G. S. FABER. London.
3. *The Russ, the Greek, and the Turk.* London : Freeman.
4. *The Greek and the Turk.* By E. CROWE. London : R. Bentley.
5. *The Cross, v. The Crescent; the Religious Aspect of the Eastern Question.* London : T. Harrison.
6. *The Czar and the Sultan.* London : Vizetelly.

7. *St. Petersburg.* By J. G. KOHH. London : Simms and McIntyre.
8. *The Drying up of the Euphrates, and the Downfall of Turkey.* By the Rev. R. ARTOUN. London : Virtue and Co.
9. *The Crisis in the East, or the Russo-Turkish War, with its consequences to England and the World.* By CONINGSBY. London : Routledge and Co.
10. *The Danubian Principalities, the Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk.* London : R. Bentley.
11. *Progress of Russia.* London : J. Murray.
12. *The Religious Aspect of the Eastern Question.* London : Ollivier.
13. *The Doom of Turkey.* By J. McFarlane. London : Bosworth.
14. *Russia in the Right.* London : Mosley.
15. *Papers laid before Parliament on the Eastern Question.*

THE above list of works is significant of the interest felt in this country at the present time with respect to Russia. It is an interest which, however purely political and ephemeral in its character, and entirely owing to the events of recent occurrence, has by degrees associated itself with permanent and moral considerations. There are among these works several which take large, and even religious views of the question ; and we need hardly say that if Protestant writers have been led to look at it in this lofty aspect, Catholics can scarcely fail to do so. We need not do more than mention the illustrious names of Lacordaire and Le Maistre, to which we may now add that of Newman. These great minds have been attracted by the momentous questions of the destiny of Russia, the fate of Turkey, and the result to Christianity. The view which they appear to take may be shortly summed up thus : that Turkey must be absorbed by Russia, and that Russia must be re-absorbed in Catholic unity. The vastness of the prospect thus opened to our view—the grandeur of the idea thus presented to our imagination, it surpasses all the powers of poetry to express. From the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from the Danube to the Indus, the Catholic religion spreading its benign sway—the Holy See exercising its Apostolic jurisdiction ! With such a moral force acquired by the Church, and such a deadly blow given to Mahomedanism, it is impossible not to see that the powers of Antichrist all over Asia would be

shaken, and that India and China would not long be able to resist the progress of the faith, which would soon diffuse itself over the whole of that vast continent, so that Christianity would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The Abbé Lacordaire says, "Russia is a mighty nation. She stretches from the centre of Europe to that of Asia, from China to America, enclosing a territory whose immensity startles the imagination far less than its providential distribution delights the understanding. Russia belongs to the Greek religion by accident, and not by her political necessities or the character of her mind. It is impossible for her to fulfil her destiny without a return sooner or later to unity." Taking these lines for our text, we will endeavour to give the historical grounds for the conclusions thus expressed, and to exhibit the past history and the present character of Russia, as a key to her probable destiny, having ever before our mind the magnificent prediction of the Count Le Maistre, that Europe and Asia will one day sing High Mass together under the dome of Santa Sophia!

It is impossible to appreciate the views of these great Catholic writers without referring to the past history of Russia. For instance, to understand the profound remark of Lacordaire, that she is of the Greek religion by accident, we must go back to the eve of her original conversion to the faith. The Slavonian tribes which inhabited the central provinces of the present Russia, (we are informed by Döllinger,) bordered on the North by the Finnish tribes, were formed into a kingdom in 862, by the Norman Ruric, whence they are said to have acquired their name. The capital of their kingdom was first Novogorod, and afterwards Kiow, which was situated more to the South. From Ruric and from his companions in arms, the Russians soon acquired the Norman spirit of enterprise and plunder, and appeared as early as the year 867, and again in the years 907 and 941, on the Black Sea before Constantinople. Their wars and treaties with the Byzantine empire first introduced them to a knowledge of Christianity. Photius speaks in the highest terms of the faith of the Russians. In the beginning of the tenth century Russia was enumerated as the sixtieth archbishopric under the eparchs who were dependant on the patriarch of Constantinople. In 945 Kiow was a

Metropolitan See, and in 957, Olga, the widow of the chief prince of Igor, was baptized in the Imperial city of the Greeks, but the conversion of Russia was reserved for her grandson, Wladimir. This prince, who, in 980 became sole monarch of Russia, had resolved to embrace Christianity, when his conversion was proposed to him by the Greek emperor, the hand of whose sister he sought in marriage. He was baptized at Cherson, in 988; he immediately ordered all the idols at Kiow to be destroyed, and the image of Perun, the chief god of the Russians, to be thrown into the Dnieper. His decree that all the inhabitants should appear on the banks of the same river, to receive baptism on the following day, was obeyed without opposition. Greek priests were now sent into the different cities, churches and cloisters were erected, and schools established. Michael, a Servian by birth, was the first metropolitan of Russia. But easily as the people, thus in appearance, yielded to the change of religion, paganism was not entirely banished, particularly amongst the tribes that were not of Slavonian descent, before the twelfth century. The founding of new cities, which were exclusively Christian, tended greatly to the establishment of the faith. The connexion of the Grecian with the Russian Church, opened the way for the introduction into Russia of the arts and literature of Greece. It was doubtless on account of the similarity of the two churches that Nicetas hesitated not to name the Russians the most Christian people. In the eleventh century Kiow possessed no less than four hundred churches, and had gained for itself the title of the second Constantinople. In one of its cloisters, the monk Nestor (1056-1111) wrote his annals in the language of the country. But the entire spiritual and hierarchical dependence of the Russian Church upon the Church of the Greeks, (the Russian metropolitans were always confirmed and consecrated by the patriarchs of Constantinople,) involved it in the melancholy schism of the latter. Hence the Russian clergy always arrayed themselves at a distance, and in hostility against the many ameliorations of social life, which were effected in the West, and placed the strongest barriers against the many improvements which might have flowed in upon their country from the Catholic States of Western Europe.* It was during the period thus occupied by the

* *Hist. Church. Period ii. sec. 3, vol. iii. p. 30.*

conversion of the Russians that those disagreements with Rome occurred, which ultimately ended in a separation of the Greek Church from the Holy See. Hence Russia, so to speak, received the faith from a source tainted with schism, and can scarcely be said to have ever been in complete communion or direct communication with the Chair of St. Peter. This is an important fact to be borne in mind, in considering her history or her destiny. From the manner in which the people first received the faith, coming to them as it did, everything good might have been augured of them had it not been for the unfortunate schism, in the guilt of which it is impossible not to see that the bulk of the nation could, under the circumstances, scarcely have shared. The case of Russia, in this respect, is peculiar, and cannot be more appropriately described than in the happy phrase of the Abbé Lacordaire, that she "received the Greek religion by accident."

It is a curious circumstance that before their conversion, the Russians had attempted the conquest of Constantinople.

"It is now a thousand years," says Dr. Newman, "since their first expedition against Constantinople: their assaults continued two centuries, and in the course of that period they seemed to be nearer the capture of the city than at any time since. They descended the Dnieper in boats, coasted along the East to the Black Sea, and so came round by Trebezond to the Bosphorus, plundering the coast as they advanced. At one time their sovereign had got possession of Bulgaria. Barbarians of other races flocked to his standard: he found himself surrounded by the enemies of the East and West, and he marched down to Adrianople, and threatened to go further.* Ultimately, he was defeated; then followed the conversion of his people to Christianity, which, for a period, restrained their barbarous rapacity; after this, for two centuries they were under the yoke and bondage of the Tartars."

In the little work from which we have just quoted, (and which, almost extemporized as it was, is a wonderful proof of the power of its illustrious author's mind, and his vast historical information,) Dr. Newman, in a most masterly manner, traces the whole history of the Turkish nation down to their origin amidst the hordes of Tartars who once overran Russia. It is interesting to observe

* As the present emperor did in 1828. Singular that, during 1000 years, the Russians should never have got further.

how thus early in their history the Russ and the Turk are connected. Still more remarkable is it that from the most ancient time, there has been a prophecy preserved in the East, that the Russians were destined one day to be masters of Constantinople.

“Seven centuries and a half have passed,” says Dr. Newman, “since, at the very beginning of the Crusades, a Greek writer, still extant, turns from the then increasing inroads of the Turks in the East, and the long centuries of their triumph which lay in prospect, to record a *prophecy, old even in his time*, to the effect that in the last days the Russians should be masters of Constantinople; when it was uttered no one knows: but he tells us it was written on an equestrian statue, in his days one of the special monuments of the Imperial city, which had been brought thither from Antioch. That statue has a name in history, for it was one of the works of arts destroyed by the Latins at the taking of Constantinople.” “There is an enigmatical inscription on the tomb of the Great Constantine, to the effect that the yellow-haired race shall overthrow Ismael.”

The influence of that prophecy can probably be traced in the whole history of the Russian nation: nor was it likely to be weakened by the fact that from Constantinople they received the Christian faith.

At that time the monstrous power of Mahomedanism was in the ascendant, and was soon to find its most ferocious apostles in a tribe of that wild race which was destined in two centuries to overrun the newly Christianized nation of the Russians, and lay the foundation of that deep-rooted feeling of animosity which now bursts forth with fury in our own day. Some centuries had elapsed since the Saracens had signalized the rise of their sanguinary power with the taking of Jerusalem and the burning of Alexandria. The Greek emperors had already had to sustain a series of disastrous contests with these disciples of the false prophet; and the Turks, so early as the eighth century, had ravaged Asia Minor, while the Saracens were overrunning a considerable portion of the empire. While the conversion of Russia was proceeding, the power of the Turks was rapidly rising, and by the time she was Christian, had overturned the Empire of the Caliphs, and threatened to form a new one in the capital of the Constantines. It was not long ere the Turks took Jerusalem, and commenced their sway in the Holy Land, which has now endured nearly nine centuries, marking their acquisition of Palestine by such outrages upon Chris-

tian pilgrims as were destined in half a century to rouse all Europe to its first crusade.

Has it ever occurred to our readers that Mahomedanism is the only religion ever set up and invented, so to speak, in avowed opposition, open antagonism and deadly aversion to Christianity? Paganism, in its multifarious forms of idolatry, is the debased remnant of patriarchal Christianity, and has by gradual process of corruption become opposed to it. Judaism, on the other hand, was long anterior to it, and is only opposed to it in not having submitted to it; whereas, Mahomedanism was framed by these false prophets for the very purpose of its being set up against Christianity,—he himself—the apostle of Satan—setting himself up in blasphemous rivalry to Christ. If ever there appeared Antichrist in the world, Mahomet was he. He challenges for himself the honour due to the Son of God; and the watchword of his followers, “There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet,” indicates an essential enmity to Christianity, more malignant than in any other false religion. Accordingly the whole history of Mahomedanism has been marked by a ferocious fanaticism against the Christian faith.

“No race,” says Dr. Newman, “casts so broad and dark a shadow on the page of ecclesiastical history and leaves so painful an impression on the mind as the Turkish. The Saracens withered away at the end of 300 or 400 years, and had not the power, though they had the will, to persevere in their enmity to the Cross. The Tartars had both the will and the power, but they were far off from Christendom, or came down on ephemeral outbreaks. But the unhappy race of the Turks from the first moment they appear in the history of Christendom are its unmitigated, its obstinate foes. They have the resources of Tartars with the fanaticism of Saracens.” “Since the eleventh century the Turks have been *the great Anti-christ among the races of men.*”

Twelve hundred years almost have elapsed since the Saracens—the first ferocious followers of Mahomet, under Omar, took possession of Palestine, and the Holy City fell under the abusing yoke of the false prophet. Retaining just enough of Judaism to lead them to venerate Jerusalem as a sacred spot; they were, we need scarcely say, deadly foes to the Christian faith; the mosque of Omar was destined to receive from them the reverence due to the Sepulchre of our Lord. Eight hundred years ago the Holy City fell into the hands of the Turks. As

there is a great deal of misconception as to the true character of Mahomedanism—indeed, we might almost say a great deal of misplaced, or rather, morbid sympathy with it, we will, in the words of a mighty writer, endeavour to convey something like a true idea of its real spirit. All that is new in it, says Schlegel, “is that *fanatic spirit of conquest*, it has inculcated throughout the world.” “There was betrayed in it the most dreaded hostility towards the Christian religion.” “It was a morality without love, which has encouraged the thirst of blood, and begun and terminated in most unbounded sensuality. It encourages, and even commands—irreconcilable hostility—eternal warfare—eternal slaughter—to propagate through the world a belief in its blood-stained prophet of pride and lust.” “Perhaps all the heathen nations put together have not offered to their false gods so many human victims.” “And thus,” says the illustrious Görres, “thus the cutting steel and the destroying flame go before it as missionaries, and the south and east, and soon arises a part of the west, are borne down by its yoke.” It may be conceived what kind of guardians of the Christian shrines were these deadly foes to Christian faith. Then, in fact, commenced that terrible controversy about the *Holy Places*, which has continued down to our own days, and has now wrapped Europe in the flames of war.

One of the most remarkable and characteristic passages of Dr. Newman’s book, is that in which he speaks of the “undying opposition of the Holy See to the Turks, as a striking instance of its divinely imparted gift of seeing instinctively what is unfavourable to the interest of the Catholic faith.”

“From the very first, the Holy See pointed out the Turks as an object of alarm for all Christendom, in a way in which it had marked out neither Saracens nor Tartars. It denounced them as a people with whom the faithful never would have sympathy or alliance. It denounced them not merely as an odious outlying deformity, painful to the moral sight and senses, but an energetic evil, an aggressive, ambitious, ravenous foe, in whom foulness of life and cruelty of policy were methodized by system, consecrated by religion, and propagated by the sword. It was said by a prophet of old, concerning a threatened invasion, ‘Before the face thereof a devouring fire, and behind it a burning flame. The land is like a garden of pleasure before it, and behind it a desolate wilderness!’” “And I might similarly apply these words to the calamities, of which the Turks were the authors, in the Christian

countries which they overran : and describe how, when they got possession of Asia Minor, they profaned the churches, subjected bishops and clergy to the most revolting outrages, circumcised their youth, and led off their sisters to their profligate households." "War with the Turks was the uninterrupted cry for seven or eight centuries, from the eleventh to the eighteenth. Sylvester II. was the originator of a union of Christian nations against them. St. Gregory the Great collected an army to oppose them. Urban II. actually set in motion the long crusade. Honorius II. instituted the Order of Knight Templars, to preserve the pilgrims from their assaults. Eugenius III. sent St. Bernard to preach the Holy War. Innocent III. advocated it in the august Council of the Lateran. Nicholas IV. negotiated an alliance with the Tartars for its prosecution. Gregory X. was in the Holy Land in the midst of it (with our Edward I.) when elected Pope. Urban V. received and reconciled the Greek Emperor with a view to its renewal. Innocent VI. sent the Blessed Peter Thomas the Carmelite to preach in its behalf. Boniface IX. raised a magnificent army of French, German, and Hungarians, who fought* the great battle of Nicopoles. Eugenius IV. formed the confederation of Hungarians and Poles who fought the battle of Varna. Nicholas V. sent round St. John Capestian to urge the princes of Christendom against the enemy. Calixtus III. sent the celebrated Hunniades to fight with them. Pius II. addressed to the Sultan an apostolic letter of warning and denunciation. Sixtus the IV. fitted out a fleet against them. St. Pius V. added the 'auxilium Christianorum' to our Lady's Litany, in thankfulness for his victory over them. Gregory XIII. with the same purpose appointed the Festival of the Rosary. Clement IX. died of grief on account of their successes."

The Crusades were the commencement of that great struggle between the Crescent and the Cross, which must last until the Cross has triumphed. The words of Pope Urban, uttered at the council of Clermont seven centuries and a half ago, are as true now as they were then. "Behold the Holy Land, which an incarnate God once consecrated by His presence, now occupied by Infidels ! behold the Churches of Jerusalem insultingly profaned by Mahomedan superstition ! behold the Sepulchre of our Lord, and all the Holy Places, wantonly defiled by impious Mussulmen, the fanatic followers of a false prophet !" The atrocities then committed by the Infidels upon Christian pilgrims aroused all Europe in a flame of just indig-

* Alas ! how disastrously ! The story is one of the most affecting passages in Froissart.

nation and chivalrous enthusiasm, and the Crusades were the result. We need not recapitulate their unsuccessful history; enough to observe that the great cause of their failure was the want of amity and unity among Christian Princes, their national jealousies, and miserable dissensions. Alas! it is a melancholy moral, exhibited over and over again, from those days to the present. At last the Christians of the west turned their swords against those of the east, and the fourth Crusade, at the commencement of the 13th century, was not directed to the delivery of Jerusalem, but the conquest of Constantinople. It is almost six hundred years since the city was taken by the Crusaders, soon to lose it again, and leave it a prey to its constant civil dissensions and religious schisms. Ere the 13th century had closed the Ottoman empire had commenced in Bithynia.

Towards the close of the 13th century, while Russia was yet under the dominion of the Turks, and after the last of the Crusades took place under the auspices of St. Lewis, anti-Papal principles became prevalent in the West, as un-Catholic doctrines were gaining predominance in the East; and in the 14th century, while Western Christendom was divided by the fatal schism of the double papacy, Eastern Christendom was rapidly proceeding towards a complete disclaimer of papal authority, and fatal departure from Catholic orthodoxy. It is exactly four centuries ago since this melancholy consummation took place at Constantinople, in a final separation from the Holy See; and the almost instant retribution that ensued is one of the most tremendous manifestations of an avenging Providence recorded in history. The year 1452 saw the sad schism; the very next year saw its punishment in the capture of the city by the Turks. There is an ancient prophecy preserved by Christian tradition in the east, that Turkish dominion over the Greek empire was to last four hundred years. That period expired about the middle of last year, when the Russians commenced their advances. Whether the prediction will be verified remains to be seen. Its verification, in the liberation of the doomed city, would be most remarkable. But, beyond all doubt, the retribution exhibited in its subjugation was most memorable. There is nothing like it in the annals of the world, except the siege of Jerusalem.

That fair Christian city, however, fell under the yoke of

the infidel; the Church of Santa Sophia, in which a St. Chrysostom had preached, was converted into a Mahomedan mosque: and all the other churches in which the Adorable Sacrifice had been offered, were yielded up to the like horrible sacrilege. We do not envy the mind which can contemplate such an event and realize all its results, without feelings of profound regret. The Turkish conquerors regarded Christianity with such supreme contempt, that they tolerated it for very scorn. This is the real source of that tolerance which the admirers of Mahomedanism talk of. It is surely the result of an intense contempt for Christianity, which does not condescend to interfere with the "dogs of infidels." From this contemptuous feeling, the Christians were permitted to exercise their worship—in such obscure edifices as they could procure—all their churches being changed into mosques. The Mahomedan policy, however, like that of Protestantism—being based on a complete confusion of the spiritual and temporal, the Turkish conquerors condescended so far to take notice of their Greek subjects, as to compel them to solicit *the Sultan's installation of their Patriarch*: a degradation which has continued down to this day. In imposing it, the insolent infidels appeared to have borrowed an idea from bad Catholics, for it is pretty much the same sort of usurpation as that which the German emperors, and the English and French kings set up in their respective countries, of investing and installing the Archbishops appointed by the Holy See. It was, indeed, a degradation hitherto unheard of, that Christian prelates should be installed not only by laymen, but by *infidels*. So it was, however, a most appropriate punishment for schism. The Greek Church had proudly rejected the authority of the Holy See. It now groaned under the debasing yoke of the unbeliever. Thus commenced the Turkish rule in Constantinople. It was a retribution upon schism. The City is Christian in its origin. It stands on Christian ground. Its only noble memories are Christian. For ten centuries it had been the Christian Patriarchate of the East since it received the name of the first Christian emperor. It had heard the voice of canonized saints. It had known a greater than Constantine. And now the city, sacred to St. Chrysostom, was, and ever since has been, (sad consequence of schism and heresy,) under an obscene and odious domination.

So little do the great body of the people of this country care about Church history, that we are not sure we should be telling them anything of interest in informing them of these facts, and reminding them that Constantinople is of *right* a Christian city, and only ceased to be so by a cruel conquest.

In one of the little publications we have placed at the head of this article, some interesting facts are stated as to "the position the Sovereigns of Russia have held in reference to the Greek Church, ever since the subversion of the Greek empire by the Turks in 1453, placed them in the position of its natural protectors." The writer says: "They then became and still remain the only sovereigns in Europe who hold that faith, and who were always appealed to for protection in cases of persecution or emergency. One of the very many gross mistakes made on the subject of Russian influence over the Greeks is, that it is of recent date. Now it began with the first hour of Ottoman rule, and the first moment of Greek slavery. Ivan III. reigned in Russia when the Greek empire fell, and he married a princess of the Imperial family of Constantinople, Sophia, the sister of Michael Palæologus. It was on this occasion that the ancient arms of Russia, a St. George on horseback, were dropped, and the Imperial Greek eagle, a black eagle with two heads, assumed in their stead." We stop to observe how remarkable and lamentable a crisis was this, and how significant its signs. The consummation of schism resulted in the triumph of Mahomedanism. Heresy and Islamism were established in Europe at the same time: the fall of the Greek Christian empire of the east was contemporaneous with the rise of the schismatic empire of Russia, and the infidel power of Turkey: and when the crescent displaced the cross in Constantinople, the old Catholic symbol of St. George was discarded in Moscow, and the standard of the defunct Greek empire exalted in its stead: a striking indication of that absorption of the spiritual with the temporal, which was embodied in the Russian, as it afterwards was in the Anglican schism—represented in the substitution of the idea of earthly conquest for that of ancient Catholicity.

Few passages in history have a more melancholy interest, than those which narrate the last efforts of the Popes to rouse Christendom to resist the progress of the infidel.

It is just four hundred years ago, since Nicholas V. made a proclamation for a general crusade in vain. Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks—and though his successor, Calixtus II. whose exaltation had been foretold to him by St. Vincent de Ferrers, and who “had vowed, while Cardinal, to combat with all his force against the Turks, and wrest, if possible, Constantinople from their hands—renewed the proclamation, and sent legates into every Christian country to preach the Cross,” yet, as Döllinger adds, “his glowing zeal for the common cause of Christendom met with no response in the courts of Europe.” Pius II. convoked an assembly for the same object, and it was resolved to exert every effort in the prosecution of the war. But alas! the result did not correspond with the resolve! The effect of the decline of Catholic feeling is painfully apparent. And so far had France descended from her high position as champion of Christendom, that the University of Paris disputed the contributions demanded by the Holy See for the Turkish war. “The disappointment of the expectations which he had placed on the co-operation of the Christian powers did not damp the ardour of the Pope. He resolved as a last resource to place himself at the head of an army against the Turks, who had now made themselves masters of Bosnia and Sclavonia. ‘It may be,’ he said, ‘that when the Christian princes of Europe behold their aged father and teacher, the Pope—the Vicar of Christ—a man advanced in years, oppressed by sickness and infirmity—subjecting himself to the privations of a foreign expedition—they will be ashamed to remain at home.’” An eloquent bull, says Döllinger, again summoned the princes and the people to the combat: but the voice, which three hundred years before rallied hundreds of thousands to arms rung, in that age of slothful indifference and disgraceful self-seeking,—almost in vain. In June, 1464, Pius left Rome, to embark at Ancona, where the Venetian fleet was to meet him. He arrived in a weak state of health. His grief at seeing the weak efforts of this his last attempt, accelerated his decease, and he died the same year, after conjuring the Cardinals to prosecute the war with all the powers of the Church.” But, alas! the Church was now on the eve of “those days of ease and scandal” which preceded the Reformation, and the results of the Refor-

mation were decisive. If tepidity had been favourable to the infidel, heresy was infinitely more so.

Pope Boniface the Ninth had, as Dr. Newman mentions, at the close of the fourteenth century, issued a Bull in which he said, "It crowns our anguish to reflect that the whole of Christendom, which, if in accord, might put an end to the miseries which horrify the mind, is either in open war country with country, or if in apparent peace, is secretly weakened by mutual jealousies and animosities." "When," says Rainaldus, "the Turks might have been expelled from the Greek empire, Christians, torn to pieces by their quarrels and *schisms*, lost a sufficient opportunity." "In vain," says Dr. Newman, "did Pope after Pope raise his warning voice and point to the judgment which hung over Christendom. Constantinople fell." Thus things did but go on worse and worse for the interest of Christendom. The taking of Constantinople was not the limit of the Ottoman successes. Mahomet the conqueror was but the seventh of the great Sultans who carried on the fortunes of the barbarian empire. An eighth, a ninth followed. Then came the greatest of all—Soliman the Magnificent, contemporary of the emperor Charles V., Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England. Then followed Sultan after Sultan, each greater than his predecessor. The line of Popes had many bright names to show, Pontiffs of piety, learning, and energy: but where was the destined champion of Christendom? He appeared at the time when the Ottoman Crescent had passed its zenith, and was beginning to descend the stage. The Turkish successes began in the middle of the eleventh century, they ended in the middle of the sixteenth." By this Dr. Newman means to explain that their conquests ended. Their aggressions did not: their contests with Christendom continued down to about our own time, and for the whole of the seventeenth and half the eighteenth centuries endangered Europe.

After taking Constantinople, the Turks utterly overthrew the Greek empire, and conquered all its dominions, including Wallachia and Moldavia, Servia, and Bosnia. Solyman the Great, in the early part of the sixteenth century, subdued Belgrade and Bude—invaded Hungary—and even advanced into Austria and laid siege to Vienna; menacing the very existence of the House of Hapsburg, and spreading terror throughout Christendom. The cause

of their successes is to be found not only in their deadly enmity to Christianity, but in the unhappy divisions among Christians. The same spirit of heresy and schism which had betrayed the Eastern Church to the infidels, now threatened to lay under their yoke the Western. A yet more fatal heresy than that of the Greeks—a far more ruinous schism than that of Constantinople had now arisen. Protestantism was in existence, and was soon found in instinctive alliance with Mahomedanism, an alliance which has continued to our own time. The Lutherans hailed the invasions of the Turks as diversions in their favour: Luther used his influence to prevent such a league among Christian princes as would have made head against the infidels, and Solyman showed his appreciation of the assistance by calling him a good man.

Unhappily—from jealousy of Austria, France withheld her assistance from the cause of Christendom, and more intent on humbling her enemy than destroying heresy—united with the infidel. The effect of this was to make the Sultan sovereign arbiter of Europe: and the disgraceful spectacle was presented of Christian princes cringing to the truculent Turk, to gain his assistance and his support. He expressed the most bitter scorn for them: a feeling in which it is impossible not to sympathize. He taunted them with their *dissensions*, and their disobedience to the Pope, whom they acknowledged as their common Father. Surely since the time when Balaam was rebuked by his ass, there never was a more humiliating lesson! He told them that they ought to be ashamed of their conduct, and that if they desired peace, they ought to begin by restoring the treasures of the territories which they had taken from each other. Of the Emperor he spoke in terms of crushing sarcasm. “He is waging war in Italy: and at the same time threatens the Turks with war, and the Lutherans with a forced conversion. He talks of assembling Catholics and Protestants in a council, and has not the power to realize his promises.” The point of this sarcasm was—that Charles cared more for territorial conquest, than for the support of the faith, and that was true enough. “Were I,” said the insolent Ottoman, “to desire such a thing, I would compel the members of the two communities to unite with one another in religion. He takes titles which do not belong to him. How can he dare to entitle himself *King of Jerusalem*? Does he not know that it

is the Grand Seignior who is master at Jerusalem? I know that Christian nobles visit Jerusalem in the garb of beggars; I will for the future issue orders forbidding any Christian to go to the place." Amidst all this insolence of the infidel, we cannot help seeing his intense contempt for the Christian princes, on account of their indifference to the interests of their religion. The Turks despised them for their want of zeal in behalf of the Holy Places. And truly the contempt was merited. We find Francis dishonouring his country and scandalizing Europe by the first treaty of alliance and amity a Christian monarch had concluded with the infidels, and a quarter of a century after, exactly three hundred years ago, Charles disgraced the close of his long career, by the first treaty for establishing heresy. Thus we find the two greatest Catholic monarchs entering into leagues, one with Lutheranism, the other with Mahomedanism, simply for the sake of an unchristian and selfish policy, for the mere purpose of the better enabling them to gratify their mutual jealousy. Christian kings, in order to cripple and humble each other, conclude alliances with heresy and infidelity! In the treaty with the Turks, the French made no stipulations about the Holy Places—but were satisfied with a simple promise from the Sultan that he would protect the Catholics and the Holy Places. This was the first exercise of French influence in the diplomatic way for that object, a feeble substitute, diplomacy, for the old Catholic chivalry! From that time, France has always been found in amity with Turkey, for the sake of preserving her traditional policy of humbling the house of Austria. When Pius V. solicited the aid of France against the Turks, she pleaded her accursed alliance with them; and it was a Prince of the House of Austria who had the glory of achieving the great victory of Lepanto: previously to which, the Sultan had maintained for years a severe contest with the united forces of the Pope and the Emperor, placing Vienna and Venice in jeopardy, and putting Austria under tribute.

One of the finest passages in Dr. Newman's book is that in which he describes the character of Pius V., and his labours to rouse Christendom against the common enemy.

"It is not to be supposed that the Saint should neglect the tradition which his predecessors, of so many centuries had be-

queathed to him of zeal and hostility against the Turkish power. At the same time the Ottoman armies were continuing their course of victory: they had just taken Cyprus, with the entire co-operation of the Greek population, and were massacring the Latin nobility and clergy, and mutilating and flaying alive the Venetian governor; yet the Saint found it impossible to move Christendom to its own defence. How indeed was this to be done, *when half Christendom had become Protestant, and secretly, perhaps, felt as the Greeks felt, that the Turk was its friend and ally?* In such a quarrel England, France, and Germany were out of the question. At length he succeeded in forming a holy league. He proclaimed a jubilee to the whole Christian world, for the happy issue of the war."

And then the illustrious writer describes, as only he could, the glorious victory of Lepanto, which was signalized by the adding to our Lady's Litany, the title, "Help of Christians." "This victory was the turning point," says Dr. Newman, "of Turkish history: and though the Sultans have had isolated successes since, yet from that day they undeniably and certainly declined: they have lost their *prestige* and self confidence, and the victories gained over them since are but the complements and reverberations of the overthrow at Lepanto." Dr. Newman quotes Alison, who says, "The battle of Lepanto arrested for ever the danger of Mahomedan invasion in the South of Europe," and also cites Von Haumer: "The sea-fight of Lepanto is a signal in the history of the Ottoman empire for a *period of decline*."

But it was a *long* period of decline; and the progress of decline was *slow*: nor, for a century was it very perceptible. The Turks were still a pest of Christendom: though no longer its conquerors.

It was in pursuance of her unworthy policy, that France fomented those unhappy divisions in Germany, which were taken advantage of by Gustavus Adolphus, who, under a pretence of zeal for the Reformation, convulsed Christendom by his ravages, and exposed it to the stealthy and sanguinary inroads of the infidels. This was the secret of the unchristian policy of Richlieu, and in the long reign of Louis XIV. the same spirit dictated a jealousy of the Holy See, and indifference to the progress of the Turks, established Gallicanism, and encouraged Mahomedanism. Is it not a significant circumstance that in this very reign arose the power of Russia?

It would seem as if she were raised up to support Aus-

tria, and supply the place of France in the defence of Christendom against the enemies of the Cross. For three centuries France had abandoned her old Catholic policy, for the meanest of purposes,—and now as if in retribution, arose a gigantic schismatic power, to assume the post she had vacated, and acquire an influence for which she had proved herself unworthy.

The ultimate result of the Reformation in Germany was in the early part of the seventeenth century, the thirty years' war: of which Schlegel speaks, as "thirty years' havoc, in which the early civilization and the noblest energies of Germany were destroyed: a religious war, than which none was ever so widely extended, and so complicated in its operations, so protracted in duration, and entailing misery on so many generations."* "Of that war, one of the worst results was the letting loose among Christian states a spirit of unprincipled aggression, a pretence of religious zeal in the protection of the cause of religious liberty." We need not do more than remind our readers of the part played by Gustavus Adolphus in this disastrous period: the part of a selfish spoliator, and unscrupulous aggressor. We have already devoted an article to the subject,† and on this occasion all we need add is, that it was against Russia among other powers, that his aggressions were directed, and that he wrested from her then unformed empire, the countries which bound the Gulf of Finland, and the Baltic sea, in Livonia, Courland, and Prussian Poland, the subsequent reconquest of which, by Russia, we constantly hear referred to as "aggressions" on her part against the peace of Europe, and the integrity of the Northern states. The battle of Leipsic delivered Europe from her Protestant liberator, but he left behind him a spirit which in his own successor, Charles XII., and his imitator, Frederick of Prussia found equally pernicious impersonation, long before Russian "aggression" was heard of. With what motives Sweden had embarked in the war in which she pretended to be the champion of the Protestant religion, is plain from her disappointment when the treaty of Prague deprived her of Pomeranea: and the eagerness with which she renewed

* Philosophy of History, Lect. xvi.

† See the Dublin Review, vol. 29.

the war, palpably for no other purpose than territorial aggression.

In the early part of the seventeenth century, contemporary with league Protestant Princes, and intrigues of Catholic France against the Austrian Empire, we find the Turks ravaging Poland, and receiving humble embassies from the Emperor for peace. The insolence with which the Ottomans demeaned themselves towards the sovereigns of Christendom is inconceivable. The ambassadors had to bow their heads into the dust before the Sublime Porte. The Sultan, Mahomet IV., boasted that he had partly enslaved Hungary, and caused Germany to tremble. "The Christians," he exclaimed, "those deadly enemies of our *holy religion*—acknowledge their weakness, and are expecting every moment to see themselves ours by conquest." The first hostilities between the Russians and the Ottomans began at this era: about the time of the peace of Westphalia in Germany. And curiously enough the Russians first appear in European history as the protector of Poland. The Sultan invaded and overran that country, imposing upon it such an oppressive yoke, and roused the nation to a gallant resistance, which caused a tremendous reaction in Europe, and turned the tide of war against the Turks, under the heroic Sobieski. At this era, France was playing her characteristic game of diplomacy, and earning a fame for treachery even with the Turks themselves. Very different was the course pursued by Poland, and soon to be imitated by Russia. Towards the end of the century, Poland being threatened with another invasion from the Turks, Russia threatened them with her opposition. The "Sublime Porte" was enraged; and replied with the utmost contempt. A tremendous war ensued, in which Turkey sustained a terrific struggle with Austria, Poland, Russia, Hungary, and Venice, and pursued them even to the gates of Vienna. Nothing can more strongly show the jeopardy of Christendom from the terrible infidel power. At this momentous era, as the star of Poland seemed to set with Sobieski, the star of Russia seemed to rise with Peter the Great.

It was in 1683, that Sobieski raised the siege of Vienna, and in the same year Peter ascended the throne of Russia. When the Polish chivalry chased the Ottoman legions out of Austria, the contest between the Crescent and

the Cross was only removed to another scene, and renewed, in a series of contests between the Sultan and the Czar, continued down to the present time. In those contests it was not always, nor was it originally, the Russians who were the aggressors. When Peter commenced his career, Christendom was on the defensive against the most ferocious assaults of Mahomedanism; and when, before scarcely ten years had passed, he gained his great victory over the Turks, and achieved the conquest of Asoph, the most important acquisition of the yet nascent empire, it seemed as just a retribution as any that the Polish hero had ever inflicted: and the conqueror was quite as much, or quite as little, actuated by religious motives in the one case as the other. No one can suppose that Sobieski was a disinterested defender of the Austrian empire, or a champion of Christendom simply from a zeal for Christianity. On the contrary we know that he coveted territorial acquisitions from the Turks, quite as much as ever did a Russian sovereign; and his latest efforts were as eagerly directed towards the acquisition of Moldavia, as those of Peter were exerted for territorial aggrandisement in another quarter. One succeeded; the other did not: but it seems idle to consider the one as an aggression any more than the other. Whatever their motives, they in *fact* only inflicted upon the Turks well merited chastisements, for sanguinary and remorseless assaults on Christendom, and the commencement of what are called Russian aggressions upon Turkey, was as much entitled to be considered retaliatory, as the war which was carried by Sobieski across the Danube. Moreover, it must be remarked, that the Russians had already endured the yoke of that Tartar race from whom the Turks had arisen. The Turks, therefore, were old enemies of theirs. There must have been strong traditionary animosity against them among the Russians. Scarce two centuries had elapsed since they had shaken off the iron bondage, which the Turks were yet striving to force upon the adjoining countries of Christendom. Russia was certainly ever a natural ally of Austria, and the inevitable foe of Turkey, in this great contest. It is but fair to observe, that the common policy of Europe, was at this time hostility to the Turks; and Russia, under Peter, merely participated in it.

With Peter the Great, every one knows, began the

influence of Russia in Europe. Hardly one hundred and fifty years have elapsed since the taking of Asoph—the first maritime conquest of the rising power; and it is exactly that period since the foundation of St. Petersburg. That the power of Russia was required as a bulwark against the Ottoman aggression, and that there was yet danger from its advances, is shown by this, that the consequence of the fiery career of Charles XII. of Sweden, renewing the Protestant policy of Gustavus, dividing and weakening Christendom for the sake of selfish conquest, was to place Austria once more in jeopardy from her ancient enemy, and just before a cannon-ball relieved Europe of its pest, Prince Eugene had to fight a mighty battle with the Infidels on the plains of Peterwardien. In the struggle with Sweden, Russia sought only the restoration of the country round the head of the gulf of Finland, which formerly had belonged to her: and she succeeded in recovering Finland, Courland, and Livonia, including Riga and Revel, thus securing the navigation of the Baltic. These countries had been previously conquered by Sweden: on the part of Russia they were only reconquered, confirmed by the peace of Nieustadt. And though in the course of this contest Russia lost her recent acquisition of Asoph, and the navigation of the Black sea, so soon as she was relieved from the war with Sweden, she recovered it, and conquered the Crimea.

In the last year of the seventeenth century the treaty of Carlowitz was concluded, on the part of Austria and Poland, with the Turks; the first in which they had to submit to some restraint of their inordinate encroachments; the first in which the modern system of “balance of power” is to be discerned,—that is to say, a territorial adjustment under the arbitrament of various contending or concurring powers. This treaty relieved Christian princes from the disgrace of tribute to the infidel, but inflicted upon them the dishonour of an entire though tacit, abandonment of the Holy Land. It is not even *mentioned*. The spirit of territorial acquisition had displaced the old traditionary policy of Christendom. The age of chivalry was gone, and the glory of Europe was extinguished for ever; the age of calculators and sophisters, economists and politicians, had commenced! It was the age of Protestantism rampant and Gallicanism triumphant,—Catholicism depressed; and consequently the

ancient Catholic spirit of Christendom sunk and destroyed.

However, after satisfactorily settling territorial questions, Austria did do something for the religious,—in the way of *diplomacy*. Firmans were procured from the Porte to protect the Catholic priests at Jerusalem from intrusion on the part of the Greek and Syriac bishops; and the Sultan assigned to the Catholics of the three contracting powers the churches of St. John and of the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Sepulchre, the Convents of Bethlehem and Nazareth, and other sacred places, and authorized the reception of pilgrims. France, by the same policy of diplomacy, favoured similar privileges. Next year, in 1700, the treaty of Asoph was concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which Russia secured that port, and some small territorial acquisitions, and also *stipulated for protection to her pilgrims in travelling to Jerusalem*.

It is melancholy to observe here greater zeal for religion on the part of the schismatic Russians, than on the so-called Catholic powers of Austria and France. Russia made protection to her pilgrims a *sine qua non* in her treaty; whereas the other two powers utterly neglected the interests of religion until they had settled all secular matters by treaty, and then made it merely a subject of a little additional diplomacy.

This era is remarkable as marking the rise of that rival protectorate of schism, which Russia has ever since assumed in opposition to the protectorate of Catholicism exercised by France. The sequel of these treaties is sadly instructive of the ruinous results of schism. The Greek priests, enraged at the efforts of Catholic missionaries to convert the schismatics, induced the Greek Patriarch to imprison some of them, and the Sultan was appealed to. Melancholy spectacle! too often, alas! beheld in the history of the last ten centuries,—Antichrist called in to arbitrate between contending communities of Christians! the arm of the infidel invoked by schismatics against Catholics! The Grand Vizier's answer breathed that spirit of intense contempt for Christianity which has ever animated Mahomedans. He reproached the Christians with their divisions, and treated with scorn their distinctions. "What are Catholics?" he enquired; "are they not infidels?" The answer being in the affirmative, he exclaimed, "Good.

The Sublime Porte cannot trouble itself with the differences between them and their brother infidels."

However, the apathy of the Turks was so far aroused, or the influence of the Greeks so far prevailed, that the Jesuits were driven from Palestine;—a very significant indication that their labours had alarmed both the infidels and the schismatics. We hear nothing of any effective intervention by Austria or France to protect Catholicity. Their sole anxiety appears to have been for territorial acquisition and temporal aggrandizement.

Not twenty years had elapsed since the treaty of Carlowitz, when war was renewed between Austria and Turkey, merely for the sake of territory; and the treaty of Passarowitz, which secured Austria, Belgrade, and a part of Servia, shows no care for the interests of Catholicity. In 1727 we find the schismatic Greeks again complaining to the Porte of the labours of the Jesuits; and in a spirit eminently characteristic of schism, they seem to have disclaimed all idea of attempting conversions among the Turks, in order to ingratiate themselves with the infidels, and expose their opponents to their anger. The unchristian artifice so far succeeded, that the Jesuits were again denounced, and the Greeks took advantage of the occasion to burn a Catholic church; all this time France had sought to exercise an influence over the Porte not at all for Catholic objects, but purely for the sake of policy; and the same principle of expediency had found an ally in England. Here we see the rise of that coalition between England and France, to counteract the progress of Russia towards Constantinople which has, with occasional interruptions, continued to the present time. The very fact of such a coalition, of course, shows that there was nothing *Catholic* in the policy of France; that it was a mere question of political power.

The treaty of Hanover in 1725 united France and England against Russia and Austria. These alliances were the result, the first of the hereditary jealousy between the courts of Paris and Vienna; and the second of natural necessity, and obvious interest. Mr. Coxe very truly observes, that, in consequence of Russia's vicinity, and contests with the Turks, her interests were inseparably united with those of Austria. Under the long administration of Walpole the alliance of Austria was disregarded, and the hostility of France against her abetted and encouraged.

This, of course, tended more and more to throw Austria into the arms of Russia; the effect of which was apparent, about this time, in their united interposition in the affairs of Poland—an interposition, however, which had the sanction of England. Under the administration of Fleury Austria had been deprived by France of part of her dominions in Italy; and when, in 1736, Russia endeavoured to wring from the Turks the acquisitions which had been made by Peter the Great, but lost in consequence of the interposition of Sweden, Austria engaged in the war, partly from gratitude to Russia on account of her resistance in the struggles with France, partly from a desire to compensate for the territorial losses in Italy by conquests in Turkey, and partly upon the old Catholic principle, of defending Christendom against the incursions of the Infidel. The first campaign terminated disadvantageously to Austria, being everywhere unsuccessful. The next campaign was similar in character; while the Russians were overrunning the Crimea, the Turks made rapid progress towards Vienna, and threatened to besiege the Austrian army in Belgrade. At this crisis French intrigues entrapped the Austrian generals to a most disgraceful negotiation, in the course of which they endured outrageous indignities from the Turks, (the Bashaw of Bosnia spitting in the face of the Austrian general)—and which ended in the Peace of Belgrade, so dishonourable to Austria, but still more discreditable to France, by whose iniquitous agency it was effected; a treaty under which Belgrade was surrendered, and the cession of Servia and Wallachia submitted to. It was only by treachery and French intrigue that this was consented to by the Emperor; for the Turks were anxious to obtain peace, and the Russians had made advances on Moldavia. Truly might the Emperor say: “The history of past ages exhibits no vestiges of such an event!” One Christian power betraying another into the hands of the infidel; and carrying out this vile agent, and yet viler means, for the most mean and miserable motives of political jealousy and selfish interest. Well might it have been said of France, the “age of chivalry is gone!” But Louis XIV. reigned. His very name is an explanation of everything vile. Most instructive is the union of national demoralization, subjugation of the Church, and a treacherous betrayal of a Christian Prince to the Infidel. The annals of perfidy

and depravity record nothing more execrable than the artifices by which Villeneuve tricked the court of Vienna into a disastrous treaty with the Turks. Alas! that is not the only instance in which French diplomacy has acquired an odious celebrity for iniquity, and for art.

Mr. Coxe says the aim of France was to divide the Emperor from the Czarina—to prevent any dismemberment of the Turkish dominions, and counteract the aggrandisement of the power of Austria.* And that Villeneuve boasted, that in making the peace of Belgrade, he had rendered a more effectual service to France than if he had gained a complete victory. Coxe adds that the treaty gave rise to new cavils, which were artfully protracted by the intrigues of France, who thus maintained her ascendancy over the contracting powers—that Cardinal Fleury, who then ruled France, filled all the courts of Europe with his intrigues, endeavouring to isolate the house of Austria by uniting her enemies—that France wholly governed the councils of the Porte, and by means of reciprocal treaties, seized a pretext for interference in the future disputes of the Turks with the Christian powers. By her influence also Sweden was induced to make an offensive alliance with the Porte. In 1768 France instigated Turkey to commence a war against Russia, in which the rapid successes of Russia aroused the jealousy of Austria, although she had received powerful aid from her great neighbour in her deadly struggle with Prussia. Thus, under these circumstances, “Prussia projected the partition of Poland, (here we quote Mr. Coxe,) and the distracted state of that country, and the relative situation of the neighbouring powers, seemed to offer a favourable moment for the fulfilment of his plan. Aware that *Russia was interested to oppose a dismemberment*, he endeavoured to secure the concurrence of Austria, and by their joint efforts, to extort the acquiescence of Catherine while she was involved in a Turkish war.” At the same time she restored her other conquests to the Turks, “exacting,” as Mr. Coxe says, “such stipulations relative to their privileges and religion, as afforded her a pretext to interfere in the affairs of those provinces;” and which recent events have shown how well she has known how to take advantage of.

* Hist. of House of Austria, vol. 3, c. 119.

It is perfectly plain, upon this statement, that the great object of Russia has ever been to advance towards Constantinople rather than Cracow; and that the East and not the West is the scene of her ambition. It is true that she had been for some time interfering in the affairs of Poland; but it will be clear, on a little closer examination of the question, that, as the Protestant historian was of opinion, her interest was rather to maintain that country independent, although under her influence, as a bulwark against Sweden, a counterpoise to Prussia, and a check upon Austria. The aims of Russia were in an opposite direction. Over and over again had she been rapidly progressing towards their realization when she had been checked by the Swedish aggression; and Prussia was now a great military power, capable of becoming a yet greater foe. To uphold Poland was therefore her obvious interest, in order to enable her to prosecute her policy in the East; and it is plain that Prussia and Austria thought they had made good terms for themselves in getting Russia to accept a share of Poland, allowing them the remainder, and relinquishing Moldavia and Wallachia. Nor is this all. We have seen how Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles XII. of Sweden, had taken advantage of the dissensions caused by Protestantism in Germany, to prosecute their rapacious policy. Frederick of Prussia pursued the same course in Poland. The miserable results of the Reformation there remained in deep-seated religious animosities, which he fomented and fostered to the utmost. The different sects of Protestants were termed the "dissidents," who found in her patrons and protectors. It is not to be wondered at that the policy of the Protestant power of Prussia should be imitated by the schismatic power of Russia. And when the Polish government revived the ancient Catholic constitution of the country, excluding the "dissidents" from the diet, these powers encouraged the formation of confederacies, which split up the nation into factions, and prepared the way for dismemberment. But in all this Russia only pursued a Protestant policy, and followed Protestant precedents and Protestant examples. Her aim, we repeat, was towards the East. And this, by reason of the religious character of her people.

The Russian Church being an offshoot of the Greek, of course has retained a sympathetic relation with it, and has followed its fate, doomed, like its parent, to show how,

in schism, even faith degenerates into superstition, and fervour into fanaticism. That rude, but deep devotion which, in the middle ages, led millions over Europe to the Holy Land, has never died away in the East. And so long ago as the 17th century, the Greeks began to dispute with the Catholics the custody of the Holy Places; indeed, acquired for a time the exclusive possession of Churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, to which they had no real title. But though French influence, as we have shown, was exercised with the Porte, in the way of diplomacy, in favour of Catholicity; though, in 1670 a special embassy from France succeeded in so far displacing the Greeks, as to reinstate the Catholics in their former position; and though, in the treaty of 1740 there was an article, securing to the French Franciscans, (who, for six centuries, have represented the Catholic Church in the Sacred Cities,) all the rights which, by ancient custom, they had enjoyed; still the religious element was not so predominant in French policy as in that of Russia.

By this time it must be clear that the religious element was made to enter far more largely into Russian policy, than into Austrian or French. We say *made* to enter, for we care not to discuss how far with her rulers it was a pretence, or used merely as a means for an end. We speak rather of the people than of their rulers; and it is perfectly plain, that if mixing up the religious element in the policy of Russia, tended to excite her people, it could only be because they were capable of excitement on such a subject. They had a religious enthusiasm which turned their eyes towards Constantinople, and the policy of their rulers took that direction. In the middle of the last century, under Catherine II., Greek monks in Georgia and Montenegro agitated the people by a prediction of the restoration of the Greek Church and empire, and the expulsion of the Turks by the Russians. The war which then broke out between Russia and Turkey had all the character of a religious war, and flamed on both sides with all the fury of a fanaticism. In Constantinople the "holy standard" was brought out of the mosque of Santa Sophia as the symbol of a struggle for the Moslem faith, and a massacre of the Christians in the city was the result of the fierce passions thus excited.

We repeat, the main object of Russia was in the East. It is time to exhibit what that object was. It is summed

up in one word—Constantinople. But that word had a far more potent meaning than the mere conquest of Turkey. It meant the restoration of the ancient Greek empire. It meant the ultimate acquisition of the sovereignty of half of Asia, to be added to the half of Europe. It meant the expansion of the mighty supremacy of the Czar—spiritual and temporal—over an empire vaster than the world ever saw, extending over two continents, and threatening to absorb the whole of one of them, and stretching its grasp from Moscow to Mecca—from St. Petersburg to Peking. To understand the *intensity* with which this one idea had already long presented itself to the minds of Russian sovereigns, and must, by this time, have firmly rooted itself in the hearts of the Russian people, we must recollect what has been already noticed—the ancient religious relations of Russia to Constantinople. We must recollect that Constantinople would carry with it Palestine; we must remember that, as Russia, by her peculiar position, has been preserved, although in schism, from the religious revolutions which have produced liberalism in politics, and latitudinarianism in religion throughout the rest of Europe; and we must try and get a true idea of the character of the Russian nation, with reference especially to their religion, and their relations to their Church and their Czar.

In Russia the Czar is the head of their Church, and their Church came from Constantinople. We have already alluded to the conversion of the nation by the Greek Church, about the period when the seeds of schism were rapidly increasing into a fatal separation from the Holy See. Of course this produced a religious isolation from the rest of Europe—an isolation which was increased, when, in the seventeenth century, the Greek Church conceded to the Russian perfect independence—exonerating her patriarchs from applying to the See of Constantinople for confirmation. At the commencement of the eighteenth century Peter the Great abolished the patriarchal power, and constituted himself virtually the head of the Russian Church. But it is a most remarkable fact that he was favourable to the restoration of Russia to Catholic unity, which we need hardly remind our readers had been repeatedly attempted. Thus the temporal and spiritual sovereignty of Russia was united in the man to whom she owes all her modern greatness, and the claims of gratitude were associated with the sacredness of religion. From this era dates the rapid rise

of Russia; and the union of the ecclesiastical and civil power is associated in the Russian world with conquest, aggrandizement, and success. No wonder it is looked upon with veneration, the more so because the Russian mind is *religious*, and has been so during the sad three centuries which followed the reformation, and which, in the rest of Europe, have seen such an uprooting of religion and such a subversion of all principles of reverence, under indifferentism and latitudinarianism. Let us see what view a mind such as Schlegel's took of this interesting part of our subject. He says in his *Philosophy of History*:

“The greatness of Russia is built on a spirit of enlightenment that has excited a gradual but beneficial influence over the whole extent of the empire. It was well that, in copying the civilization of Europe, she should not introduce along with it those negative and destructive principles—those maxims of liberalism and irreligion which were almost exclusively prevalent in European literature and science during the eighteenth century; in a word, that Protestantism (in the wide and comprehensive signification of that term) should not become too predominant in the public mind. The great and essential point for this European and Asiatic Empire—the seat of a progressive enlightenment—is this, that this enlightenment, which is the basis on which this empire is founded, should never take an irreligious career, but should ever maintain a decidedly religious character.”

And he shows that it has been so. It is impossible to overrate the effects of that religiousness of character which Russia has preserved ever since she first received Christianity. It is true that she originally received it with a schismatic taint, which has since produced fatal fruit; but Schlegel's remarks on this point breathe his beautiful union of charity and philosophy:

“The separation of the Russian Church from the authority of the Greek patriarch, who had now fallen under Turkish dependance, appeared a necessary condition for opening a door in Russia to the moral and intellectual civilization of Europe; nor, when we consider that such a step was but the continuation of an original schism, can we deem it a subject of blame. It does not appear, however, that the system of a national Church, which has sprung out of this separation, has been as much abused as in the Anglican Church, or in the system of anti-papal opposition nearly akin to it, adopted in one or more Catholic countries in Europe.”

The religious feelings, then, of the Russians, infused in them a natural antagonism to Mahomedanism. The Russians, it must be remembered, are far nearer the Turks than we are; indeed, we are so distant, as to have none but commercial relations with them; whereas the Russians have them at their door—have, for three centuries, been continually at war with them; and to this it must be added that millions of Christians of the kindred Greek communion have for centuries groaned under the Ottoman yoke. Hence, as Balmez observes that in Spain, by reason of the wars with the Moors, the period of the Crusades was advanced and anticipated; in Russia it has been retarded or prolonged. The fact is that the Russians are now in the age of the Crusades; and Lacordaire falls upon the same expression in speaking of Russia as Balmez uses with reference to the crusaders: “They were not nationally *adults*.” The description Balmez gives of the state of Europe at the era of the crusades is very applicable to Russia. “The two opposite principles, barbarism and Christianity were face to face. The holiest maxims are proclaimed; legitimacy, law, reason, and justice are invoked—the tribunal of God is appealed to: this is the influence of Christianity. But you are afflicted with the sight of acts of violence—rapines and disasters; this is barbarism. If you look at the crusades you will observe that grand ideas, vast plans, noble inspirations, social and political views of the highest importance fermented in men’s heads; that all hearts overflowed with noble and generous feeling, and that a holy enthusiasm, transporting men out of themselves, rendered them capable of heroic actions: this is the influence of Christianity. But if you examine the execution, you will see disorder, improvidence, injuries, violence: there is barbarism.” Of course to a nation like Russia, in heresy and schism, the unfavourable aspect of this description is most appropriate, but still to the *nation* there is probably a good deal in the other view of it which is applicable. We might say as to them, with Balmez: “The nations fought in support of a principle by labouring to avenge an outrage offered to their religion; they were moved to contend to die for an idea, which, not limited to a small territory, embraced heaven and earth.” The *people*, we repeat, are animated by these feelings.

The war which was waged against Turkey under the second Catherine was brief, but bloody; and it was the

first which closed disastrously for Ottoman dominion. It ended in the treaty of Karnardji, which paved the way for the conquest by Russia of the Crimea—Moldavia and Wallachia; and it particularly stipulated for the protection of Greek pilgrims to the Holy Land. But, above all, it secured for the Czars certain rights of protectorship over the Greek Christians and Churches all over the Turkish territories. It was predicted at the time that this protectorate would be made the means of advancing the progress of Russia to Constantinople; the limits of the protectorate could not fail to be a subject of controversy and contest; and that implacable aversion to Christianity which is essential to Islamism, while it furnished a plausible reason for the assertion of a right to protect it, would naturally be stimulated and irritated by the perpetual exercise of an interposing influence in its behalf, on the part of a power suspected to entertain designs of territorial acquisition. Indeed, it must have been always obvious that the very same feelings—assuming their sincerity—which led Russia to assert the right of protecting the Greek Church, must prompt her to endeavour to recover the seat of its former patriarchate—the metropolis of the ancient Greek empire. Hence there must necessarily arise mutual jealousy and suspicion, certain to lead to hostility. Fifteen years had not passed ere Russia was involved in another war with Turkey, which was closed (by the treaty of Jassy) still more advantageously for Russia, by the conquest of the Crimea, and part of Bessarabia, and the augmentation of her influence on Moldavia and Wallachia.

It was Catherine II., we are told by a modern Protestant historian, who, in consequence of her successes against the Turks, “conceived the romantic project of reviving the ancient name and power of the Greeks, and establishing a new empire at Constantinople. Inspired with this splendid vision, she gave to her second grandson the name of Constantine, clothed him in a Greek dress, procured him Greek nurses to instruct him in the Greek language, and struck a medal representing on one side the head of the young prince, and on the other a cross in the clouds, from which a flash of lightning demolished the mosque of Sta. Sophia.”* We doubt whether this was the first time such ideas had entered into the mind of a Russian sove-

* Coxe's Hist. of House of Austria, vol. iii. c. 122.

reign, on the contrary, we are convinced that they arose out of the most long cherished traditions and ancient remains of the Russian nation, although the state of Europe at that time may have encouraged their expression, and stimulated hopes of their realization. England had long been the ally of Russia, and Catherine hoped for her co-operation. But England had commenced her career of aggrandizement in India, and had no interest in promoting, what Coxe calls, "her schemes of Oriental grandeur." She turned, therefore, to Austria, and then began those relations between Russia and Austria, which have even remained to the present day. Austria, in the hopes of acquiring Moldavia and Wallachia, concurred in the conquest of the Crimea by Russia; and on the other hand, France equally consented to the acquisition, from jealousy of Austria. France succeeded for the time in frustrating the schemes of Austria, which were, however, some years after renewed, when the Turks had, with a rashness we have seen recently repeated in our own time, declared war against Russia, with a result signally disastrous.

Beaten, as with Turkey, in her contests with Russia; it is to be remarked, that she showed herself more than a match for Austria; and as the influence and intrigues of France were always directed against that power, it is plain that had the protection of Christendom rested with Catholic powers, it might have gone hard with Europe, even so lately as the latter part of last century. In the war of 1787, the Turks once more made such rapid progress in Austria, that again Vienna was made to tremble, and it was not until after repeated disasters—even with all the advantage of the powerful co-operation of Russia—that the House of Hapsburg was rescued from final destruction by a most disadvantageous treaty. It is impossible not to observe that Protestantism had weakened Christendom. The power which ought to have been an ample bulwark of Catholicism, is forced to lean upon the arm of schism, and sue for peace from Islamism. Just retribution for a rebellion against the Holy See, the expulsion of the Jesuits and a long course of policy inimical to the Church. Under Joseph the Austrian empire had learnt Gallicanism and succumbed before Mahomedanism, while the schismatic power of Russia triumphed over both.

This brings us down almost to the commencement of

the present century. It seems strange, but is so; it is scarce seventy years since Russia was found necessary as a bulwark for Christendom against Islamism. If even with all the benefit of Russian aid, Austria hardly saved herself by a precipitate peace, how would it have fared for her—for Europe—had the Russian empire not existed? It must appear as a bitter reproach, that Providence made the safety of Christendom depend on a schismatic power.

At the close of the last century, Gallicanism had spread to Austria, and rationalism was fast rising in France. Revolution, its fatal fruit, rapidly followed; and, amidst torrents of blood, the goddess of reason was enthroned in Paris. Constantinople was not then so infidel as Paris. Rationalism in France, Erastianism in Austria, and Protestantism everywhere,—Christendom was divided against itself; all union and co-operation was gone, and Europe was soon to be wrapt in a terrific war. Russia was the only region in which irreligion and revolution had not ruined the national strength, and spread desolation and ruin. Her strength was soon to be tested: and it was ordained for the youthful, but gigantic Rome, after saving Europe from the Turks, to rescue it from the inroads of revolutionary France.

At the commencement of the present century the great struggle had begun between England and France, and those powers contended together for the alliance of Russia and Turkey. The natural enmity of the latter could scarcely admit of amity with *both*; and France first exercised her ancient influence with the Porte, and induced it to break its treaties with Russia, by removing the Waivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia then invaded these districts; and England, apprehending that this would rivet the alliance of Turkey with France, endeavoured to force the Porte to submit to Russia, demanding for that power Moldavia and Wallachia, and for herself the occupation of the Dardanelles, and the command of the Turkish fleet. So audacious an "aggression" had never been attempted upon a *friendly* power; and as it would never be expected that it would be submitted to, except under compulsion, a British fleet endeavoured to commit at Constantinople what was afterwards perpetrated at Copenhagen—the destruction or the capture of the navy of her ally. The British fleet captured the forts of the Dardanelles, and eight Turkish ships of the line, and anchored in the bay

of Constantinople. The spirit of the Ottomans was roused by so monstrous an aggression; and the assailants thought it prudent to withdraw. This was in 1807. When the peace of Tilsit occurred not long after, Napoleon offered his mediation to obtain peace from Russia for the Porte, but the intrigues of England induced the Porte to refuse. The result was, that the war between Russia and Turkey continued until 1812, when it was terminated by the treaty of Bucharest. By this treaty the Porte would have lost Moldavia and Wallachia, had it not been that just before its completion Russia was again involved in war with France, and was in haste to conclude peace with the Porte. The mouths of the Danube—Bessarabia and a part of Moldavia—fell, however, into the hands of Russia, and the Pruth became the boundary between the two empires, or rather, between Russia and the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, nominally, part of the Turkish dominions, but under the protectorate of Russia, and almost practically a portion of the empire.

Ere long Russia had to repel French invasion, and we need not do more than recal to the recollection of our readers the heroism which the Russians displayed in that tremendous struggle, and the patriotism with which they rolled back the tide of war from Petersburg to Paris. The internal strength of Russia, the compact character of her empire, and the patriotic courage and devotion of her people were the themes of universal admiration. And at the peace no monarch was more popular in this country than the emperor of Russia, the brother of the present Czar, though it is notorious that he had eager longings for Constantinople. We heard nothing then of Russian despotism; our interests happened to be identical, and that was enough.

It was in quite another direction that English Catholicism against despotism found a theme. Scarcely had the peace of Europe been settled than it was disturbed by the struggle of the Greeks, to emancipate themselves from the oppressive thralldom of the Ottomans. That there was enthusiasm in England in favour of the Greek cause, the name of Byron would alone amply testify; but that it had nothing to do with *religion* the same name will equally bear testimony. It was mere sympathy with the oppressed, and abhorrence of the oppressor; if there were any sentiment in it less general and abstract in its nature, it was

purely poetical ; we need scarcely say that no one thought of the Greek Church. It was classic Greece that excited the sentiment ; they were Pagan associations which were connected with it ; it was an enthusiasm which sceptics could share in, and which burnt not for sacred soil. Had the struggle been for the Holy Land, the enthusiasm would hardly have arisen, and certainly the cause would have found no martyr in the author of *Childe Harold*. It was not as Christians, but as patriots, the Greeks were sympathized with. The Greeks themselves did not treat it as a contest between the Crescent and the Cross. It was merely a struggle for constitutional rights, aggravated by the atrocious character of Turkish rule. There was nothing of the mediæval spirit in it—nothing resembling the ancient Catholic ardour to rescue Christian men from the domination of the Infidel.

Incidentally, however, the contest seemed to exhibit the unchanged character of Mussulman rule, and its unchangeable atrocity.

It is hardly necessary to do more than remind our readers, that scarcely a quarter of a century ago, the oppression of the Ottomans upon the Greeks was so atrocious, as to arouse, on behalf of the latter, the sympathies of Europe, under whose auspices Greece achieved her independence. Of course Russia was in alliance with France and England, as a protector of the Greeks ; and the atrocities of the Turks aided her in pressing forward her policy of aggrandizement. Her ships of war, side by side with those of her allies, helped to destroy the Turkish navy in the bay of Navarino ; an event characterized by the Duke of Wellington as “untoward,” and which placed the House of Commons in this curious dilemma, that a vote of thanks to our admiral was opposed by the ministers of the Crown, because the attack had been upon the vessels of a *friendly power*. Untoward as it was for Turkey, it was propitious for Russia. Her progress seems certainly like retribution upon Turkey. At the commencement of 1828, the Porte banished all the Armenian Catholics from Constantinople to Angora, in Asia, without distinction of rank, sex, or age. In little more than a month Armenia was annexed to Russia, a conquest from Persia, who had been waging a war against Russia, under the influence of Turkey, and was now forced to purchase peace. In another month war was declared by Russia against Turkey,

in requital for this, and other acts of court hostility, declaring her object to be the inviolability of her right to navigate in the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. The present Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was then ambassador at Constantinople, Nicholas was then Czar, and Lord Aberdeen was our foreign minister. The noble Earl found it necessary, in the House of Lords, to declare it to be the policy of Great Britain to regard any considerable diminution in the power and territory of Turkey as injurious to the repose of Europe. The Russians rapidly achieved great successes. Under the auspices of the Emperor they crossed the Danube, won battle after battle, took town after town, and fought their way to Varna, Erzeroum, and Kalafat; while their naval forces captured a host of Turkish vessels, and blockaded the Bosphorus. At the close of the year 1829 was concluded the peace of Adrianople. This was the last treaty between the two nations, who had now been at perpetual war ever since the age of Peter the Great. We need not say that the stipulations of this treaty were yet more favourable to Russia than the last, and gave her greater power of finding pretexts for future interference in the affairs of Turkey with respect to the religious rights of the Christian population. By this treaty of Adrianople Russia acquired almost a right of sovereignty over Moldavia and Wallachia. The territory on the north of the left bank of the Danube was ceded to her, and it was stipulated that no Mussulmen should reside there.

It must be borne in mind that, as a Christian country, in close proximity with a Mahomedan nation, Russia had a right to protect her subjects, as much as possible, from that risk of connection which had proved so perilous in Spain so long as the Moors were allowed to remain there. And further, it is to be observed that Russia had a deep interest in the maintenance of order in provinces adjoining her own territories; and that the nature of Turkish rule is so disorderly, as to afford very inadequate security to the subjects, or the neighbours of the Porte. The various Pachas are under no due submission to the Sultan, and act with all the independence and violence of barbaric chiefs. A year or two after the treaty of Adrianople, this was exemplified in the rebellion of Mehemet Ali, the celebrated Pacha of Egypt. He actually menaced Constantinople after conquering

Syria, and Russia appeared in the new character of Protector to the Porte. Disastrous were the results of this dire struggle between Turkey and her rebellious vassal, to that sacred land in which, to a great extent, it raged. No tongue could tell, no pen could paint, the horrors Syria and Palestine endured,—not only during the contest, but also since,—in consequence of the disorganization which ensued. For ten years the struggle continued; and it is hard to say whether the Porte or the Pacha committed greater atrocities. It is impossible to exaggerate the horrible condition of the Christian population of those countries. It was not until 1840 that the contest was terminated by the treaty of London, in which Russia united with England, and France was left isolated, and which gave Syria once more to Turkey, and secured her Palestine on the death of Mehemet, leaving her the *hereditary* government only of Egypt. Although the contest related to the Holy Land, it had nothing to do with Holy Places. It was purely a territorial quarrel; and the interest of England and France in it was equally political. Egypt is the route to India, and Syria has shores on the Mediterranean. England has in India her richest treasure, and the aim of France is to make the Mediterranean a French lake. This suffices to explain the interest that France and England have taken in the Eastern question. The policy of France was then, and had long been, as much one of interest as that of England.

We need not remind our readers, however, that deeper questions and greater interests than those of territory or balance of power, are involved in the Eastern question; and first, the welfare of the Christian inhabitants of the Turkish empire.

It will have been observed, that in all the contests between Russia and the Porte, the Danubian Principalities, as they are termed, Wallachia and Moldavia, have been primary objects of contention. It was inevitable that this should be so, for they adjoin the Russian frontier, and their religious and political affinities link them rather to Russia than Turkey. They formed no part even of the Turkish empire as originally established in Europe, and were subsequently engrossed by conquest. Their religion is that of the Greek Church; substantially the same as the Russian; and of course they have no feelings but abhorrence for Islamism. In truth, this is the position of

nine-tenths of the subjects of the Porte. Monstrous to state, there are scarcely more than a million of Mussulmans in European Turkey; while there are 2,000,000 Albanians and Bulgarians, 3,000,000 Slavonians, Serbians, and Illyrians, 1,000,000 Greeks, and 4,000,000 Romanians or Wallachians; the rest of the population being Tartars, Franks, or Jews. Such a state of things as this has no parallel in modern history, and is monstrous and unnatural. Nine millions of Christians kept in subjection by a million of Mahomedans. The author of one of the cheap little works we have placed at the head of our article has given good observations on this point.

“The most fatal consequence of religious absolutism in the Ottoman Empire was the exclusion of the Greeks from the political State, from the army, and from public offices. For the first time, perhaps, in history,* a people of conquerors were seen to establish themselves in the country of the conquered, and hold them in subjection, without incorporating them with themselves, and without according them, for several centuries, any possible means of social assimilation. Was this done to perpetuate a feeling of antagonism in the very heart of the empire? What was the position of these *rayas*, who were neither freemen nor slaves, and who had every day before their eyes the humiliating recollection of their defeat contrasted with the history of their ancestors, and the beauty of the country which they had lost? The least unfavourable result which such a state of things was calculated to produce, is, what we actually behold at the present day,—a foreign power, out of sympathy of religion, or from policy, stretching out its hand to these helots; for had the Christians not been pusillanimous, they would long since have thrown off the yoke of the Mussulmans, who are scarcely more numerous than themselves, if we take the whole extent of the empire into consideration, and who are numerically much inferior in Turkey in Europe. With the exception of the glorious war of independence which emancipated Greece Proper, the Christians of the East have never been good for anything but base intrigues and quarrels with the members of the Latin Church. But the state of degradation in which the Porte has kept the Greeks, contributed to maintain them in their unworthy position. It seems scarcely credible that out of thirty million subjects of the Sultan, (that is, in Europe and Asia) twelve millions are excluded from political and civil rights.”

It should be borne in mind that the religion of the Mahomedans precludes intermarriage between them and Christians, so that no amalgamation can ever take place

* Not the *first* time. The writer forgot *Ireland*.

between the two races, who remain from generation to generation strangers in blood and in religion.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that there should have been a gradual approximation in the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and Servia towards the Russian Empire. So long ago as the time of Sobieski we have seen that Austria rivalled Russia in her claims on these Christian provinces, but for the last two centuries the power of Russia has been in the ascendant, and has almost embraced them in the grasp of her empire. The insurrection of the Greeks, in its outbreak in 1820, broke out in these provinces as well as in Greece Proper, but only succeeded in the latter. There is every reason to believe that Russia did not desire the independence of the Danubian provinces. Her obvious aim, as they lie between her and Constantinople, has been rather to *incorporate* them; and with this object she at length succeeded in procuring a virtual separation from Turkey, erected as they were into Principalities under the Protectorate of Russia, with rulers not removable except with her consent. Such was the state of things at the establishment of the independence of Greece Proper, under the Protectorate of the four Powers, Russia being one of them.

It was a great precedent which Russia then aided in establishing, upon a principle fatal to the Turkish empire. The precedent was the erection of a Greek province of that empire into a separate kingdom, and the principle upon which it was done, was the incompatibility of the character and religion of the two nations, the conquerors and the conquered, and the miserable misrule of the conquerors. The principle applies to nearly the whole of the Turkish empire. The people of Wallachia Moldavia, and Servia, are as much Christians, and are as much entitled to the rights of citizens as the inhabitants of Greece Proper. It might not be necessary to their welfare that they should be independent—probably practically impossible that they should be so—but certainly they might justly claim something more like a government than the degrading domination of Mahomedanism; an admission into some empire in which they would find fraternity of feeling, sympathy of religion and equality of citizenship, all which they would find in Russia. The political sagacity of Napoleon led him to foresee that Russia would one day possess these provinces. Religious sympathy necessarily

gives Russia great influence over the various sections of the great Greek schism, not only in these provinces, but all over the Turkish Empire.

The writer of the pamphlet, "the Crescent and the Cross," gives early instances of Russian emperors being appealed to by the Greek Church for protection in cases of persecution. The first instance on record occurred as early as the year 1482, when Ivan Vasselvitch III. sent a message to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, threatening him with war if he did not desist from persecuting certain members of the Greek Church residing in his dominions, and in the year 1650, in the reign of Alexis Michaelovitch, the empire gained an immense accession of strength in return for the religious protection granted to the Cossack, who ended by revolting from the King of Poland, who persecuted their faith, and taking an oath of fidelity to the Czar. A notable instance of the light in which the Greeks looked on the Czars, is mentioned by Père Bracanne, a French missionary, who died in 1716. He had been sent to establish a mission at Thessalonica, and complained of having met with much annoyance from the Greeks in consequence of a report that the Roman Catholics wanted to murder the Czar, and that the Pope had sent emissaries to Russia for that purpose. The French consul was appealed to to remonstrate with the propagators of the slander. The missionary remarks, that if the calumny had been universally believed, it would have been sufficient to have overthrown the mission, as conformity of faith attached the Greeks to the Czars, whom they looked on as their future deliverers from the Turkish bondage. He also says that the Turks reproached the Greeks bitterly with being Muscovites at heart, and that when war broke out in 1711, between Russia and the Porte, the Greeks began to talk more openly on religious matters, and flattered themselves with the hope of a speedy deliverance from the Turkish yoke. The bond of spiritual union (between the Greek Church and the Russian,) was closely connected by the fact, that the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, was for a couple of ages the head of the Russian Church also, and was loftily styled the universal Patriarch. The war, which was terminated by the advantageous treaty of Kænardji, more than ever endeared the Muscovite power to the Greeks; it was undertaken by the Empress Catherine, at the instigation of the Greek Pappao Oglon, who incited

the Empress on the one hand, and encouraged his countrymen on the other.

Among the Greeks themselves, says one of the writers we have referred to, "a vivid spirit of sympathy and partizanship in the projects of Russia for establishing a protectorate over them has long existed, and it was indeed natural that such should be the case. So far as a race, crushed by tyranny and degradation, could know the events or estimate the changes passing in the world around them, the Greeks in Turkey built hopes of help and deliverance from the interposition of the powerful nation who shared their faith, and whose sovereign chanced to be the head of their Church." As the Russian power became developed, as its frontier was pushed nearer, and its interference in Turkish affairs grew more active, the feeling among the Greek subjects of the Sultan grew stronger. The fact that in its European moiety, Turkey retained nine millions of Christian subjects under heavy bondage, to about three millions of Mahomedans, could never be overlooked either by its enemies or friends. When Russia first assumed an imperial position in Europe, when her Church had become national and independent by its separation from the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople, and her Czar became the absolute head of her Church, i. e. from the middle of the last century, she has steadily and strenuously sought to be recognized as the protector of the Greek subjects of the Porte. She has striven thus to convert the *independence* of her Church into *supremacy*, and as her Sovereign is its head, her claim of supremacy practically amounts to a claim of sovereignty. Thus, the union of the spiritual and temporal, makes the extension of her Church equivalent to conquest. And as she has shown for a century and a half such eager aspiration for the possession of Constantinople, it seems as if she sought, by re-establishing the Greek schism at Constantinople, to restore, under her own sovereignty, the Greek empire. Her advance in this direction has been gradual. In the treaty of Kainardji, in 1774, she acquired a right of simple intercession in behalf of the Christian population of Moldavia and Wallachia. In 1826, the right of intercession was converted into one of 'representation.' In 1829, the treaty of Adrianople conferred on her the right of *guarantee*. And in 1834, when the constitution of the two provinces was settled, they were erected into principalities under the *Protectorate*.

of Russia. This could be supported upon no principle which would not equally apply to all the Christian subjects of Turkey; and although the case of the two principalities is stronger and more striking, the populations being almost exclusively Christian, it is only a difference in degree, since, throughout the Turkish empire, the Christians preponderate disproportionately, and as already observed, in European Turkey, overwhelmingly so. And, accordingly, at the present day, we see Russia claiming the prerogative of a similar protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte all over the Turkish empire, including Syria and the Holy Land. There, however, she comes into direct contact with the Catholic Church represented by France, and hence arises the great question of the Holy Places.

Before entering into this question, it is very necessary, in order to have a right understanding as to the spirit in which the Russian nation entered into it, to get a true idea of their character. Upon this subject, and on the degree to which, with them, the question was one of religion, we think there is a great deal of misapprehension. There is no book so calculated to convey vivid and correct ideas of the Russian character in this respect, as *Kohl's Petersburg*. From this interesting work we take an extract or two illustrating the state of Russia in its religion.

“Madame de Staël, when she beheld Moscow from the elevation of the Kremlin, turned to her companions, and exclaimed, ‘Voilà Rome Tatare!’ The Russians themselves like to compare their city to that world-subduer of antiquity; and many as are the peculiarities that distinguish the one from the other, it is not to be denied that there are points wherein they assimilate, and among them is that of extreme toleration in the matter of religion. The capital of the Russians contains places of worship for all professions. In the finest street of St. Petersburg, the Neaskoi Prospektits, there are Armenians, Greek, Protestant, Roman Catholic, United, Disunited, Skunite, and Sckiite places of prayer in most familiar neighbourhood, and the street has, therefore, not inaptly received the soubriquet of Toleration Street. St. Petersburg, like Berlin, is a child of our days, a birth that first saw light under the sun of a philosophical age: in opposition to Moscow, as Berlin in opposition to Vienna. St. Petersburg has, however, neither so many nor such distinguished churches as Moscow, although the major part are built in a pleasing and tasteful style, in the modern Russian, which is a mixture of the Grecian Byzantine, old Russian, and new European architecture. The Byzantine, which we have brought from Constantinople with Christianity,

being the most prominent. A building in the form of a cross, in the midst a large cupola, and at the four ends four small narrow-pointed cupolas, the points surmounted by crosses, a grand entrance adorned with many columns, and three side entrances without columns; such is the exterior form of the greater part of the Russian churches, including the thirty churches of St. Petersburg, about one-tenth of the number dispersed through the streets of Moscow the Holy. In the former the interiors are lighter, brighter, more simple, more elegant; in the latter, more overloaded with ornament, darker, more varied in colour, more grotesque. The handsomest church in St. Petersburg is Isaac's Church. The exterior is furnished, it wants only the last decoration for the interior, the trophies and pictures of saints. This church stands in the largest and most open place in the city, in the midst of its finest buildings and monuments, The Winter Palace, the Admiralty, the War Office, Alexander's Pillar, and the Rock of Peter the Great, and will, when it has laid aside its mantle of scaffolding, show itself worthy of such neighbours. On the spot where it stands, they have been at work upon a place of worship for the last century. A wooden church was followed by a church of brick, a church of marble was then attempted, which failed, and was finished in brick. This half-and-half building vanished in its turn, and under Nicholas I. the present magnificent building was erected, which will scarcely find so splendid a successor. It is entirely composed of granite blocks and polished marble. To make it firm a whole forest of piles was sunk in the swampy soil. From the level of the upper part of Peter's place rise three broad flights of steps, which separately served the fabulous giants of the Flemish Mythology for the seats. They are formed from masses of granite rock, brought from Finland. These steps lead from the four sides of the building to the four chief entrances, each of which has a superb peristyle. The pillars of these peristyles are sixty feet high, and have a diameter of seven feet, all magnificent granite monoliths from Finland, buried for centuries in its swamps, till brought to light by the triumphant power of Russia, and rounded, polished, and erected as caryotides, to the honour of God in His temple. The pillars are crowned with capitals of bronze, and support the enormous beam of a frieze formed of six fine polished blocks. Over the peristyles, and at twice their height, rises the chief and central cupola, higher than it is wide, in the Byzantine proportion.

“It is supported also by thirty pillars of smooth polished granite which, although gigantic in themselves, look small compared to those below. The cupola is covered with copper overlaid with gold, and glitters like the sun over a mountain. From its centre rises a small elegant rotunda, a miniature repetition of the whole, looking like a chapel on a mountain top. The whole edifice is surrounded by the crowning and far-seen golden cross. Four

smaller cupolas resembling the greater in every particular, stand around like children round a mother, and complete the harmony visible in every part. The walls of the church are to be covered with marble, and no doubt Isaac's Church will be the most remarkable building in St. Petersburg; and supersede the Kasan church of the Virgin. The balustrade doors and doorways of the ikonostases are generally of wood, carved and gilded, but in this church all its beams and posts are of fine silver. The silver beams are all highly polished and reflect with dazzling brilliancy the light of the thousand tapers that burn before them. It was the Cossacks laden with no inconsiderable booty from the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, who made an offering of this mass of silver to the Holy Mother of Kasan for the object to which it is now appropriated. They seem to have a peculiar veneration for this Madonna, who is half their countrywoman, for John Vassielwitch brought her from Kasan to Moscow, whence Peter the Great transported her to St. Petersburg. Her picture, set with pearls and precious stones, hangs in the church. It was before this picture that Kutusoff prayed before he advanced to meet the enemy in 1812, for which reason she is considered to be closely connected with that campaign."

This conveys a strong impression of the *religiousness* of the Russian character; the whole tendency of this work, written, be it observed, by a *German*, to produce this impression. It is impossible to peruse it without perceiving that the Russians are deeply religious, although, of course, as must always be the case in a state of schism—this religiousness is somewhat superstitious. The following passage gives us a striking view of this trait in the national character.

"Under the gateways are suspended large lamps and gaudy pictures of saints, and these present themselves anew at every corner as you proceed through the lanes of the market. Here and there you come to an open space in which a little chapel has been erected, and so gaily fitted up you would think a Chinese pagoda had served for a model. All this, however, is insufficient to satisfy the piety of the Russians, who often build a wooden bridge between two opposite booths for the convenience of suspending a few additional lamps and saints. Here also in true Russian spirit like has paired with like. In one corner, for instance, all the dealers in sacred images have congregated. The Russians, who believe themselves abandoned by God and all good angels as soon as they are without His visible and tangible presence, or rather who think every place the devil's own ground until the priest has driven him out of it, and who, therefore, decorate their bodies, their rooms, their doors, and their gates as well as their churches, with sacred images, require of course, a very large and constant supply of the

article, of which, in fact, the consumption is enormous. The little brass crosses, the virgins, the St. John's, the St. George's, and other amulets, may be seen piled up in boxes like gingerbread nuts at a fair.

“On the walls of the booths are hung up pictures of all sorts and sizes, radiant with much gold and silver. Some are only a few inches in length and breadth. Of these a nobleman's footman will buy a few score at a time, as necessary to the fitting up of a new house, for in every room a few of these holy little articles must be nailed up against the wall. For village churches, for private chapels, and for devout merchants of the old faith, there are pictures of several ells square, before which a whole household may prostrate themselves at their ease. Some are set in mahogany frames of modern fashion, others are still adorned in the good old style with pillars, doors, and temples of silver wire; some are new from the pencils of students of the newly-established St. Petersburg Academy of Arts, but the greater part are old, and present figures often nearly obliterated by the dust and smoke of centuries. To these it is particularly, when they can be warranted to have adorned a church, that the lower orders in Russia attach the greatest value.”

We are persuaded that, in this country, ignorance, the most dense and gross, exists as to the real character of the Russian people: and for this reason we will add another extract or two from this most interesting and perfectly impartial work recently issued in a cheap form, and doubtless producing, at this period, an immense influence in diffusing more truthful ideas on the subject:—

“There are people who believe that the lower classes in Russia are a separate and oppressed caste, without a will of their own, and without influence over their superiors; and that the civilized class floats over the mass like oil over water, neither mingling nor sympathizing with the other. Now this is the very reverse of the truth. There is, perhaps, no country in the world where all classes are so intimately connected with each other as in this vast empire, or so little divided into castes, and the same peculiarities which we notice in the bearded Muskite manifest themselves with only trifling modifications among the loftiest pinnacles of that Babylonian building, the social edifice of Russia. On the hay-market of St. Petersburg we may examine the raw material out of which all Russian classes have been manufactured for centuries; and a passing glance is enough to convince us that these bearded rusty fellows are of the same race as the polished élégants whom we meet with in the saloons. To some extent there exists in every country a certain affinity and family likeness between the highest and the lowest classes; but nowhere is this more the case than in Russia,

because, contrary to the prevailing belief, in no country are the extremes of society brought into more frequent contact, and in few are the transitions from one class to another more frequent or more sudden. The peasant becomes a priest upon the same day perhaps that an imperial mandate degrades the noble to a peasant, or to a Siberian colonist.

“Degradation to the ranks is a punishment frequently inflicted on Russian officers. Hereditary rank is disregarded while public services often lead rapidly to the highest dignities. The spirit of speculation that pervades the whole nation is constantly making rich men poor, and poor men rich.

“It requires but little polishing to convert the raw material of the Muskite into a shrewd trader, and expend but a little more pains upon his training, and he will chatter away in English, French, and German. He takes the polish easily, learns without much trouble to dance and dangle, and when you look at him closely, you find him a very Proteus, who glides at will into almost every form he chooses to assume. On the hay-market we behold the same mob, that in the middle ages, at the sound of the Vetsha bell, poured into the forum of the mighty republic of Novogorod, the same mob that placed Boris Godunoff on the throne, tore from it the false Demetrius, and exalted the house of Romanoff, which rose to its present astonishing power through the mighty fermentation and development of the tshornoi harod. The common man of St. Petersburg has precisely the same characteristics as the common man of Moscow or Odessa, or as the labourers on the confines of China. All cling with the same fidelity to the customs of their ancestors, and all remain the same in manners, education, and tastes. Their food is the same throughout the whole of the vast empire, and centuries will pass away before any sensible change will occur. This circumstance gives to the Russian people a unity of character which we should vainly look for in other countries where the manners and habits of one province often present a striking contrast to those of another.”

One great feature in the Russian character is a devoted loyalty, which, by reason of the union of the ecclesiastical with the imperial power, partakes more of the nature of piety in the national mind than in any other country. The emperor is the head of the Church to which the Russians are so intensely attached, and hence all their enthusiasm—spiritual and political—is concentrated in the person of their Czar. Here again we will have recourse to our author for a striking illustration:—

“Having passed the wax lights, we arrive at the spacious hay-market, with its stately church. This place is remarkable as the only spot in which a barricade was ever erected in St.

Petersburg in consequence of a popular insurrection. This was in 1832, when the cholera raged here, and when the mobility of the capital, who make the hay-market their daily lounge, were seized with the notion that prevailed in so many other great cities of Europe, that not God, but the doctors, had brought the pestilence among them. The physicians were supposed to be poisoning the people, and these, excited by their own absurd suspicions, broke out one morning into open insurrection. The frantic mob of grey beards ran wildly about the neighbouring streets, seized upon the cholera carts, made the patients get out, set the horses loose, and after breaking the vehicles, threw the fragments into the Neva, and then fortified the market-place by erecting barricades of the hay waggons at the several entrances. The insurgents passed the night behind their entrenchments, resolved on the following morning to deal with the doctors as they had done with the carts. Early in the morning accordingly, the great cholera hospital was attacked, and taken by storm. The physicians, mostly Germans, were thrown from the windows, and torn to pieces by the mob. And the patients were consigned to their homes that they might be freed from the clutches of their supposed tormentors. Shortly afterwards the emperor arrived from Zarskoye Ido, and immediately repaired to the market in an open carriage, unattended by any military escort. The barricades disappeared at his approach. His carriage drew up at the entrance of the church, where he prayed and crossed himself and then addressed the multitude a few words, which were duly chronicled at the time in most of the newspapers of Europe. He bade the people kneel down and pray to God to forgive them their sins; and all that lately so tumultuous multitude knelt down at the command of their sovereign, and unresisting allowed the police to come among them and quietly convey the ringleaders of the mob to prison."

We doubt if such an incident would ever be witnessed in any other country.

"Nothing can exceed the love of the Russians for their Church," says the author of the '*Crescent and the Cross*;' "they would die to protect or avenge her, yet still assert their own independence, and admit of no temporal (*query foreign*) control or interference. Since the conversion of Vladimir the Great in 993, they have never wavered in their faith, and history mentions several instances where a slight suspicion of unorthodoxy attached to a sovereign produced serious disaffection and rebellion. The false Demetrius, after having made himself master of the throne, was murdered, in consequence of a report that he had turned Catholic during his exile in Poland, and there is not the slightest doubt but that the most beloved sovereign that ever sat on the

Russian throne would have run most serious risks, if, in his character of protector and head of the Church, he had ventured to induct into a see a bishop opposed by the clergy, and pronounced unorthodox by her Church. Yet we know that not only the sovereigns of England arrogate to themselves this right, but also that they have no hesitation in using it, and that without endangering the supremacy or affecting their popularity, a very glaring case having occurred within the last few years. Strong antagonism to the Roman Catholics is one of the striking characteristics of the Greek Church, and it is not to be expected that a fanatic Church and semi-barbarous nation should remain quiescent under what, in their fiery zeal and religious views, they consider an actual injury and a certain prelude to further encroachment from an antagonistic Church. The war will be a religious war, and, of course, much influenced by the fanaticism of the Russian nation, and the religious feelings of the emperor, who is known to be enthusiastically devoted to his own faith, eminently hostile to the Roman Catholics.”

Such being the character of the Russian nation and their present sovereign, it might be predicated that their rulers would feel it no matter of difficulty to arouse their enthusiasm in respect to the Holy Places. Hitherto Russia had, as the protector of the Greek schism, found no powerful opponent; for, from the time when she assumed a place among the powers of Europe—scarcely two centuries ago—England had been Protestant, and cared, of course, nothing for holy places—Austria had been gradually un-Catholicised, and, engaged in constant contests by Protestant aggressions, politically weakened—and France had been passing from one depth to another of irreligion, landing her in utter rationalism. Russia all the while—isolated from these unhappy influences—retaining her religiousness and her feelings of reverence, deep-rooted in the hearts of her people. And for a century after the treaty of Karnardji, no controversy about Holy Places arose with Russia, simply because no power cared more about them than she did, and her influence appears to have predominated in Palestine, if not at Constantinople.

Indeed, during that period there was no power to oppose these pretensions. Amidst the wreck of religion and the tumult of war which pervaded Europe, the Greeks had few to rival their devotion, or resist their claims. At that

unhappy era, France, after the dark and bloody regime of revolution and irreligion was subdued under the stern yoke of the empire, her Church lay prostrate, and her religion dormant. The Catholic Church had no longer in Palestine the protection of the French name, which the invasions of Egypt had rendered hateful to the Porte. It was at that time the foundations were laid, deep and strong, for Russian influence in behalf of the Greek schism; and the seeds were sown of those disputes, which, in our own day, have been ripening into war. The Russians, along with the Greeks, and other kindred schismatical communions, have, for the last century, been in the habit of visiting the Holy Land in vast numbers. The Greek synod of Constantinople have placed themselves under the protection of the emperor of Russia, who, under colour of their claims for religious privilege, has doubtless well known how to press his political pretensions, and pursue his hereditary plans of progress towards the East. We care not to discuss how far the emperor may be sincere in his contentions about the Holy Places. It is rather of the Russian nation than the Russian sovereign we speak. *Their* sincerity is unquestionable, notwithstanding its inevitable taint of superstition; when Paris proclaimed the goddess of Reason, pilgrims were going from St. Petersburg; and while the French were subduing Rome, the Russians were looking earnestly to Jerusalem. *Their* Rome, as we have said, was Constantinople: so it seemed to their schismatic mind. Thither their eyes have ever been turned; and every pilgrimage to Jerusalem strengthened the ideas, and rooted the feeling which rendered the last the goal of national ambition, and the object of national devotion. It is of the Russians that we speak, let us again remark, rather than of the *rulers*. The latter have made subservient to their own policy the religious feelings of the people. Reverence for the Holy Places—longing for the East—is unquestionably deep-rooted in the Russian mind. The sovereigns of Russia have long worked upon this element in its character. Such is the character of the nation which has raised the great controversy about the Holy Places.

The controversy about the Holy Places is ancient, as already observed. It arose with Peter the Hermit. As the Greek schism had already commenced, it may have arisen even earlier between the schismatics and the Catholics; and though the Crusades apparently were contests

between Christians and Mahomedans, there are some grounds for the supposition that the venomous influence of schism entered into it. Certain it is that the Crusaders were coldly received at Constantinople; and that, later in their history, we find them compelled to turn their arms against the Greeks, as well as the Turks. Nothing is more probable than that those jealousies of the Western Church, which always existed in the Eastern, and ultimately led to the fatal separation, led, even at that early age, to controversies about the Holy Places between the Greeks and the Latins, and that the indignities with which the European pilgrims were treated by the Mahomedan occupants of Palestine, may have been stimulated by the schismatics, who, be it observed, were there at *home*, and were in the position of *subjects* of the Mahomedan. That union of the spiritual with the temporal, which characterizes schism, may have afterwards raised a certain sort of secret sympathy between the Greeks and the Turks; the degradation of the conquered most likely led to a certain degree of deterioration to the level of the conquerors, and a common aversion to Catholicism certainly can be detected in schism and Mahomedanism; that of the schismatics being certainly more bitter than that of the Infidels.

We need scarcely say that the earliest Christian occupants of the Holy Land were Catholics—children of the Holy See. When schism separated the Greeks, they continued there, in actual possession, subjects of the power which owned the Holy Land. That gave them a position of preference and advantage which, from the most ancient traces we can discover of the state of things there, they availed themselves of to the utmost. The Crusades must have left in the minds of the Mahomedans bitter feelings of revenge towards Catholics; and the schismatics very likely reigned predominant in the Holy Land until treaties of amity arose between Turkey and Catholic powers. This was not until after the Reformation; and we have already stated that the first treaty of a Catholic power with the Infidel was that of France with Solyman the Great, the admirer of Luther, though not of Lutheranism. In that treaty, in 1519, there was a clause, securing to the Latins the possession of all those sanctuaries in the Holy City which had been in their hands, *ab antiquo*, but without specifying them by name. This indicated that, from ancient time, at all events beyond any memory, the Latins

had possession of *some* sanctuaries. In 1670 Louis XIV. sent an embassy on the subject. The treaty of 1740 contained the same clause, there being still no *specification* of the shrines to which the Latins were entitled; neither was it specified whether they were entitled to *exclusive* possession of any. The consequence was repeated quarrels with the schismatics, which caused the Mussulmen great annoyance, and caused innumerable suits and appeals to Constantinople. Firmans (we are informed in one of the little works above alluded to) were in this manner obtained, in favour sometimes of one communion, and sometimes of the other, but more frequently in favour of the Greeks, who were able, as subjects of the Porte, to plead their cause more advantageously than their foreign rivals. In fact, the Greeks had the same advantage over the Catholics in Turkey as the Protestants have in Great Britain. They both acknowledge the "Royal Supremacy," and submit to the appointment, or approval of their Primate by the sovereign. The Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, who has jurisdiction in Jerusalem, is, as we already have observed, installed by the Sultan; a degradation to which none but schismatics would descend; but which is not greater in Turkey than in Russia, where the Emperor has far greater control over religion than the Sultan has, even as regards those of his subjects, who are disciples of Mahomet. And there was another advantage which the schismatics have all along had in this long-standing controversy of the Holy Places; that the Catholic powers of Europe were constantly at war with the Porte. From the time of the Reformation, however, as we have seen, France was, from political reasons, usually at amity with Turkey, though her insincerity (how could such an alliance be sincere!) was such, that a Grand Vizier once sarcastically answered a French ambassador, who boasted that France was an "old friend" of the Porte, "ah! but an old friend whom we constantly find among our *enemies*." However, so far as it went, French influence was in favour of the Catholic interests in Palestine, and the principal support it had to depend upon.

The French monarchs, says the clever writer we have already referred to, have been for a couple of centuries the medium of communication between the Roman Catholic Church and the Porte, as the missions were under the protection of the kings of France. Père Portier, in 1701,

states that the Catholic missions of Constantinople and Smyrna, consisted each of one hundred thousand souls, and Père Tonthon, in an official letter to Comte Pontchastraw, the minister of Lewis XIV., dated in 1714, estimates the Roman Catholic inhabitants in Constantinople at twelve thousand, in Scio seven thousand, in Naxos one thousand, and in the island of Sautorne two thousand, where he says he formed a convent of nuns of the order of St. Dominic, which had already existed two hundred years;” which could carry back its foundation to about the time of the treaty of Francis I. with the Porte. “In 1716, we find the Père Braconne, a French missionary in Thessalonica, appealing to the French consul to protect him against mischievous calumnies propagated against the Catholics. In 1723, the Père Fromage, writing to the general of the Jesuits, calls the King of France protector of the Catholic faith in the empire of the infidels, and says he must be appealed to instantly to get a decree reversed which the Sultan had just promulgated, forbidding the Catholics to proselytize among the Oriental Churches, and ordering all Greeks, Armenians, &c. &c., who had adopted the faith of the Papists, to return immediately to their own.” We beg particular attention to this. It is clear that up to this time France had, more or less, exercised something of the functions of an active protector of the Catholic faith; actually interfering in the internal affairs of Turkey even so far as to press for the reversal of a decree, issued by the Sultan, with respect to the religious concerns of his Christian subjects. How the policy of France had changed—how her zeal for the faith had cooled, we can clearly see by comparing with these few plain facts, the following language used by the Comte de St. Preist, ambassador of King Louis XVI., at Constantinople from 1768 to 1785, the fatal period in which the seeds sown under the long and corrupt reign of Louis XIV., were working in the country, and produced the expulsion of the Jesuits, about to be avenged in the terrible retribution of the revolution. “The zeal of our kings has been rewarded by the title of protector of the Catholic religion in the Levant; but *this is illusive*. Never have the Sultans even had an idea that the French monarchs believed themselves authorized to interfere in the religion of the subjects of the Porte. There is no prince who would permit another to meddle with the religion of his subjects, (i. e. their religious

rights,) and the Turks are as susceptible as others on this head." Thus, in that tepid and corrupt age it had been discovered that the French protectorship of the Catholic faith in the East was illusory, and that the French monarchs never imagined themselves authorized to interfere in the religious rights of the subjects of the Porte. That the protectorate was not always illusive; and that the French Monarch did so interfere, we have clearly shown. The change of policy here disclosed is melancholy. We need only add, that during this sad period Russian influence was energetically exerted on behalf of the Greek schism. Her protectorate was not "illusory." In Turkey, we find, at the accession of every Sultan, it is customary to renew all firmans issued by his predecessors respecting individual or corporate privileges. The Greeks always happen, therefore, to be the recipients of the first firman in the subject of the holy places granted by the reigning Sultan; and the last of such firmans, which has been so granted, is of course a powerful argument in their favour. This is another great advantage they always had in the controversy upon the holy places. With all these advantages they carefully availed themselves of any occasion that usually arose, for the purpose of pressing their claims to predominance. Thus, seventy years ago, after a conflagration which destroyed the cupola of the Holy Sepulchre, they contrived to repair it, for the purpose of creating a precedent, upon which they might, at a future time, ground a claim to an exclusive right to repair it, and thereupon an exclusive right to possess and occupy it. About this time, however, the Republic interfered on behalf of Latin interests in the Holy Land. It could only have been from political motives that the Republicans who proscribed priests in France, interposed in support of the Catholic cleric in Palestine. But so it was. And down to the present day, these interpositions of France have been exercised; all the more so, because ever since 1774, Russia has been endeavouring to assert a protectorate over the Greek Church, and to press forward its claims to predominance in the East. Since the last war between Turkey and Russia, this contest between the two communions, and the two empires which are their champions, has become more serious.

Some years ago, repairs being required in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Latins and Greeks contended for

the right to perform them. The latter appealed to the precedent they had contrived to create after the conflagration, and to repeated firmans, in favour of their claim. The Latins strenuously resisted it, and asserted their right to execute the repairs. The controversy was rendered more bitter by the disappearance (as was supposed, by the agency of the Greeks) of the Latin Star over the Shrine in the Church of the Holy Nativity. In that church there are two spots venerated by Christians of both communions; the one where our Lord is said to have been born, the other, where the manger was found which formed His cradle. The former is in the custody of the Greeks, the latter in that of the Latins. A silver star, bearing a Latin inscription, had been suspended from time immemorial above the spot of the Nativity; and the presence of this star (a French writer remarks) on a site which they claimed as their own, almost consoled the Latins for the loss of the shrine itself. Great was their indignation when the symbol suddenly vanished. It is more than possible that the craft of the Greeks, probably at the instigation of Russia, had contrived its removal. Certain it is, that this comparatively trivial circumstance has led, indirectly, to the embroiling of Europe in war, and has endangered the peace of the world. It led, indirectly, to a controversy which has lasted to the present moment, and has resulted ultimately, as we have seen, in a terrible war. The Catholics appealed to France, as their traditionary protector, and complained, not only of the abstraction of their symbol, as an usurpation of exclusive right to the shrine, but of the claim of the Greeks to repair the cupola, as having the same object. France required of the Porte reparation for the abstraction of the star, the restoration to the Catholics of the right to repair the Holy Sepulchre, and the restitution to them of all the sanctuaries assigned to them under the old treaties. The Porte, upon the question of the repairs, proposed, as a compromise, to repair the church herself! a proposition which was at first declined by both parties, and the dispute continued even under Louis Philippe and his Protestant minister Guizot. It was not until after the revolution of 1848 that France acceded to the compromise suggested; and so *that* question was for a time disposed of. But the others were far more difficult, and the disputes continued as obstinately as before, to the infinite

ligust of the infidels. In 1850 Louis Napoleon sent an Envoy Extraordinary to the Porte; who first required a categorical answer to this question,—whether she recognized the treaty of 1740, securing to the Catholics all the sacred places they had possessed from ancient time. To this, of course, the answer was in the affirmative; and then France demanded a “mixed commission,” to enquire what these places were. This demand was acceded to by the Porte, and the Commission was appointed. The chief controversy was as to the exclusive possession of twelve sacred places by the Catholics, of which the four principal were the Great Cupola of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tomb of the Blessed Virgin, the Great Church of Bethlehem, and part of the Garden of Gethsemane. A tolerably good “title,” as the lawyers would say, was made out in behalf of the Catholics. For fifty years before the treaty of 1740, that is, almost up to the time of the embassy sent by Louis XIV., firmans were found vesting those places in the Latins, and the treaty of 1740 confirmed to them all that they had before possessed. The Greeks, on the other hand, produced firmans, issued before and after that treaty, granting the same places to them. The French negociators urged that they were of no avail against the terms of the treaty. The Turkish authorities thought that this was so, and the Commission determined in favour of the Catholics. Russia then interfered on the part of the schismatics; and her interference was the more formidable, because by this time the Greek subjects of the Porte were rather inflamed by the excitement which had now been kept up in the East for a series of years on the subject. The Turks temporized: a new commission was appointed, under Russian influence, which reported, that the Great Cupola of the Holy Sepulchre should be possessed in common, but the smaller cupola continue in the possession of the Greeks; that the Latins should be admitted to the tomb of the Blessed Virgin, and the Greeks to the sanctuary of the Ascension; that the Latins should have a key to the church of Bethlehem,—the architecture of which shows it to have been built by them, but which had been in the possession of the Greeks for centuries,—and that the Latin star should be replaced over the shrine of the Nativity. The Turkish Ministers, in conveying the arrangement to the French ambassador, excused it on the ground of the apprehensions entertained as

to Russia and the Greek subjects of the Porte. France accepted the arrangement under protest. The Czar demanded a new firman, declaring it as a confirmation of the *status ante quo*. The French took umbrage at this, as a slight upon their protest, and as calculated to prejudice the rights previously obtained by the Catholics. At this crisis M. de Lavalette was sent to Constantinople.

M. de Lavalette demanded the recal of the firman. On the other hand the Russian envoy reopened the question of the Latin key to the Bethlehem Church. Contending that they ought only to have a key to a side gate; and that the main entrance should continue in the possession of the Greeks. This was obviously not the right interpretation of the firman, because the Latins had previously possessed a key to a side gate, obtaining on certain occasions admission to the grand entrance by permission of the Greeks; and it could scarcely have been the meaning of the Porte simply to secure to them what they already enjoyed, and indeed the report of the Commission expressly mentioned the main entrance as the one intended. The Russian ambassador, however, maintained that the *status ante quo*, should be adhered to, forgetting that this was in opposition to treaties with France, and was a state of things which had grown up through neglect of the rights of the Catholics, and let us add, by reason of the supineness of their pretended protectors. For if France had done her duty during the last century, the Greeks could never have become possessed of so many places clearly belonging of right to the Latins, and guaranteed to them by treaty, so long ago as the time of Louis XIV.

The Porte adhered to the firman, declining to alter it either in favour of France or Russia. The French, after great negotiation, only assented to it on the understanding that it should be merely registered and not published. To this the Greeks would not consent—and the Russian envoy required that it should be solemnly proclaimed—and it accordingly was publicly read in the Greek convent at Jerusalem, in the presence of the authorities. The French Ambassador remonstrated, but this was of course useless. All through the negotiations, it is impossible not to see that he acted a very poor part, and clearly succumbed to the superior firmness of Russia. The reason is that Russia was in *earnest*, France was *not*.

Russia was energetic and decisive, France feeble and doubtful in her course. This difference was manifested throughout the ulterior and more serious proceedings which ensued. So vehement were the Greeks, that they actually for the third time reopened the question of the key of the main entrance to the Bethlehem Church, and violently opposed its delivery to the Latins. It was, however, delivered to the Catholic Priests, and at the same time a lost star over the shrine of the Nativity was replaced by one of *Mahomedan manufacture!* Anything more humiliating could scarcely be imagined. A miserable compromise between schism and Islamism. But something meaner and more miserable seemed to be in contemplation for the Christians of the nineteenth century. The Greeks yet obstinately resisted the concession of the key of the great gate to the Catholics, claiming not merely common but an exclusive use of it: and the Turkish authorities proposed to appoint a porter of their own to keep the gate and do justice to both communions. A Mahomedan keeper of the Church of the Nativity! What a *custos* for a Christian shrine! Christendom was for the present saved from this dishonour. Prince Menschikoff arrived at Constantinople, charged with a new mission from Russia, which soon altered the aspect of affairs, and changed the controversy from one of mere paltry peddling details to one of *principle*. For this, at all events, we are grateful to this extraordinary embassy from the Emperor. Who could be otherwise than sick of the miserable system of haggling and quibbling with which the question had hitherto been treated, amidst all the artifices of diplomacy! The contest was really between Catholicism and Schism for spiritual supremacy in the East. It took the form of a controversy about the Holy Places, but, in truth, as the Mahomedans cared not a straw about them, and were ready to surrender them to Christian custody, if they only knew where to find some community entitled to receive them as the representative of Christendom, the struggle was in substance between the Greek Schism, and the Catholic Church, which of them should be accepted as this community, and thus possess religious supremacy in the land where first was planted the Christian Church. The most mighty controversy may be carried on upon a very small matter: where a *principle* is involved nothing is small. The great question

could be determined as well by the restoration of a star or the concession of a key: and this both the parties to it well knew, and showed they knew, by the obstinacy with which they contested these apparently minor matters. But having failed to secure a triumph on these points, Schism, represented by Russia, removed the controversy to higher ground and larger question, by the claim of the Czar to the Protectorate of the Greek Church. On the 28th March, 1853, the Russian Envoy proposed a convention, by which the Russian Protectorate was to be recognized not only over the Christian population of the Danubian Principalities and the Greek community at the Holy City, but over all the Greek Christians in the Turkish empire. As already observed, this was only an assertion of the principle already conceded in the recognition of the Russian Protectorate over the Christian population of Moldavia and Wallachia, and which it was the object of Russia to have conceded in the recognition of Greek supremacy under her protection in Palestine. It happened that the population of the two Principalities was almost *exclusively* Christian, but all over the Turkish empire the population is *chiefly* Christian: and therefore it was not so much that Russia asserted a new principle as that she claimed to *carry out* a principle already conceded, and which was also sanctioned by the supremacy which hitherto through the criminal and shameful supineness of the Catholic Powers, the Greek schism, under its Russian Protectorate, had acquired in the East. There is every reason to question whether Russia would even now have met with any opposition upon *religious* reasons. But it happens that both France and England have political jealousies of Russian influence in the East, and therefore exerted all their diplomatic agencies to induce the Porte to resist the claims of the Czar: and they succeeded in so doing. No one will for a moment imagine that England has any interest in the religious aspect of the question: indeed, her government would disclaim any idea that she had: although, doubtless, there are many pious and zealous Protestants, great readers of prophecy, who have an impression that there is something sacred in the Holy Land, and that it is destined to be rescued from the profanations of the Infidel. It is palpable that as a nation England can only have interposed in the contest upon purely *political* grounds. And com-

paring the apathy of France, for the last two centuries, with her present interference, and looking at her mercantile and political interests in the Eastern question, it is impossible not to perceive that she also as a *nation*, has interposed upon these and no other grounds, though of course we need scarcely say that there are myriads in France, the land of reviving faith and restored religion, who look to the East with other feelings, and with whom it is a Catholic question of Catholic interests. Had her Government, however, interposed upon the principles of the old traditionary policy of Catholic France, from her zeal for the Church, she would hardly have hampered herself with the alliance of England, which has no sympathy with so sacred a cause, and would sacrifice it without scruple for the most sordid considerations: and she would then have escaped the inconvenience and the discredit of a feeble, hesitating, and a vacillating policy: contrasting very unfavourably in point of firmness and promptness with that of Russia. It is sad to see that the protector of schism should have been all decision, and the champions of Catholicism all hesitation.

After some negotiations, Prince Menschikoff, on the 5th May, presented his *ultimatum*, in substance to the same effect as above stated. The Porte declined to do more than to declare its intention to abide by existing engagements, and to extend to the Greeks any immunities conferred on other Christian communities. Prince Menschikoff answered by a note of the 18th May, in which these pledges were rejected, as not affording the guarantee the Emperor desired: in other words, the supremacy he aspired at. "The Sublime Porte," said the Prince, "in repelling the wishes of the Emperor in favour of the Greek Russian orthodox worship, has justified the serious apprehensions of the Imperial Government for the *security and maintenance* of the ancient rights of the Greek Church." The "security and maintenance of the ancient rights of the Greek Church," clearly meant its *supremacy*: that supremacy which by the supineness of the Catholic Powers it had acquired during the last two centuries, and of which it now was deprived. "The *identity of worship*, the *secular ties*, cemented by the reciprocal wants and interests of the two countries," were then urged by the Russian Envoy, as reasons for acceding to his demands: in other words, his argument was, that Greek Christians

ought not to be under the sway of a Moslem Sovereign. The Porte, on the 26th May, replied to the note by a circular addressed to the representatives of the Three powers. It again declared that it would maintain all the rights which had been declared to the Greek Christians.

“But to stipulate with a foreign government by a formal treaty, or a note or declaration of equal force about the rights and privileges of a numerous class of subjects in the Sublime Porte, even if these rights only relate to religious worship and Church affairs—would destroy the independence of this empire.”

The framers of this note forget the precedent of the Danubian Principalities. Russia had advanced thus far without opposition. *Political* interests appeared not to be involved in her Protectorate over the Christians in Wallachia and Moldavia. Therefore, neither France nor England cared to interfere. She now sought to carry out the same principle: but as her spiritual supremacy necessarily involved temporal sovereignty by reason of the nature of her schismatic system—in that respect resembling Islamism and Protestantism—and as the establishment of such a supremacy on her part could make her influence predominant in the East, she was now resisted. It was not unnatural that she should be irritated by resistance, where she may have counted on compliance. And she certainly found an argument—her only one—in favour of her claims, when she grounded her demand for fresh *guarantees* on behalf of the Greeks, upon the contradictory firmans which had been given to Greeks and Catholics, and the fluctuating course which had been pursued by the Porte amidst the conflicting influences of diplomacy. There was, undoubtedly, a foundation in fact for this statement, as the reader will have remarked. Russia required a formal guarantee *to her* of the rights of the Greek schism, the result of which, of course would be to give her the right of enforcing them to make her the arbiter of any question as to their enforcement. The reason for this requisition was expressly stated to be, that contradictory firmans had been granted to the Latin and Greek communions, and this fact was expressly admitted by the French Government, which declared in one of its notes, that both Russia and France had reason to complain of the *tergiversation* of the Porte, which had “contracted on all sides contradictory obligations.” It was not, therefore, so much the requisi-

tion of Russia in *itself* which excited the opposition of France and England. The real reason for it is to be found in the suspicions entertained of the ulterior object of Russia, and the cause of these suspicions is to be found, in the fact, that the Greek Christian population of the Turkish empire is so large a majority of the whole, and the union of the spiritual and temporal, characteristic of schism, and particularly so of the Greek Russian schism—would render a right of Protectorate over that portion of the population practically equivalent to the admission of a right of sovereignty, or would inevitably prepare the way for it; while the encroaching and arrogant spirit of the Greek schism, under the auspices of the Russian emperors for the last century, showed a tendency in it to intolerance and tyranny, which would be satisfied by nothing short of supremacy. The “*ultimatissimum*” of Russia was the requisition of a declaration on the part of the Porte, that the orthodox worship of the East, its clergy, its churches, and possessions, as also its religious establishments, shall enjoy in future the privileges conferred upon them “*ab antiquo*.” At first sight it may seem strange that this should have been peremptorily *rejected*—when it looks as if literally the same with the declarations already given by the Porte. But the real difference is to be found in this—that the previous declarations of the Porte were given to all the Great Powers—whereas Russia required a guarantee to herself, and accordingly this *ultimatissimum* imported an engagement which was to be entered into *with the Emperor*, as the “protector of the orthodox worship of the East.” The note of the French Government, in explaining the reasons upon which this requisition of Russia was rejected, states the case thus: “The treaty of Kainardji confers on Russia a right of protection, limited and defined, over a church ministered to by Russian priests, which it was sought to erect on the outskirts of Galatea. This assuredly does not mean that practically and in the natural course of events, the Court of St. Petersburg should feel itself called upon to interest itself for the Christians of the Greek rite, who form in Turkey the majority of the population. But if the Porte found itself bound to consider the sympathies of Russia for the Eastern Church, it has not up to this time subscribed to any engagements,” (except those as to the Danubian principalities, which are rested by the French

Government on the ground of conquest,) which takes away the *merit of its tolerance*, and imposes instead of *duties freely fulfilled with regard to its own subjects, obligations towards a foreign power*. Here is the whole question, and we cannot help observing that the French view of the question scarcely seems satisfactory; that Christians are to be left under the absolute sway of infidels, left merely to the "merit of voluntary tolerance," and without any effort on the part of Christian powers to secure them due protection, even in countries originally Christian and conquered by the Mahomedans. This was not the old Catholic view of the question, nor that which France took in the ages of faith. The French Government accordingly does not support it upon its traditions of the age of St. Louis, but refers to an age very different, that of Louis the Sixteenth. "Our own treaties with Turkey never gave us any right of protection over the Catholic subjects of the Sultan." "The Count de Saint Priest, ambassador of Louis XVI. at Constantinople, from 1768 to 1785, thus clearly defines the nature of our protectorship: 'The zeal of our kings has been rewarded by the title of Protector of the Catholic religion in the Levant: but *this is illusive*. Never have the Sultans had an idea that the French monarchs believed themselves authorized to interfere in the religion of the subjects of the Porte. There is no prince who would permit him to meddle with the religion of his subjects. The Turks are as susceptible as others on this head.' " Very characteristic language from the ambassador of a corrupt and effete court, which, during this very period, expelled the Jesuits from France, and, having reduced the Church to subserviency, was about to reap the reward of Gallicanism in the horrors of revolution. One can easily understand the sympathy with which a Minister who followed out the policy of Louis XIV. in Church and State would feel for any prince who resisted "the interposition of a *foreign power*," (the very phrase Protestants and Gallicans apply to the Holy See,) "with the *religion* of his subjects." The secret instinctive sympathy which exists between all forms of Protestantism, (including Gallicanism,) and Islamism was more and more amusingly exhibited. With what consistency could a Minister of the French Court press an opposite doctrine upon the Porte, it is indeed difficult to imagine. But there is a very important distinction between the two cases

which the courtly Count de Saint Priest overlooked. A Christian power interfering with Turkey to protect the religious rights of its Christian subjects, would not exactly interfere in the *religion* of the subjects of the Porte: merely to protect the rights of religious liberty is one thing, to interfere in the religion of a nation quite another; any "protection" on the part of a Christian power which did not secure to the Christian subjects of the Porte freedom from persecution or molestation, would indeed be "*illusive*." There we quite agree with the ambassador of Louis XVI. and this is our opinion about French intervention in Palestine ever since the age of Francis I., when the first treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was contracted between a Christian and an infidel power. French intervention has been simply *illusive*. It has gone on the principle of assuming that an infidel power has a right to conquer Christian people, and then act upon the maxim, "May we not do what we like with our own?" It is assumed that there is nothing monstrous and scandalous to Christendom in the fact, that Christians should be held under subjection to infidels, and hold the most sacred of their religious rights under their voluntary toleration; and that no Christian power could venture to interfere, save with the "bated breath and whispering humbleness" of diplomacy. It is this wretched policy which has produced the present state of things in the East, where the interests of the Catholic Church have declined generation after generation. Very different has been the course pursued by Russia; and the result we see in the practical supremacy of the Greek Church in Palestine prior to the recent negotiations. We must repeat the remark we have already made more than once, that it is sad to see that so much more zeal should have been shown in behalf of schism than in support of Catholicism. The principle upon which Russia has acted is, that a Mahomedan or Pagan Power is not to be permitted to enslave and oppress a Christian people, and that it is a Christian duty to protect them. And the result has shown that this is the right principle; for we have seen that the Greek Church had practically obtained predominance in the Turkish empire. The Turks for a century have had to submit to interference of a foreign power in regard to the religious rights of their *Greek* Christian subjects. We doubt not that they are, as the French Ambassador said, "as susceptible as other

people on this head;" nay, infinitely more so; for it is part of their religion to entertain an intense contempt for Christians, "the infidel dogs," and, when they "live up" to their religion, to strive to extirpate them by fire and sword, as they did in ages past, and would do now, if they durst attempt it; aye, and *have done* in living memory whenever they have had the opportunity;—witness the shocking atrocities of Scio and the massacre of the Christians at Constantinople, and the horrors perpetrated of later years in Syria. Doubtless the susceptibilities of Mahomedans were sufficiently exciteable against Christians; but it is precisely on that account that foreign protection is requisite to control the ferocious fanaticism of Islamism; and such protection has, in fact, been for a century past exercised by Russia in the Danubian Principalities and in Palestine over the Greek Christians. The arguments, therefore, of the French ambassador were not likely to make a deep impression on the Russian Emperor. "Our protection has been illusive," is the language of France. "Then ours shall *not* be illusive," is the reply of Russia; "it has not been illusive in the past; it shall be extended in the future." The only thing we see to regret in this is the sad fact, that as Russia is in schism, her zeal is on the wrong side. And again we repeat, that the position she has been enabled to assume in the East, and the predominance she has secured for her schism, is owing to the fact, that she has shown a *resolution* in its defence which France has failed to exhibit in behalf of Catholicism. To talk of the "merit of tolerance" on the part of the Turkish Government, which, in the interior of its empire is no Government at all, and leaves its Christian subjects to suffer the most horrible tortures that the ruffianly tyranny of a Pasha may lead him to inflict, from covetousness, or in the mere wantonness of cruelty,—is mockery and an insult to humanity. We cannot wonder that French diplomacy did not produce much impression upon Russia.

Its tenor was really nothing short of this: "Our policy has been illusory and unworthy; be content that yours shall be so too." It could scarcely be without some contempt that the Czar retorted, in effect, that ever since the treaty of Karnardji, the effort of the Russian emperors had been directed towards upholding the rights of their Church.

On the other hand, we have already pointed out that the concentration of all ecclesiastical power in the Czars, and

the complete union of the temporal and spiritual in their sovereignty, must necessarily give to all these efforts, on behalf of their Church, the aspect of attempts at conquests. Wherever the Russian Church comes, there must come the religious supremacy of the Russian emperor, which must carry with it virtual sovereignty. The Russian Church is thus in the same difficulty as the Anglican establishment. It cannot exist out of the limits of temporal sway; for it cannot exist apart from the royal supremacy. And, curiously enough, this difficulty has recently been exemplified in the soil of Palestine, in the case of the Protestant "bishopric" of Jerusalem, which has displayed the anomalous spectacle of a Christian bishop, deprived of all power of pastorship, save over the few subjects of the sovereign from whom he derived jurisdiction. This difficulty it is which associates unseparably the zeal of Russian sovereigns for the extension of their Church, with designs for the aggrandizement of their sovereignty.

The real gist of the Russian claim was this, *exclusive* privileges under *her* guarantee and protection, for the Greek Church; whereas the great powers contended that the Greeks ought only to enjoy protection and privileges in *common* with all other Christians. On this latter construction, of course, there could be no occasion for a separate and exclusive guarantee to *Russia*, and for that very same reason there could be no special gain to the cause of schism: which could scarcely satisfy Russia, who assumed to place her Church at the head of the great Greek schism, and had her sovereigns at the head of that Church.

The Turkish government thus summed up the controversy in a single sentence: "The Russian government wished that the spiritual privileges of the *Greek Church* and monks should be made the subject of a treaty between the *two Powers* (Russia and Turkey); and the government of the Sublime Porte refused to enter into any such engagement." The reason of the resistance of Turkey is stated as shortly thus: "It would have struck at its independence and sovereign rights, if, under colour of a treaty, it should concede to another power the right to put in execution in a regular manner the religious privileges granted to millions of its subjects." This was hardly consistent with the recognition of such a right in all the Great Powers. The independence of Turkey would scarcely be more compromised by having Five Powers interposing

than *one*. But perhaps a stranger reason still is disclosed indirectly in another sentence: "The claim of the court of Russia is grounded upon the religious privileges of the Greeks; but the chiefs and members of the Greek community have in no way intervened in the question." That is to say, the Porte would concede the Protectorate assumed by Russia over the Greek Church, if demanded by her Greek subjects of Turkey. This was a reason more inconsistent than the other. The truth is, *no* valid reason could be assigned for the resistance of Turkey under the auspices of Russia than this: the assumption of a species of sovereignty resulting from the spiritual supremacy claimed by the Czar over the Russian Church. In short, Russia claimed first to be the head of the Greek schism, next to be its Protector, and lastly, to procure for it peculiar privileges. In effect, this amounted to a claim of sovereignty.

Accordingly, in the Vienna Note, the principal points of variance from the Menschikoff *ultimatissimum*, were the following. 1. It referred simply to the representations of the emperor, omitting the words, recognizing him as the organ of the orthodox worship in the East. 2. It stipulated in favour of the Greek Christians only such advantages as were secured by express treaty, relating to the protection of Christian worship in the past, or should be granted to other Christians for the future. 3. It omitted the guarantee to Russia of the *status quo*, or the privileges enjoyed, in fact, *ab antiquo* by the Greeks, which were, in a great degree, as already explained, the result of mere usage and usurpation, originating in no treaty, but in the negligence of other Christian powers. In a manifesto issued by the Turkish government, explaining its objections to the Vienna Note, it objected to the following words: "The emperors of Russia have manifested an active solicitude for the maintenance of the privileges of the orthodox Greek Church in the Ottoman empire," because "it might be understood that the privileges of the Greek Church there had *been only maintained by the active solicitude of the emperor of Russia*," which, no doubt, was true enough; but the Ottoman government had now been led to perceive the impolicy of allowing it to be understood so. It thus disclosed the cause of its jealousy: "To fortify by new ties the religious community already existing between a great community of the subjects of the Sublime Porte and

a foreign power, to give to the government of Russia a motive to pretend to exercise a right of *surveillance* and interference in such matters would be in some sort to admit a participation in sovereign rights."

The real nature and character of the controversy will be further illustrated by some of the observations of the Russian government in rejecting the modifications proposed by Turkey in the Vienna note. In respect to the suggested omission of the clause which spoke of the active solicitude of Russia, &c., it is observed, "This omission deprives the passage of all meaning; for no one doubts the active solicitude of the sovereigns of Russia for the faith which they profess. What was required to be recognised was, that from time immemorial an active solicitude had been shown by Russia for her co-religionists in Turkey, as well as for the maintenance of their religious immunities; and that the Ottoman empire is resolved to have regard to that solicitude." In reply the Turkish government spoke with some scorn. "Russia wishes to insert a clause concerning the active solicitude of the Emperors of Russia for the maintenance in Turkey of religious principles granted to the Greek rite before Russia so much as existed as an empire." This sneer, doubtless, did not tend to conciliate the Czar. But by this time the time for conciliation was past. Her troops had crossed the Pruth—the Rubicon of the Russian Cæsar.

There is a remarkable passage in the last manifesto of the Russian government which perhaps may more than any other exhibit the religious gist of the controversy.

"The Ottoman Government would, by one of the alterations, only bind itself to allow the orthodox (Greek) Church to participate in such advantages as it accords to those other Christian communities which are subject to the Porte. But in case these communities, no matter whether Catholic or other, should be composed of foreign clergy or laity, and this is the case with nearly all the convents hospitals, seminaries, and bishoprics, of the Latin form of worship in Turkey, and as soon as it shall please the Porte to grant to these establishments fresh religious advantages and privileges—the orthodox communities, according to the alteration, would not be entitled to lay claim to similar advantages, nor would Russia have the right to intercede for them. Let us put a probable case. That the last inducted (Catholic) Patriarch of Jerusalem should receive certain privileges from the Porte which the Greek Patriarch does not enjoy. Every reclamation on the part of the

latter would be rejected, because he is a subject of the Porte. The same objection would be made by the Ottoman ministry, with reference to the Catholic establishments in Palestine, whenever subsequently, to the detriment of the native community, any new privilege should be conferred on them, which is not mentioned in the last firman."

It is impossible not to see that on the part of Russia—that is, the Russian nation—this is a religious controversy. It matters not whether the Russian government solely regard the religious view; they best know on what grounds to rest it in order to make it popular with their people; and they rest it purely on religious grounds, and their appeal is responded to with frantic enthusiasm. Nor is there any reason to question the Emperor's religious enthusiasm. The writer of the pamphlet, "*The Cross versus the Crescent*," very truly says, "Europe has resolutely taken it for granted that the Emperor of Russia is actuated by ambitious and not religious motives; but he is known to be most enthusiastically devoted to his own faith, and eminently hostile to the Roman Catholics." It is to be observed at the same time, that, as we have already remarked with Russia, as with any schismatic state, the spiritual is so mixed with the temporal, by reason of the union of both in the person of their emperor, that the spread of his supremacy carries with it the spread of his sovereignty, and thus his religion is necessarily mixed up with ambition. However, the writer most truly adds, that "strong antagonism to the Roman Catholics is one of the striking characteristics of the Greek Church:" we may add—of all schism. And, unquestionably, on the part of Russia, the war, although a religious war, is not so much a war against Islamism as against Catholicism. There was no aggression on the part of the Greek schism, or Islamism: no contest between them: the struggle was between Schism and Catholicism: between the Greek and Latin communions. It was a renewal, in fact, of the ancient controversy for supremacy between the Eastern and the Western Patriarchates which made Constantinople the seat of schism ten centuries ago.

On the part of the Turks, (and here again we mean the nation, not the government,) it is unquestionably a religious war: the ferocious fanaticism of the people has in truth hurried on the rulers into war against their will, and

against the wishes of the Western powers. And it is to be remembered that a religious war in the minds of the infidels means *a war against Christianity*. It is in vain to disguise it. It is a revival of old Mussulman fanaticism. What care the Turks for Greeks or Latins: schismatics, or Catholics? It is the name of *Christian* that they execrate and scorn, and they sneer at all those sects and schisms which have given them so much annoyance. As one of their ministers said a century ago, the Sublime Porte cannot trouble itself with religious differences between *infidels*, for they call Christians and Pagans, all alike, who do not adopt the Mahomedan dogma, "One God and Mahomet his prophet." They are taught to fight against Christianity, and even to extirpate it from the face of the earth. It is true that their animosity is chiefly directed against Russia, and at present it may appear exclusively so, but that is merely because Russia is the only Christian power which has menaced the Porte with the sword in professed defence of Christian rights, and moreover Russia represents or assumes to represent the larger proportion of the Christian subjects of the Porte, added to which, the chief of the other Christian communities are represented by powers friendly or neutral. Notwithstanding this, it is perfectly plain that as a Turk cares nothing for religious distinctions between "infidels," "dogs of Christians," and is taught by his Koran to regard it as his duty to offer them all the unrelenting alternative of destruction or circumcision—a religious war, in his understanding, must really mean a war against Christianity. It may be directed only against a particular class of Christians who happen to have become obnoxious, but the real *animus* and motive, must be the deadly hatred to Christian religion, which is the life and soul of Mahomedanism. It is notorious that the war party triumphed at Constantinople. It is perfectly idle to talk of the Turks as having taken up arms in vindication of political independence, and infinitely more so to hear them spoken of as opposed to intolerance. If they tolerate Christians it is from contempt or from compulsion. There are those still living in Constantinople who took part in the savage massacre of Christians thirty years ago, and who would like to repeat a similar outrage. The language of the Ottoman government during the recent negotiations has manifested apprehensions of an outbreak of this nature more than once.

Dr. Newman entertains this opinion of Mahomedanism, that it is essentially unchangeable, and must inspire its votaries with intense hate and scorn of Christianity; and cites our able contemporary the *Edinburgh Review* to the same effect.

The fact is, so far as the contest is one for the maintenance of the Mahomedan power in Europe, it is impossible that Christian men can wish success to that power. Islamism is a system in which the religious and the political are mixed up, and it is impossible to separate them. And the religion is one which blights wherever it prevails.

Balmez considers the aspect of the East a reproach to Christendom, and a miserable result of Protestantism. "When, breaking the unity of European civilization, it introduced discord into its bosom, it weakened the physical and moral action which it exercised on the rest of the world. Europe was apparently destined to civilize the world. How does it happen that she has not realized her destiny? How does it happen that barbarism is still found at her gates, and that Islamism still maintains itself in one of the finest climates and countries of Europe?" It is plain that this profound and truly Catholic writer considers Turkey, in Europe, a scandal to Christendom. And as to Turkey in Asia: "Asia, with her want of moving power—weakness, despotism, degradation, and with all the disgraces of humanity, lies under our eyes, and scarcely have we done anything which gives reason to hope that she will emerge from her degraded state. Asia Minor, the coasts of Palestine, Egypt and the whole of Africa, are before us, in a deplorable condition, a degradation which excites pity, and forms a melancholy contrast with the great recollections of history." "How does it happen that Europe, overflowing with vigour and energy, has remained within her narrow limits?" "The entire cause is her want of unity; her external action has been without concert, and consequently without efficacy." What a commentary on our sketch of the history of the last three centuries, especially with reference to the fluctuating policy of Christian nations as to Turkey, their want of union, their mutual jealousies, their petty intrigues! France jealous of Austria; England of Russia; all playing into the hands of the common foe of Christendom, the oppressor of millions of Christians, the infidel Ottoman: Christian powers, Catholic, schismatic, and heretic,

rivalling each other in their eagerness to abandon the common cause,—to betray it for the most selfish and short-sighted policy of interest.

There never has been, there never can be, any doubt or difference in enlightened Christian minds, as to the diabolical character of Mahomedanism. The illustrious Görres truly speaks of it as affording a pretext and “instance for palliation, to all the violence of pride, and the arrogance of tyranny, as drawing to it the men of the sword of violence and of blood, and of rallying around the apostle of lust the sensual multitude.” And Schlegel points out that it “encourages and even commands irreconcilable hostility, eternal slaughter, to propagate through the world a belief in its blood-stained prophet of pride and lust. These characteristics are rooted in its very nature and essence, and time makes no alteration in it, nor can it affect the influences it exercises. The horrors perpetrated in the taking of Otranto, when the Catholic Archbishop was cruelly massacred with some hundreds of his flock, were not equal to those perpetrated in the storming of Scio, pictured so vividly in the eloquent language of Dr. Newman: nor were they greater than those committed thirty years ago, in the massacre of the Greek Patriarch, and hundreds of Christians in Constantinople. If this ferocious fanaticism has been in any degree checked and controlled during the last century, we cannot doubt when we remember the savage fury with which the Turks were, scarcely seventy years ago, pressing rapidly towards Vienna, to revive the terrors from which Sobieski had relieved Christendom, that it is to be ascribed to the counterbalancing power of Russia. And the debasing and degrading influence of Mussulman rule, produces results if less shocking, quite as ruinous, wherever it exists. There is no work of any traveller on the Turkish empire which does not exhibit traces of the atrocious character of Turkish rule. And we are persuaded that this has had a great deal to do with the perpetuation of the unhappy Greek schism. The degradation, moral, social, and political, to which the infidel sway subjects the Greeks, cannot but have tended to increase their ignorance and isolation, to which in a great degree the continuance of their schism is to be ascribed. Glancing the other day into a most charming and exquisitely written book, written by Father Faber while yet an Anglican, some ten or twelve

years ago, we came upon the following passage, which we gratefully quote, as expressing what we would convey far more powerfully and beautifully than we could ever hope to do. He is speaking of the existence and condition of the Greek Church even in the Morea.

“Let us look at the circumstances in which the Christians found themselves under the despotic exactions and tyrannous misrule of the misbelievers. They were subject to every sort of injustice which was likely to debase their characters; if their churches were burnt or decayed, they were not allowed to rebuild or repair them without permission from the authorities; a permission never to be obtained except at immense cost, and not unfrequently refused altogether. Independent of the vile indignities which met them at every turn in life, it was next to impossible for them to obtain justice in the Turkish court, if their opponent was an infidel. At certain times the Turkish police inspected the Christian children of a district from eight years old and upwards, and carried off all the best made and ablest bodied among them, compelling them to become Mahometans. Patriarchs and bishops were made and unmade, elevated, deposed, re-elevated, deposed, and strangled, either from a ferocious caprice, or a desire to extort money; in fact, there never has been a slavery so galling, so debasing, so systematically inhuman, so unmitigated by any alleviating circumstances, so unchequered by any tranquil times, as that which the Oriental Christians, especially in the Greek peninsula, have endured at the hands of the foul Mahometans: and to our shame be it said, since the days of the great-minded Popes, who strove to renew the Crusades, the protecting interference of the European Powers, has been rarely feebly and selfishly exerted in behalf of the suffering Christians.

“What has been done has, till lately, been chiefly by Russia, and however obviously it was her interest to make herself popular with the Christian subjects of the Porte, it is not to be believed that she has acted on no higher and more generous principle. This iron hand pressed for years and years upon this unhappy land, till the most wonderful region of Europe became a dry, blighted, untilled, unpopulous waste of green plains and ruined cities. The iron hand is removed, and we find Christ's holy Catholic Church in full possession of her divine polity and apostolic forms; her metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, lecturers, and lighters of the lamps: the regenerating water in her fountains, and the bloodless sacrifice upon her altars. Beneath that tremendous tyranny she was exercising her sacerdotal office under the shadow of her Master's wings.”

This eloquent and pathetic description is obviously as applicable, at this moment, to the condition of the Chris-

tians throughout the Turkish empire, as it ever was. And is it not sad that it should be so? It is in vain to shut our eyes to the fact because we do not see or hear of any particular atrocities perpetrated. What know we of what passes in this "huge infidel empire," as Father Faber calls it? How can we be expected to hear of all the horrors committed upon Christians by these "foul unbelievers?" Is not their *religion* the same? And is it not withal a cursed system of anti-Christian abomination that all this fell fanatic hate of Christianity has its root? Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? And will any *Catholic* be so duped by the *cant* of civilization, as to fancy that its superficial influence (even where it extends—how far into Asia *does* it extend?) can counteract the effects of a foul and demoniacal delusion? No! It is scarcely possible for a Christian man to view the rule of Islam with any other feelings than those of execration and abomination; or to regard its influence on Christian soil, and its presence amongst Christian homes and altars, as anything but a pollution and a profanation. It is utterly impossible for the Christian mind to do otherwise than pray for its expulsion—its extirpation—to look on its existence in Europe otherwise than as a blot on civilization, and a scandal to Christendom. When Father Faber, twelve years ago, was on the shores of Scio, he saw the Turkish fleet sailing to Candia, to quench a rebellion there. He "mourned over the probable scenes of atrocious barbarity which would follow their success," and added, "Four rebellions at once, besides troubles on the Persian frontier, are *omens of the coming downfall of this huge Infidel empire*. Such an event will throw European diplomacy into confusion, the knot of which war must sooner or later cut. *Yet Christians can scarcely have divided opinions on the subject.*" Father Faber was not then a Catholic, but his sentiments on the subject were Catholic, and his words have proved prophetic. Indeed, it scarcely required the spirit of prophecy to predict the doom and downfall of Turkey. Fall it must, with every other foul dominion that has cursed the human race. Speaking of Smyrna, Father Faber said, "as a Christian city it is deeply interesting. It is the only city where any of the Seven Churches of Asia were, which exists as a city. The 'candlestick' is giving feeble light—still untaken away; but the *brutal inundation of Mahomet's*

foul creed has swept over the whole place, and is in itself a tremendous punishment." Yes, indeed, a tremendous punishment, not only for Smyrna, but for every other city of the East which has submitted to the curse of schism. Father Faber would now acknowledge his words true in a deeper and wider sense than that in which he wrote them.

Sadly true is it that, from the first rise of the false prophet, to the falling of Constantinople, and thence to the present period, Islamism was, is, and shall be, the "tremendous punishment" of *Eastern* schism. Of the *Western* schism the retribution has been *Rationalism*. And here we must introduce a profound remark of that illustrious Christian philosopher, Schlegel, "that, considered in its true internal spirit, and divested of its outward garb of oriental customs, the religion of Mahomet will be found rather to bear a stronger affinity to the insane and superficial philosophy of the eighteenth century; and if that philosophy were honest and consistent, it would not hesitate loudly to proclaim and revere Mahomet, if not as a *prophet*, still as a *real reformer* of mankind, the first promulgator and mighty teacher of truth, and the founder of the pure religion of reason." If we are not mistaken, we have heard Father Faber, in controversial lectures, touch upon this latent principle of association between Protestantism (in its abstract form and ultimate development of Rationalism) and Mahomedanism. And it is beyond a doubt, that in the precise proportion in which a man advances towards this development, he approximates towards Mahomedanism, so intimate a connection is there between Islamism, schism, and scepticism. It is not necessary that a man should wear a turban to be in substance a Mahomedan. The essence of Mahomedanism is the absence of all dogma, and the indulgence of self, except so far as it may be socially inconsistent. Hence it is that one of the most popular writers of our day, Leigh Hunt, is a great admirer of Mahomet, while he speaks of our Adorable and Divine Lord with a cool insolence which would excite our indignation, were it not that in an old and gifted man, on the verge of the grave, it raises feelings in which mingle horror, compassion, and grief. Now all this has a direct bearing on our subject. It serves to account, in a great degree, for the sympathy felt in this country with the Turks. For, among the majority of our Protestant fellow-countrymen, there is this sympathy. It is not

merely (as it may be among many Catholics) a feeling of opposition to the Russians, but of positive sympathy with the Moslems. There is the fellow-feeling which makes men wondrous kind. There is a hearty admiration, an evident *partiality*, a scarcely concealed sympathy. A little reflection must show us that it is impossible that the English can sympathize with the Russians. We speak not of *political* antipathy; suppose that did not exist, supposing Russia liberal in politics, our arguments would equally apply. The Turkish is a despotic power; yet it does not prevent the *free* subjects of this country from feeling sympathy and partiality for them. The reason of their want of sympathy with the Russians is, that the latter are really religious, imbued with feelings of *reverence* and *veneration*, and regard for traditionary authority, episcopal mission, and dogmatic teaching; regarded in this country with contempt, as savouring of superstition and fanaticism.

No doubt, to some extent it is true that this must be so, the Russians being in schism. But we need scarcely say that it is not on this account that our countrymen think so. On the contrary, this is precisely the only point upon which, if at all, there is the least possibility of sympathy between them and the Russians; that they are in schism. If they were not in schism their reverence would be equally derided as superstition, and their zeal as fanaticism; while neither the one nor the other can be seen as the disciples of Islamism. The sympathies of this country are either with the Turks—or if against them, equally against the Russians, except were it avowed that success is wished to Russia, on account of its present opposition to Catholicism. This, whatever the course taken, is the opinion entertained by Protestant politicians: they are equally actuated by hatred of Catholicism, and a secret sympathy for Islamism, scepticism or schism. Thus, the writer of the "Cross and the Crescent," while he exclaims against the ignominy of England, now called upon to wield the sword of Islamism against Christianity, and to incur the everlasting obloquy of fighting with the Crescent against the Cross, says, the orthodox Greek Church has been from the earliest ages more unobtrusive in its piety, and more primitive in its practice than any other of the Christian Churches, "considers that the present crisis has been brought about by a Roman Catholic aggression against

the holiest and most highly valued of their privileges," and goes on to speak in one place of the inoffensive and unencroaching character of the Greek Church, and in another place admiringly observes that strong antagonism to the Roman Catholics is one of its striking characteristics: so that with this writer, who represents the view of the Anticatholic party in this country, the war ought to be one in favour of schism, not against Islamism. There is another class of writers who look with equal horror upon Islamism and schism upon religious grounds; the former for its having no Christian faith, and the latter for having too much of it; and there is another class of those who oppose this war—who sink the religious view altogether—look at the subject purely as one of politics—regard Russia and Turkey simply as two despotic powers—and counsel that they should be left to fight it out and destroy each other. One of these writers says that the Turks cannot be reformed without making them cease to be Mahomedans, (in which Dr. Newman agrees,) and that Turkey cannot be sustained:

“Decay and decline are written upon her material power, and her moral strength is a burlesque on the name. Humanity sickens and sinks at the thought of allowing such a mass of political and moral corruption any longer to pollute Europe; she must fall. God and man are weary of her, and all the power of England and France cannot hold her up.” The same writer says: “Does Russia deal in serfs? then Turkey deals in slaves: and if the hardy sons of the desert are oppressed by the former, the latter openly sells, in the markets of Eastern Europe and of Asia, the loveliest women of the world, the descendants of those who once ruled the most humane of mankind, the inhabitants of the finest portions of the earth. If it be alleged that the Russians change the face of society wherever they conquer, it may with equal truth be answered that the Turks, and all Mussulmen, do the same thing wherever they can, and have done so during all their career of barbarity and oppression. The truth is, both powers stand in the way of human progress; and as long as the Czar remains absolute in Russia, and the Mahomedan faith and the prerogatives of the Sultan continue intact in Turkey, there can be no hope for liberty and civilization. It is evident, then, that if the defeat of Russia by Turkey, or the overthrow of the Ottoman by the Czar, involves no further consequences than the destruction of the rule of the one or of both, we ought to say, let them fight it out. It is not always good when Herod and Pilate are friends. It is not then that any right-minded man would mourn; for all such would rather

rejoice over the fall of both these powers ; but the present fall of Turkey by Russian arms might lead to consequences destructive to many existing interests."

And then the writer instances the "balance of power." This is the moral or political view of your mere modern "liberal," i.e. a man who looks at events merely in relation to his miserable theories of human government, and false ideas of human enlightenment, with the usual cant about civilization, progress, and the like—all utterly independent of religion. The immortal Schlegel has very justly said that "the system of the balance of power is either merely the substitute for a higher principle, or a mere supplement—a subordinate auxiliary to the settlement of accidental questions. With the great revolution which closed the last century commenced an epoch of intellectual as well as political barbarism and desolation, to which the mere negative principle of an equilibrium of power, however it might be adequate to the ordinary relations of civilized states, was no longer applicable, for, now a higher principle of moral and sound reparation was needed. In the system of balance of power, right and wrong are not the criterion of political estimation, nor the rule of political negotiations ; the great object is the prevention of political ascendancy : but there may be cases in which right is clearly on the side of ascendant might,—when the cause of justice is espoused by preponderate power. And in such cases, with a total disregard of justice, the system of balance of power will fling its weight into the opposing scale merely to impede the progress of an overgrown dominion." He likens such a system to the "false illuminism" of the age. He goes on to say that the power of evil cannot be overcome by a mere negative principle of resistance, but by a divine power. "A mighty religious war, which has shaken all moral existence to its centre, and convulsed it in all its depths, can be completely terminated only by a true religious peace." The present is on the part of the two principal combatants—really a "mighty religious war," and it is only pedantic politicians who can expect it to be terminated by the miserable compromising system of "balance of power." Between opposing principles there can be no lasting compromise. And as to peace—what concord can there be between Christ and antichrist? Between schism and scepticism—between rationalism and Protestantism—between

Islamism and infidelity—there may be compromise—between *any* false systems. But between eternal truth and diabolical error—between Mahomedanism and Catholicism—between the Crescent and the Cross—there can be only an eternal antagonism.

What is the present condition of the fine countries under the Ottoman rule has been amply exhibited in recent works. Not long ago, a writer in this journal, reviewing Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, speaks most justly of his description of the present condition of the Ottoman Empire, as "a record of barbarism which no one can read without disgust and horror." "The most famed portion of the world," (he truly adds,) "is now a desert; nor is it likely to improve so long as it shall be ruled by a bandit government in league with the robber; which shares her spoils and connives at her massacres.* The unhappy Christians are at once the prey of the fanatic Kurds, the robber Arabs, and the plundering troops of the Turkish rulers." What rulers are they who, instead of protecting their subjects from oppression, participate in its profits? For all the horrors inflicted upon the Christian population under the Turkish government, that government is responsible, whether they are actually perpetrated, or only permitted, by its vassals. Its rulers, instead of being protectors, are persecutors of its unhappy subjects. In short, its rulers are robbers; and its rule one of rapine. The writer we have referred to most truly stated that although the Christians are not directly persecuted on account of their religion in Constantinople and its immediate vicinity, yet outside of that narrow circle, they are most barbarously oppressed and plundered: and there is a party large and fanatical enough to drive them from the capital if not overawed by the powers of Europe. In a word, persecution—the Koran, or the sword—is the very soul of Mahomedanism. It is impossible to form an alliance between Christianity and this degrading superstition. Well might the writer express a doubt whether it be either right or expedient to reduce the most fertile portion of the

* Dublin Review, No. lxix. p. 137. While these pages are printing we have heard Mr. Layard actually endeavouring, in the House of Commons, to destroy the effect of his own book, by arguing that the Turkish Government did not *commit* these atrocities, but only *permitted* them, and then tried to punish them! What a defence!

earth to a wilderness for the sake of preserving the "balance of power."

Let us requote, for the instruction of those who talk of Turkish "tolerance," and ridicule the idea of any necessity of protectors for Christians under Turkish rule, a passage or two from Mr. Layard's work :

"The Turkish government, so far from fulfilling the pledges given to the British embassy, had sent officers who had grievously oppressed and illtreated the Christian inhabitants ; whole districts being thus reduced to the greatest misery and want. Every manner of cruelty and torture had been urged to compel the suffering Christians to yield up the little property they had concealed from the Turkish authorities. There was no tribunal to which they could go for redress. A deputation sent to the Pasha had been illtreated."

* * * * *

"A body of Turkish troops had lately visited the village and destroyed the little that had been restored since the Turkish invasion. The chief had been thrown, with his hands tied behind his back, on a heap of burning straw, and compelled to disclose where a little money, that had been saved by the villagers, was buried. The priest had been torn from the altar and beaten before the congregation. Men showed the marks of torture on their bodies and of fetters round their limbs. For the sake of conveying a few piasters from this poverty-stricken people all these deeds of violence had been committed by officers sent by the Porte to *protect* the Christian subjects of the Sultan."

These horrors could scarcely have been surpassed at the era of the Crusades, and certainly show that the nature of the Ottoman rule is unchanged. How could it be changed? The obscene and savage religion being the same, how can the character of the people be materially altered? How can the superficial, skin-deep, change of modern "civilization," even assuming it to have spread far into Turkey, (which it is clear it has not,) eradicate the intrinsic brutality of a *religion* invented by the devil and the depravity of a people brought up under its debasing influence? Mahomedanism is a religion of *ruffianism* : and can only bring barbarism and blood wherever it stretches its accursed sway.

Some recent numbers of the *Annals of the Faith* supply some extremely interesting information as to the present condition of Palestine and the oppression of the Ottomans and the concourse of pilgrims. One communica-

tion commences thus—with equal truth, charity, and beauty.

“The East, with all its schisms and antique heresies, is a region of faith. We may form our judgment of it from various points of view: but on witnessing the respect which its populations, although separated from the true Church of Jesus Christ, entertain for the Holy Places; on witnessing the sacrifices they enjoin upon themselves to be able to come on pilgrimages—often from a distance of five hundred leagues—we must come to the conclusion that there still remains in these souls, who manifest such great piety, some good dispositions; it is to be hoped that, for a great number of them their ignorance and sincerity will be received as an excuse for their error, and that God will find among them some of His elect. All the Christian nations have their representations in this multitude of pious visitors. More especially at the feasts of Easter the pilgrims come in vast numbers from all the countries of the East, *especially the Greeks from Russia and Greece, the Armenians,*” &c. “They arrive, some by land, others on bad vessels—in which they are stowed almost like negroes that are transported into the colonies. They expose themselves to the inclemency of the weather, to numberless privations, *and the exactions of the Turks and Arabs.*” “As soon as the church (of the Holy Sepulchre) *opened by the Turks*, the pilgrims came to pay their devotion and cover with kisses that stone more precious than gold in the eyes of Christians possessed of faith.”

“When the Church is opened by the Turks.” What sacristans for a Church! What keepers of the Sepulchre of Christ! Is it not sad to think that such a place should be in such vile custody, and that the pious pilgrims of Christendom should be subject to their atrocious “exactions” and iniquitous oppressions?

Another of these communications contains this grand sentence: “Catholicism and heresy will come to a severe contest on the subject of the Holy Places. It does not seem impossible that the old Turkish empire may one day be broken against the Tomb of the Man-God!” The writer goes on to quote the expressions of a young French priest, a pious pilgrim to the Holy Places. “The Crusades of the middle ages are but an episode of that secular crusade which still exists, and will only terminate at the dawn of the day when the cross shall be finally triumphant.” We think this one of those profound ideas which display the union of piety and philosophy. It is a fallacy to speak of the Crusades as essentially mediæval. The particular manifestation was mediæval in its character, but the spirit

was of all ages. They arose in the eternal antagonism between faith and infidelity,—the tendency of the one to revile, the other reverence, whatever attaches to the Incarnate God,—to this antagonism there can be no end while the earth endures. So long as Christian hearts adore the Mysteries of God made Man, so long will they regard the scene of that Mystery with profound veneration, and revolt from the idea of its being polluted and degraded. The feeling may find expression among men of one age or character in appeal to arms—or those of another in appeals to prayer; the outward expression will vary with the ruder or the milder nature of the national piety; it may take the form of enlightened enthusiasm, or of ignorant fanaticism, as it arises in the pure soil of the true faith, or under the tainted influences of schism and superstition: but it has its root in the eternal antagonism between the diabolical and divine.

“Let us thank heaven,” says the same pious writer, “that the period of cold indifference towards the Holy Land is for ever past. We are already far removed from that epoch when the representative of a great nation, asked to protect the Holy Sepulchre against the invasion of schism, avowed that he had no wish to disturb the peace of the world for the sake of a few stones, and a chest six feet long. And yet it was to enforce the right of watering with their tears this *chest two feet long*, that our fathers shed their blood.” Yes, and how many sainted souls are associated in the Catholic mind with the history of the Crusades! Who that recollects the touching story of *la chère Sainte Elizabeth*, as written by the Comte de La Montalembert, (to give one instance out of hundreds,) can fail to feel, as he recalls the pious submission with which that beautiful saint sent forth her young spouse to the crusade, that in proportion to the piety of a Catholic heart is the warmth of its zeal for Holy Places in general, and for the Holy Places in particular. If angels were employed to remove the Holy House from the revolting pollutions of the infidel, that it might be preserved for the veneration of Christendom, does not that speak eloquently of the ardent affection with which Catholics should seek to rescue the hallowed scenes of our Lord’s earthly life from the same pollutions, or at least to protect from molestation pious pilgrims who resort thither to satisfy their devotion?

Men who care not for principles, may look with contempt upon the contest, but it is not the less one which will enlist the passions of one half the world against the other. The majority of men are not rationalists or illuminists, they are likelier to be fanatics: and a war of religious opinion cannot be dealt with by the "balance of power." If it were a contest only between the Greek schism and Islamism, we should be ashamed to wish success to Islamism, for we can never forget that schismatics *are* Christian, and may be Catholic, and that the continuation of the schism is in a great degree the result of the foul domination of the infidel, which is at the same time its chastisement. If it were a contest between one schism and another, the Greek and the Protestant, we should find it difficult to wish success to the worse of the two. But it is not a mere contest between schism and Islamism, or between one schism and another. There is a contest between schism and Catholicism. If it were only a contest between Russia and Turkey, we should not quite say, with the pamphlet writer just referred to, that it were well for both to fall, because we believe Russia to have a Catholic destiny reserved for her: but we do agree that if Turkey were to fall under Russia, there would be peril to other interests, loftier far and infinitely more momentous than the miserable figment of the "balance of power;" we mean, the sacred interests of Catholicity.

As to the Turks, there can be no natural alliance between them and Christians. "Their hatred and contempt of the Giaour and the Frangi," says our contemporary the *Edinburgh Review*, is as burning as ever, perhaps even more so, because they are forced to implore their aid. The Eastern seeks Christian aid, in the same spirit and with the same disgust as he would eat swine's flesh, were it the only means of securing him from starvation." Nor can Christian men, if more than *nominally* Christian, wish anything but destruction to the anti-Christian power. Dr. Newman, in his emphatic way, says that "barbarians they have lived, and barbarians they will die;" and with his unsurpassed power shows that this is a moral necessity.

"Many things are possible; one thing is inconceivable, that they should, as a nation, accept of Christian civilization, and in default of it, that they should be able to stand their ground against the

encroachments of Russia, the interested and contemptuous patronage of Europe, and the hatred of their subject population."

The grand reason this illustrious man urges for his conclusion is, that Christianity is the religion of civilization; and the Turks, to accept Christianity, must cease, of course, to be what they are, its hereditary foe. What and where are they (he asks) without the Koran?

While we write these lines an interesting article in our talented contemporary, the *Rambler*, is published, giving a very similar picture of Turkey to that which we have presented; and powerfully depicting the extreme intolerance—the intense *hate*—the essential antagonism and animosity with which Turks must necessarily in their *hearts*—regard Christianity. And at the same time we find symptoms of the Christian population of European Turkey rising against their oppressors, and of her *Christian allies*, preparing to aid her in coercing them. Here we see a necessary consequence of the alliance between a Christian power and the infidel; and what a sad dilemma are we placed in—if this is a necessary result of resistance to Russia. In short, this is the great lesson to be drawn from the whole history of the subject—the fatal and accursed fruits of schism. To schism we have traced the isolation of Russia, and the spread of Islamism. And in the complicated difficulties of the Eastern question we see some of the sad results of the division of Christendom, and the destruction of Catholic unity. We might sum up all we have to say as to the fact in a single sentence of Dr. Newman's. "Had the voice of the Popes been listened to, there would have been no Eastern question to embarrass and embroil Europe—there would have been no Turks in Constantinople, and no need of Russians to drive them out." As to the *future*, we can also express our opinion in another sentence of Dr. Newman's. "Political questions are mainly decided by political *expediency*. All that need be said on behalf of the Sultan is, that the Christian powers are bound to keep such lawful promises as they have made to him. All that need be said in favour of the Czar is, that he is attacking an infamous power, the enemy of God and man. And all that need be said by way of warning to the Catholic is, that he should beware of strengthening the Czar's cause by denying or ignoring its strong point." That strong point is, that

Russia, as a nation, is in earnest against Antichrist. All but party writers, or those who have a *Russo-phobia*, admit this. It is idle to doubt that Russia enters into the war with strong religious feeling, and England and France with an utter absence of it, and purely upon reasons of *political expediency*. They own it. It is patent upon the face of the diplomatic papers. At the same time, while we cannot consider the subject with such strong animosity against Russia as some profess to feel, and while we have the satisfaction of seeing the illustrious Brownson entertain ideas of the subject very similar to our own; we are also aware that there must needs be more diversity of Catholic opinion as to the future than as to the past, because the issues of the controversy are so complicated, that, as our contemporary the *Tablet* well said, "to human eyes it would seem that whichever way it ended, the Church must lose—so it has ever *seemed* in all human controversies." But so it will not be,—whatever the immediate result, we have confidence that the ultimate destiny of the Church in some way will be advanced by it, and a firm belief that the destiny of Russia is to advance it. An empire so mighty, so compact, and so devout, is not to be for ever the prey of schism—her destiny and tendency are towards the East—which wants some such power to break up the hideous fabrics of Paganism or Islamism, idolatry or infidelity—and smite them in pieces with a rod of iron, to prepare the way for the progress of Christianity; and whether before or after the work is done, she will return to Catholic unity—the natural reward of her deep-rooted national piety.

We need scarcely say that we look at the question in the light in which, as it seems to us all good Catholics should regard it, that is, in its bearing on the interests of the Church. This is the spirit in which the Church herself teaches us to contemplate the march of human events, and the fate of earthly powers; the spirit in which she instructs her children, on the most solemn occasion of the year, to pray "*Oremus pro Ecclesia Dei ut eam Deus pacificare adunare et custodire dignetur, toto orbe terrarum, subjiciens ei principatus et potestates:*" and in the litanies to say, "*ut inimicos sanctæ ecclesiæ humiliare digneris,*" and "*ut regibus et principibus Christianis pacem et veram concordiam donare digneris.*" In conformity with the spirit of these petitions, it is plain that Catholics should regard the pending contest with this wish, that

any powers opposed to that of the Church should be humbled. Unhappily the issues of the present contest are somewhat complicated. If the Turks are animated with a hatred of Christianity, the Russians are actuated by animosity to Catholicism. And if the Russians hate the Papacy, the English hate the Church. If it be desired that Russia should be destroyed because she is schismatic, the same argument might be turned against England, whose influence is infinitely more injurious to the Church. If it be desired on account of the territorial aggressions of Russia, we have shown that they have not been greater than those of other European powers—especially Lutheran Prussia; and that they are not to be compared to those of Protestant England. We care not for the bugbear of territorial aggressions: it is not England who ought to be scandalized at it. It is religious aggression—schismatic oppression—heretical fanaticism which we fear; and were we put to choose between this and the atrocious influence of Islamism—it were, indeed, a cruel alternative for Catholicism. Whether this shall be the alternative depends entirely on the course pursued by France. England, as a government, cares nothing for the religious aspect of the question, and though there are many thousands of our countrymen who do, it is either from sympathy with schism or Islamism, and always from hatred to Catholicism. England is anxious only about territorial influence. It happens providentially that the religious aggression of Russia involves territorial aggression, or it causes apprehension about it. If those apprehensions were quieted, England would not interpose—or if she did, it would be in favour of Russia, and from enmity to Catholicism. How is it with France? Most of her politicians, or statesmen, are the worldly-minded men, who, like English ministers, care merely about territorial aggrandisement and temporal influence. These men would act very much as English ministers would. They would at all events sacrifice the interests of the Church readily, and without scruple, even if they did not actively oppose them. There are statesmen in France who really look only or mainly to the religious aspect of the Eastern question, and with a view to the influence of Catholicism: who desire to secure for the Church fair play, and to protect her just rights, and defend her from the insolent aggressions of schism. What sym-

pathy there can be, however, between these and the others we need scarcely ask.

And it is to be observed, that when the French Government commenced the negotiations in the East in something of a Catholic spirit of anxiety and zeal for Catholic interests in the Holy Land, the English Government showed the reverse of sympathy, and indicated something very like contempt. Two years ago, the English Minister wrote, "that it would indeed be lamentable if a serious difference were to arise on a matter so unimportant as the question which has been raised between France and Russia, as to certain privileges in regard to the custody of a Holy Building at Jerusalem." There is an ill-concealed scorn here, quite characteristic of Protestantism, which, in spite of Jeremy Taylor, has never been marked by "reverence for Holy Places." And France only purchased the co-operation of England by relinquishing her contention on behalf of Catholicity, and consenting to make the question one of mere *policy*. It is not therefore that France is combatting on behalf of the Church: she is not a champion for Catholicism; she merely unites with England in resisting a common rival. She has resigned her right to contend on the part of Catholicism, in order that she may oppose the pretensions of Russia in the cause of schism. There may, indeed, be a unity of interest where there is no sympathy of feeling. And if French statesmen think French interests involved in opposition to Russia, then they may work with England so long as English statesmen think English interests are involved, which will be so long as India is hers. Still this is a policy not pursued for Catholic objects; the aim being merely to obstruct the influence of Russia in the East. Accidentally, this may tend to relieve Catholicity from the pressure of schism; but at the same time it stops France from interfering to protect it from the accursed influence of Islamism. And were France in the position of Russia, and contending for Catholicism as Russia is now for schism, England and Russia would be infallibly leagued against her. It is not easy, then, to feel sympathy for the *spirit* in which the allies enter on the contest. One can only hope that the issues may be overruled by Providence to the good of the Church. Were it otherwise, and were it only a question of the sacrifice of Russia to Turkey, we should not hesitate earnestly to deprecate what we should deem

a sad catastrophe to Christendom. Schismatic though she be, Russia is still Christian; and if she be not Catholic, we cannot but recollect the language of Lacordaire, that she is schismatic, so to speak, by accident. And the history of the last three centuries, which we have hastily reviewed, shows that Russia has been a valuable bulwark for Christendom against the foul fanaticism of Mahomedanism. Moreover, the contest between the internal state and the social progress of the two empires exhibits proudly the infinite superiority of Christianity, (even under the disadvantages of schism,) to the debasing influence of Islamism. Most unchristian would it be to desire evil to such an empire as that of Russia. Rather would we cherish the hope that she is reserved for a nobler destiny, for which her compact power and enormous extent so well fit her—the destiny of aiding in the final triumphs of the Church, and of promoting, by her return to Catholic unity, the realizations of the grand prediction of Le Maistre, that one day Europe and Asia shall say High Mass together under the dome of Santa Sophia.

ART. V.—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.* Session, 1854. Parts I. and II.

MANY persons fancy that the introduction of manufactures would be the best means of remedying our sad condition. This is a mistake. As cheapness is the main cause of success in trade, we cannot compete with those who are already in possession of the market, and have thousands of millions sunk in the erection of buildings, machinery, and other appliances, and a people accustomed to the vocation, until we can supply as good an article for less money. This we cannot do unless we have the materials which go to compose it, cheaper, or a cheaper supply of food for the men who work it up, or skilled and unskilled labour cheaper, or facilities for working it up more cheaply, or conveying it by land or

water carriage to market more cheaply, or there exchanging it more cheaply, and above all, are left by law perfectly free to avail ourselves of all the natural or artificial advantages of our position. We do not pretend to specify all the elements of manufacturing success; but in proportion as we want the above, are our chances of failure. Take, for instance, our linen trade. Few would wear cotton shirts if they could get a better article, linen shirts, at the same price; but we cannot supply them at the same price till the cultivation of flax is so extended that it will be as cheap here as cotton is in England, and food, coals, iron, and labour (skilled and unskilled) are as cheap here as there, and we have equal facilities as the manufacturers of England by roads, railways, canals, rivers, and shipping, for "buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market" at home and abroad. In order to secure these elements of success, the obvious and natural course is to commence by tilling our soil, working our mines, fishing our waters, navigating our rivers, lakes, and seas, improving our roads, and above all, not giving away our labourers for nothing to our competitors.

A cheap supply of food and of the raw materials of manufacture is the first essential element of success. It was such a supply that was the cause of our success, when, towards the close of the seventeenth century, we were driving the English manufacturers and fishermen out of all the markets where we were allowed by law to compete with them. This is confessed in the plainest possible terms in the address of the English House of Lords, to William III., in 1698, wherein they represent:

"That the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries for life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitations, to settle there to the increase of the woollen manufacture of Ireland, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive, that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here, by which the trade of this nation and the value of lands will very much decrease, and the numbers of your people be much lessened here;" and beseech his majesty to declare to his subjects in Ireland, "that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there, hath long, and will ever be looked upon with great jealousy," &c. &c.—L. J. p. 314.

And thereupon the parliament take measures accordingly,

for the suppression of this dangerous manufacture, by the penalties of fine, confiscation, imprisonment, and transportation; the preamble of the Act 10 W. III., c. 16. reciting:—

“Forasmuch as wool and woollen manufactures of cloth, serge, bazes, kerseys, and other stuffs made or mixed with wool, are the greatest and most profitable commodities of this kingdom, on which the value of lands and the trade of the nation do chiefly depend, and whereas great quantities of the like manufactures have of late been made, and are daily increasing in the kingdom of Ireland, and in the English plantations in America, and are exported from thence to foreign markets, heretofore supplied from England, which will inevitably tend to sink the value of lands, and tend to the ruin of the trade and woollen manufactures of this kingdom.”

They had previously prohibited us in 1663, from exporting to England or any of her colonies, and by this Act they prohibited us from exporting, our woollen manufactures to any market whatever, except “the few wool ports in England where they were liable to duties which amounted to a prohibition.”* So with regard to our fisheries. In 1673, Sir William Temple, in a letter reviewing the resources of the country, spoke of them as nearly extinct, and considered the main obstacles to their development to be the want of people caused by the wars and plagues of the three preceding reigns, and *the abundance and cheapness of provisions*: but in 1698 the English fishermen were obliged to imitate the woollen drapers, and to petition for protection against us, the fishermen of Folkstone complaining that “the said town solely depends upon the fishing trade, and chiefly on herrings caught in Yarmouth seas, which they are like to lose by the Irish catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford, and sending them to the Straits, and thereby forestalling and ruining the Petitioners’ market;” and those of Aldborough complaining, “That formerly the Petitioners had a considerable trade in selling herrings for exportation; but of late great quantities have been caught in Ireland at a small charge, where they sell them for a fourth part of the charge the petitioners are at in taking them, and from thence they are exported to the Straits

* Lord Sheffield’s Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland, p. 151.

and other places, to the prejudice of the trade of this kingdom."*

Generalities are suspicious, and do not convince sober, reflecting people—and therefore we enter into these details merely as instances of the general system to which English traders were obliged to resort. In short, they saw that while we had food and materials cheaper than they, and equal facilities of access to home and foreign markets, they could not compete with us, and therefore they prohibited us by acts of parliament from exporting any of our manufactures to the colonies, or to any market frequented by them, or any of our raw produce (with the remarkable exception of cattle, the importation of which the landowners enacted to be a *nuisance*) to any people but themselves, so as to invert the settled maxims of trade, and to compel us to *sell* all our surplus of raw materials in their own or the cheapest market, and at the prices they were so good as to give us—and when they were not quick and expert enough with sufficiently stringent acts of parliament, and we discovered some loopholes for allowing us to exercise our industry, they adopted the summary process of embargoes, some specially directed against the export of those articles which we could sell cheaper than they, and several against all our external commerce whatever. Of the latter kind, we had twenty-four between 1740 and 1780, one of them extending over three years. These efforts to deprive us by mere violence of the superior advantages of our position in respect to cheapness, ultimately became so intolerable, as to force the volunteers to label their cannons' mouth with "free trade, or ———," and to make their legislative spokesman, Mr. Grattan, state in his celebrated amendment to the Address in 1779, that "the constant drain to supply absentees, and the unfortunate prohibition of our trade have caused such calamity, that the natural support of the country has decayed, and our manufacturers are dying for want; famine stalks hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness, and the only means left to support the expiring trade of this miserable part of your majesty's dominions, is to open a free export trade, and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birthright,"—and to compel the House of Commons to resolve unanimously

* Com. Journ. for 1698, pp. 178—9.

“that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a FREE TRADE ALONE that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.” The fact of the volunteers, who were Protestants, and so bigoted as in their two great conventions at Dungannon and Dublin, to reject a proposition for restoring the franchise to the Catholics, of the highest and wealthiest classes in the country, of undoubted attachment to the throne and the constitution, and British connection, and who had even the clergy of the Established Church, as chaplains of their regiments, and marching with them in their cassocks on great occasions, and who, for the moderation of their views, might be considered the prototypes of the Anti-Corn-law League, labelling their cannon with such a motto, and then when they had obtained “a free export trade,” and a sort of an understanding that the traders of England should not again interfere with it, quietly dissolving, like the League, without insisting even on Parliamentary reform, though there were amongst them, as in the League, several discontented and turbulent spirits, agitating for some measure with that designation, and though they were one hundred thousand strong, consisting of horse, foot, and artillery, in due proportion, and well equipped and disciplined, supplied in abundance with all the munitions of war, and there were only six thousand royal troops in the island, and no money, to feed, clothe, or pay them, shows that the injustice of these attempts to defeat cheapness by force, became palpable enough to rouse the anger of the most moderate, conservative, and placable of subjects.

The removal of the prohibitions upon exports did not revive our ancient trade, and from 1780 till the present day, every imaginable contrivance for that purpose, (except the plain and obvious one,) has been resorted to; bounties, import duties upon English and foreign goods, combinations to use only Irish manufactures, &c., and every one of them has failed. In fact it is as useless for people who cannot maintain their fallacies by force, to attempt to prevent water from finding its level, as trade from flowing in the channel of cheapness. It is further absolutely unjust to ask a farmer to pay a shilling more for an article, said to have been made in Dublin, than he need pay for one admitted to have been made in London. It is a levying of blackmail or charity off him under a delusion of patriotism, and can be of no real utility. Moreover, in a poor miserable

country like ours the farmer will often have no choice, but "must cut his cloth according to his measure." Patriotic self-denying efforts of this kind may for awhile lend an appearance of success to a new manufacture, but they must in time relax, and the manufacture will then fail—for you can no more change the laws of nature than those of trade; and one of these is that "he that can sell a commodity cheapest, shall certainly have the trade of that commodity." Most of the efforts to revive manufactures have been made in Dublin. But Dublin has not any of the advantages of cheapness. From its local position, and being the seat of government, and the administration of justice, and the resort of all the classes that consume more than they produce, food, materials, and labour must be dearer there than anywhere else in Ireland. So far as carriage is concerned, the English trader will be as well off in respect of cheapness, as the carriage by sea is so trifling, and as to the inland markets he is already in possession of them, and the carriage to them costs him as little as it does his Dublin rival; and if the latter seeks a foreign market he is at a great disadvantage, as the duties are considerably higher on ships going from Dublin to foreign ports, than on those going to England or coastwise; and there are no such differential duties in England. These abortive efforts in Dublin are prejudicial to the nation, as they lead to the notion that we could not, on equal terms, compete with England. But begin with the beginning and create again, as you did before, cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of articles, and you will have manufactures reappear in Kilkenny, Carlow, Mallow, Doneraile, Fermoy, Kilmallock, Bandon, Bantry, Tralee, Athlone, Navan, &c., &c., as the centres and capitals of thriving agricultural districts—and in Dublin as the capital and emporium of a thriving nation; and possibly English manufacturers again confessing, in addresses to the Crown, and Acts of Parliament, their incompetence to struggle with the cheapness of our victuals, and goodness of our materials. Whereas, if, while we are importing Indian meal, and the worst of Scotch salt hake and herrings, and our people, in the terms of Mr. Grattan's resolution, are "dying of want, and famine stalks through the land hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness," and our lands are waste, our mines unworked, and myriads of fish pass around

our coast untouched, we were to attempt to establish manufactures on an extensive scale, in competition with England, we should fail, as we have failed since the early part of the last century; because we could not sell cheaper than those who are already in possession of the market, and the only effect of our efforts, while they should last, would be to increase the quantity of goods manufactured, without increasing the number or means of the consumers, and so proportionably to diminish wages and profits here and in England, and virtually to put off to a remote period the establishment of manufactures in a natural, and profitable, and permanent manner. On the other hand, if we begin by raising on our own soil, and catching on our own shores such an abundant supply of food, that we may export instead of importing, we turn the tide of trade and population, and from our superabundance may either establish manufactures in proportion to the extent of that superabundance, or take a greater portion of English manufactured goods, and prosecute more extensively and vigorously our own trade of producing food, and so serve both them and ourselves by the reciprocal exchange of our respective superfluities. This course, in addition to being the most natural, has this advantage, that it secures to the people that first object of all political arrangements—a sufficiency of food—whereas by engaging them in manufactures, you diminish the numbers employed in raising food, and so increase the chances of their perishing for want of it, while they are employed in the experiment of producing articles which *cannot* serve as food, and which they *may* not be able to exchange for it.

There is a sort of prejudice in favour of manufactures, in consequence of the great wealth of England being commonly attributed to them; but Adam Smith thinks that the laws and customs of that country, in relation to the tenure of land, “so favourable to the yeomanry, have contributed more to the present grandeur of England than all their boasted regulations of commerce taken together.” That eminent authority shows, by the example of America and other countries, that the plenty and cheapness of good land, and liberty to till it for their own benefit, are the principal causes of the rapid prosperity of states, and that the natural course which we have been indicating is the one for such a nation as this to pursue. He says:

“No equal capital puts in motion a greater quantity of productive labour than that of the farmer. Not only his labouring servants but his labouring cattle are productive labourers. In agriculture, too, Nature labours along with man, and though her labour costs no expense, its produce has its value, as well as that of the most expensive workman.....No equal quantity of productive labour employed in manufactures, can ever occasion so great reproduction. In them nature does nothing ; man does all : and the reproduction must always be in proportion to the strength of the agents that occasion it. The capital employed in agriculture, therefore, not only puts in motion a greater quantity of productive labour than any equal capital employed in manufactures, but in proportion, too, to the quantity of productive labour which it employs, it adds a much greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth and revenue of its inhabitants : *“Of all the ways in which a capital can be employed, it is by far the most advantageous to society.....The revenue of all the inhabitants of the country is necessarily in proportion to the value of the annual produce of their land and labour. It has been the principal cause of the rapid progress of our own colonies towards wealth and greatness, that almost their whole capital have hitherto been employed in agriculture. They have no manufactures, those household and coarser manufactures excepted, which necessarily accompany the progress of agriculture, and which are the work of the women and children in every private family.....Were the Americans by combination or any other sort of violence to stop the importation of European manufactures, and thus by giving a monopoly to such of their own countrymen as could manufacture the like goods, divert any considerable part of their capitals into this employment, they would retard instead of accelerating the further increase of their annual produce, and would obstruct instead of promoting the progress of their country towards real wealth and greatness.”.....“As subsistence is in the nature of things prior to conveniency and luxury, so the industry which procures the former must be prior to that which ministers to the latter. The cultivation and improvement of the country, therefore, which affords subsistence, must necessarily be prior to the increase of the town which furnishes only the means of conveniency and luxury. It is the surplus produce of the country, or what is over and above the maintenance of the cultivators, that constitutes the subsistence of the town, which can therefore increase only with the increase of the surplus produce.....The most effectual expedient for raising the value of that surplus produce, for encouraging its increase, and consequently the improvement and cultivation of the land, would be to allow the most perfect freedom to the trade of all mercantile nations. This perfect freedom of trade would be the most effectual expedient for supplying them in due time with all the artificers, manufacturers, and merchants whom they want at home : and for the filling up in the properest and most advantage-*

ous manner that very important void which is felt there. The continual increase of the surplus produce of their land would in due time create a greater capital than what would be employed with the ordinary rate of profit in the improvement and cultivation of the land, and the surplus part of it would naturally turn itself to the employment of artificers and manufacturers at home. But these artificers and manufacturers finding at home both the materials of their work and the fund of their subsistence, might immediately, even with much less art and skill, be able to work as CHEAP as the little artificers and manufacturers of such mercantile states who had both to bring from a greater distance. Even though from want of art and skill they might not for some time be able to work as cheap, yet, finding a market at home, they might be able to sell their work there as cheap as that of artificers and manufacturers of such mercantile states which could not be brought to that market but from so great a distance: and, as their art and skill improved, they would be soon able to sell it cheaper. The artificers and manufacturers of such mercantile states, therefore, would immediately be rivalled in the market of those landed nations, and soon after undersold and jostled out of it altogether. The cheapness of the manufactures of those landed nations, in consequence of the gradual improvements of art and skill, would, in due time, extend their sale beyond the home market, and carry them to many foreign markets, from which they would in the same manner gradually jostle out many of the manufacturers of such mercantile nations.....In the exportation of the produce of their own country, the merchants of a landed nation would have an advantage of the same kind over those of mercantile nations, which its artificers and manufacturers had over the artificers and manufacturers of such nations: the advantage of finding at home that cargo and those stores and provisions which the others were obliged to seek for at a distance. With inferior art and skill in navigation, therefore, they would be able to sell that cargo as cheap in foreign markets, as the merchants of such mercantile nations, and with equal art and skill they would be able to sell it cheaper. They would soon, therefore, rival those mercantile nations in this branch of foreign trade, and in due time would jostle them out of it altogether."—pp. 242-52—444.

We have quoted at this length these passages from this great political economist as they exactly represent the ancient policy of this country under the native or Brehon laws, and also, indeed, under the common law of England up to 1661, and it was this policy, notwithstanding some deviation from it then—which led to that cheapness of food, and goodness of materials, and success in manufactures of which English traders were so jealous. We

confess to a great prejudice in favour of any course which we find in conformity with the ancient or Brehon laws; for on the coolest and most impartial consideration of our history, we feel perfectly satisfied that under them our lands were cultivated to the highest hill-tops—our mines worked to an extent of which, those, who have not carefully looked into the question, have no conception—our fisheries were followed as a source of national wealth and power, next only in importance to our agriculture, our imports (free imports) of all the conveniences and luxuries of life were in full proportion to the market prepared for them by this development of our natural resources, and that there is no exaggeration in the description of the country by the Italian poet of the tenth century, quoted by O'Halloran.

“Far westward lies an isle of ancient fame,
By nature blessed, and Scotia is her name
Enrolled in books. Exhaustless is her store
Of veiny silver and of golden ore :
Her fruitful soil for ever teems with wealth,
With gems her waters and her air with health,
Her waving furrows yield with bending corn,
And arts and arms her envied sons adorn.”

It is quite clear that under them we had no periodical famines. It will be seen from what Adam Smith says, that we can have no manufactures till our farmers have a surplus produce beyond what is necessary for their maintenance and employment, and they cannot have that surplus except by accident, and for a short time, so long as they are the tenants at will of other people, who, when they find them in possession of the surplus, can appropriate it to themselves, and make them work for their bare maintenance, or in their caprice clear them off altogether. It is plain as any proposition in mathematics that we cannot succeed in manufactures, or even maintain ourselves in our present numbers and position, but must gradually disappear by emigration and decay, till not one of us remains unless we can get some employment, the surplus produce of which we may certainly call our own, and which no man or body of men can take from us. The absolute necessity of such a surplus to national prosperity, is demonstrated by Adam Smith in this fashion :

“The demand for those who live by wages cannot increase but

in proportion to the increase of funds which are destined to the payment of wages. These funds are of two kinds: first, the revenue which is over and above what is necessary for the maintenance, and secondly, the stock which is over and above what is necessary for the employment of their masters. When the landlord accumulator, or monied man, has a greater revenue than what he judges sufficient to maintain his own family, he employs either the whole or a part of the surplus in maintaining one or more menial servants. Increase this surplus and he will naturally increase the number of those servants. When an independent workman, such as a weaver, or shoemaker, has got more stock than what is sufficient to purchase the materials of his own work, and to maintain himself till he can dispose of it, he naturally employs one or more journeymen with the surplus, in order to make a profit by their work. Increase this surplus, and he will naturally increase the number of his journeymen.

“The demand for those who live by wages, necessarily increases with the increase of the revenue and stock of every country, and cannot possibly increase without it. The increase of revenue and stock is the increase of national wealth. The demand for those who live by wages, therefore, naturally increases with the increase of national wealth, and cannot possibly without. It is not the actual greatness of national wealth, but its continual increase, which occasions a rise in the wages of labour. It is not, accordingly, in the richest countries, but in the most thriving, or in those which are growing rich the fastest, that the wages of labour are highest. England is certainly in the present times a much richer country than any part of North America. The wages of labour, however, are much higher in North America than in any part of England. But though North America is not yet so rich as England, it is much more thriving, and advancing with much greater rapidity to the further acquisition of riches. *The most decisive mark of the prosperity of any country is the increase of the number of its inhabitants.*”
—B. i. c. 8.

From all this it is clear that without a surplus produce we cannot maintain labourers, and without labourers we cannot have manufactures. Next, therefore, in importance to the food question, and inseparably connected with it, comes the labour question.

Ours is an odd and sad lot. Land and labour are the two great elements of national wealth. The land we keep waste, and the labour we not only give away for nothing, but go to expense in sending it as far as possible from us to the most distant parts of the earth. Has it ever occurred to you, gentle reader, to consider as a cold blooded political economist the value in ready money of our losses in this way?

Man is the most costly and valuable article that can be *raised*, and the increase or decrease of the numbers *raised and kept*, is the most certain mark of national prosperity or decay. No state can be more wretched than that of a country which has its supply of food so nicely adjusted to it, that it must raise a certain amount of inhabitants up to the stage of adults or labourers, and then must part with or give them away for nothing, or send them away at great expense for fear of their starving. Every *adult* whom we send or force away, or starve to death, represents a loss to society compounded of the value of the amount of "surplus produce," clothes, food, fire, &c., and time and labour expended in rearing and educating him, and of the value his labour would prove to society, were it so constituted, as to be able to maintain and employ him profitably. An author skilled in these matters says:—

"The necessary maintenance of four children, it is supposed, may be nearly equal to that of one man. The labour of an able bodied slave, the same author adds, is computed to be worth double his maintenance; and that of the meanest labourer, he thinks, cannot be worth less than that of an able bodied slave."—*Wealth of Nations*, B. I. c. 8.

The Anglo-Saxons, when they sold each other, seemed to have thought a slave equal in value to four oxen, for the tolls in Lewes market were in this proportion. The Americans, who are now in the habit of dealing in human flesh, estimate every adult arriving on their shores as worth 1000 dollars, or £208 6s. 8d. in the current coin of the realm of England. Our adults must be more valuable than those of most other countries, for it has been found, Sir Robert Kane tells us, by actual experiments at the Universities of Edinburgh and Brussels, weighing them, measuring them, and making them pull at a spring dynamometer, or "strength measure," that of the four races, English, Scotch, Belgians, and Irish, the last are the tallest, strongest, and heaviest.*

It is not more than two centuries since the garrisons and select parties of the inhabitants of Wexford and Drogheda, were sold to the West Indian Planters, and English cavaliers were sold in market overt in London

* *Industrial Resources*, p. 401.

to the Guinea merchants. Until after the American war, kidnapping for the plantations was a profitable and respectable branch of commerce even in England, and more especially in Bristol—just as till more recently the slave trade itself was. What are the great conquerors of the world but wholesale kidnappers? They put themselves to very great expense, risk and trouble, in order, as Nimrods, to hunt down men and make a profit out of them by means of conscriptions, forced labour, customs, excise, tithes, taxes, rent, &c., &c., not as squatters to claim uninhabited wastes. Russia would not now be involving Europe in a war for Wallachia and Moldavia if those countries were wild wastes. It is the human animals upon them that have given them such value in her eyes, and yet these do not exceed in number the crowds we have forced into exile or starved to death within the last ten years.

If we had been able to sell our “surplus” population for our own profit, they would have fetched their value like any other commodity upon some such estimate as we have suggested. Indeed, if the system of buying and selling *white* men had continued, we should be scarcely in the condition we are in, for the value of the article would be then a known and plainly appreciable quantity, and if we were obliged to rear and give *gratis* to England and her colonies men and women, the exaction would soon produce between the two islands the same sort of feeling which the Lagenian tribute of well-fed oxen, formerly produced between Leinster and Munster. There are two or three of the United States that produce nothing for export but labourers, and if those States had been by some violent or subtle process forced to give them away for nothing, they would have been long since ruined. They are not in this condition; they get in exchange for the human cattle they send away their value in money, or money’s worth, which serves to replenish the land with the conveniences and luxuries it requires, to work the mines, make roads, canals, and harbours, promote manufactures, and otherwise supply the wants of the society, and not permit it to be exhausted by the continual giving away of its most valuable and costly products without obtaining an equivalent. Ireland is “the breeding state” of the British Union, but does not get the money price of its exported labourers.

You were shocked, no doubt, at Swift's proposition, that our poor should fatten and sell their "surplus children" at a year old as food for the landlords and "better classes," on the ground that it would not pay to rear them to the age of fourteen or fifteen, and *sell* them to the Plantations, as their food and "rags" in the meantime would cost more than they would sell for. The folly of rearing them and giving them away, never occurred to him. As an *Economist*, he was quite right. It would be better for the people, *so far as national economical interests are concerned*, not to have any children, or to pay their rent with them as the Dean suggests, than to rear them and give them away to England or America.

It is so long since we have had any dealings as buyers of human flesh, that this view is apt to shock and startle us. While we were managing our own affairs, we were importing labourers from England; since England has had the trouble of managing our affairs for us, we have been exporting labourers to England: in short, the balance of trade has turned against us. Ours was the dearest labour market in western Europe; it is the cheapest.

Adam Smith shows that the colonies of Greece prospered in Italy, France, Sicily, and Asia Minor, merely by having plenty of good land, and liberty to cultivate it for their own benefit. The colonies of Carthage were also very prosperous, and for the same reason. No dispassionate man, on calmly weighing the evidence, can have a doubt that the Milesian colony here was of Carthaginian origin. That the Carthaginians were pre-eminent in agriculture, is proved by the fact of the Roman Senate translating and publishing, for the use of the people, the twenty-eight books presented by them on that subject. Their great attention to mines and fisheries is a matter of historical notoriety. From the earliest period of our annals, since the landing of the Milesians, we appear to have paid great attention to the cultivation of our lands, working of our mines and fisheries, our rivers and seas, and to have had a large foreign trade, and from the beginning of the Christian era to have had a large importation of slaves, which last circumstance shows that this was then the most thriving state on the western coast of Europe, inasmuch as it was the *dearest market for labour*; for slaves, like other

articles of commerce, were then, as now, "bought in the *cheapest*, and sold in the *dearest market*."

Historians differ as to whether it was from Scotland or France St. Patrick was first brought to us as a slave, so that from the frequency of this traffic from those two countries, it is plain that labour was more valuable here than there at least, and that consequently we were in a more thriving condition. Our importation of slaves from England is a matter of historical notoriety. We shall content ourselves with two authorities. Dr. Lingard, the advocate of the Anglo-Saxons, and Gerald, the Welshman, the court scribe of the Normans, and reviler of all our institutions. Dr. Lingard says :

"Before I conclude this subject, it is proper to add that the sale and purchase of slaves publicly prevailed during the whole of the Anglo Saxon period. These unhappy men were sold like cattle in the market, and there is reason to believe that a slave was usually estimated at four times the price of an ox.* To the importation of foreign slaves no impediment had ever been opposed: the export of native slaves was forbidden under severe penalties. But habit and the pursuit of gain had taught the Northumbrians to bid defiance to all the efforts of the legislature. Like the savages of Africa they are said to have carried off not only their own countrymen, but even their friends and relatives, and to have sold them as slaves in the ports of the continent. The men of Bristol were the last to abandon this nefarious traffic. *Their agents travelled into every part of the country: they were instructed to give the highest price for females in a state of pregnancy, and the slave-ships regularly sailed from that port to Ireland, where they were sure of a ready and a profitable market.*"—History of England, Vol. i. p. 351.

This traffic did not cease with the Norman conquest; it continued till the Normans came here. Strongbow landed in 1170, and in 1171, the council of Armagh, regarding our buying and keeping English slaves as a national sin, decreed, amongst other things, that all the English slaves in the island should be at once manumitted. Giraldus Cambrensis thus narrates the circumstance, and we translate the passage as literally, baldly, and plainly as we possibly can :

"These things being completed, the clergy of all Ireland being

* "The toll in the market of Lewes was one penny for the sale of an ox: four pennies for that of a slave."—Domesday.

convoked at Armagh, and having treated and deliberated a long time about the arrival of the strangers in the Island; at length, the common opinion of all settled into this, to wit: that for the sins of their people, and especially because they had been long accustomed to buy the English everywhere, as well from merchants as from robbers and pirates, and to reduce them to slavery, this disadvantage happened to them by the censure of the Divine vengeance, that they themselves should now be in turn reduced to slavery by the same nation. For the people of the English, while their kingdom was yet independent, by the common voice of the nation, had been accustomed to expose to sale their children, and before they would suffer any want or hunger, to sell into Ireland their own very sons and relations; whence it can be probably believed that as the sellers formerly, so now the buyers deserved the yoke of slavery by so enormous a crime. It was decreed," &c.*

Since that time the balance of trade in this respect has been against us. Our Norman masters at once very naturally, and properly, set about making us *produce* for their *consumption*. Of course they would not have come here except to make a profit by us. It is quite ludicrous for us to be angry about it. If they acted otherwise, they would have been violating all the laws of trade and nature. The effect of their little arrangements was simply this:—We were before producing for our own benefit—and we were now made to produce for their benefit. We were to go on producing, but the "surplus" we were not to keep to ourselves as before, but to hand over to them, to consume for us. We were to be the producers, and they the consumers. We were to be the labourers, and they the overseers of the estate; or if the reader does not like

* Lest there may be any mistake we append the original. "His completis convocato apud Ardamachiam totius Hiberniæ clero et super advenarum in insulam adventu tractato diutius et deliberato tandem communi omnium in hoc sententia resedit propter peccata scilicet populi sui eoque præcipue quod Anglos olim tam a mercatoribus quam prædonibus atque piratis emere passim et in servitutem redigere consueverant divini censure vindictæ hoc eis incommodum accidisse ut et ipsi quoque ab eadem gente in servitutem vice reciproca jam redigantur. Anglorum namque populus adhuc integro eorum regno, communi gentis vitio, liberos suos venales exponere et priusquam inopiam ullam aut inediam sustinerent filios proprios et cognatos in Hiberniam vendere consueverant, unde et probabiliter credi potest, sicut venditores olim, ita et emptores tam enormi delicto juga servitutis jam meruisse. Decretum est," &c.—Giraldus Cambrensis, c. 28. *Hiberniæ Expugnatae*."

that phraseology, we were to work on, and they were to rule us, guide us, teach us their theology, (it was they introduced Tithes here,) &c., and in exchange for these mental superfluities, were to take out of the bulk of our material superfluities what *they* considered a fair equivalent. The immediate effect was that we had no longer a surplus of food or a surplus of stock, and consequently the demand for labour ceased, and with it the import of labourers—and as we were obliged to send to England that surplus portion of food and of stock which would have fed and employed an increasing population at home, we were obliged to send this “surplus” population after the “surplus” food and stock. And thus you will find, from the arrival of the Normans, a continual drain of population from this island to England. As, until the reign of James I. these admirable arrangements were confined to a small portion of the island, so this drain was proportionately inconsiderable. In that reign it became so great as to attract the attention of contemporary writers, and especially of his attorney-general here, Sir J. Davis, who says that one particular portion of the system up to that time pursued would have destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub if it had been practised there as long as it had been here. Since that period, and more especially since the Revolution, when the jealousy of English traders forbid us to manufacture our raw materials, this exhaustive process has been actively at work, and we have been sending to England the surplus produce which should feed and employ at home an increasing population, and promote manufactures and commerce, and of necessity sending after it the surplus labourers whom it would have so fed and employed. Just fancy for a moment to what a height of power, prosperity, and greatness this island might have been brought if the millions thus driven out in sorrow and suffering had been detained at home to “increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth,” and to develop its resources for their own good and that of the empire. Or rather lay aside all fancies, and “calculate” like a Yankee:—We have lost since the famine upwards of 3,000,000 of people by emigration or premature death through want of food or the other necessaries of life. Take 2,000,000 as adults, throwing in the other million to make certain of having your calculation within the mark, and you have, on the American estimate of 1000 dollars per head, a clear loss to society in this island of £400,000,000

sterling,—just as much as would buy up the whole land of the country at forty years' purchase,—the annual rental, which was some years ago £12,000,000, being now, it is computed, only £10,000,000.

Observe, too, how completely this country illustrates what the Lords in 1698 foretold would be the consequence to England if we were allowed to carry on the woollen manufacture, the subjects leaving here “to settle there,” to the increase of their manufactures, “the trade of this nation and the value of lands much decreased,” and, above all, “the numbers of your people much lessened here;” in fact, the English manufacturers (for it is they chiefly whom we should blame) have contrived to reduce us to a condition in which we *cannot* carry on manufactures, and *must* give them our raw materials, provisions, and labourers, which we ought to keep at home, and convert into instruments of national wealth and prosperity.

Our people have been led into their odd notions about population by the writers of the country, in whose favour the balance of the trade is running. But these will soon confess its silliness. So long as the drain from this country was just sufficient to fill up the voids in the labour markets of England or her colonies, the system was all right—the very perfection of political devices; but when it goes beyond that extent, and adds to the strength, and wealth, and power of rival states, such as America, it becomes a loss to the empire, and requires to be repressed, and we now and hereby undertake to foretell that before two years more shall have passed over us, the country will be filled with Jeremiads on the subject.

If we want to succeed in manufactures, we must check this drain. Otherwise, we cannot have a cheaper supply of labour than England; for, strange as it may appear, Sir Robert Kane, who has thoroughly investigated the subject, says: “Whether for manufacturing industry in general labour (skilled and unskilled) is cheaper here, is not capable of receiving a decided answer.”—p. 402.

This system we cannot check till we secure to the people an employment, in which some part of their earnings will be *certainly* and *permanently* their own—until they have *sure standing-room* on the soil, and until they are so comfortable, that they will have good houses over them, and plenty to eat, drink, and wear, and a “surplus,” or

something to spare, until, in fact, the farmer can be described again as one

“Who eats his own ham, his own chicken, and lamb,
Who shears his own fleece and who wears it.”

For this is the natural origin of “the greatest and most profitable commodity of this kingdom,” as the woollen trade is described in the memorable 10 W. 3, c. 10. It is ludicrous to think of setting up manufactures for a home market of beggars.

This necessary substratum for manufacturers may be brought about by giving the people Tenant Right. As we have on former occasions laid our views on this subject before our readers, we will not now add a word except to say that the towns have, in truth, though they seem not aware of it, a greater interest in the question than the country, for the farmers may continue to exist without being allowed any “surplus produce,” whereas their having it is absolutely essential to the existence of the towns.

The next best means of securing to the people a permanent certain surplus produce is by restoring to them “the free privilege of fishing in the sea,” as they enjoyed it two centuries ago, as it is enjoyed by the people of England, Scotland, America, and every country on earth. From the earliest period of our annals till the Restoration, we had a great fishery trade with the South of Europe. In 1653, when England was paying the Dutch for fish caught on her own shores £1,600,000 a year, we were competing with the Dutch in their own markets, and in 1654 the town of Wexford cured more herrings than any town in the empire does now. Since the Restoration every conceivable sort of device has been resorted to in order to ruin our fisheries—and the result is, that our great cod-fishery trade is transferred to Yorkshire—our mackerel and pilchard fishery trade to Devon and Cornwall, and our herring trade to Scotland, and now, while our coasts abound with fish, and our people are starving, we are obliged to pay Great Britain about £150,000 a year for the salt herring, cod, ling, and hake with which we relish our miserable meal of potatoes. Let us just mention *a few, very few* of the Acts of Parliament by which this result has been brought about. From 1734 till 1842 we could not use any sea net on the coasts, bays, harbours, or rivers of Ireland, of less than 3½ inches mesh from knot to knot, for catching any

fish whatever, except herrings, pilchards, sprats, and prawns; so that we could not catch mackerel, bream, gurnet, or any other fish (except those four) that could escape through such a mesh; and in fact, in 1836, when a Commission of Enquiry was appointed, there was not a mackerel net on our coasts, except in a few remoter parts of Kerry. And as if this were not enough, in 1827 another act passed, reciting the above provision, and that certain nets, called trammel nets, were used on the coast of Ireland, of less mesh than $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and prohibiting trammel nets of any mesh whatever, except with the license of certain functionaries in Dublin. Our poor fishermen along the coast found trammels useful for catching hake. But we were, and are importing hake in large quantities from Great Britain. From 1758 till 1844 we could not catch a herring with any net whatever in the *day time*, on any part of the coast, and cannot even now do so with any net but a seine net, which is used only when the fish is seen in fine weather on the surface of the water. From 1778 till 1842 we could not cure our nets, as formerly, with oak bark, but should cure them with TAR AND OIL; so that, as it was actually proved before the Commission of 1836, we could not catch one-third as much as the Englishmen who came to fish on our coasts with nets cured with oak bark; and the TAR AND OIL tainted the fish, and so burned the fine twine of the nets, that our nets could not last more than a year or two, while the nets of our English rivals lasted twelve or thirteen years. Just fancy in the year of light, 1842, an Act of Parliament passed to prohibit us from leaving a trammel net or any other net, except stake nets for salmon or drift, or seine nets for pilchards in the water between sunrise and sunset, and forfeiting them and £10, if, having set them after sunset, you do not take them up before sunrise, or using a trawl-net (the sort of net with which one-third of all the fish brought to Billingsgate market are taken) at any part of the coast prohibited by the commissioners of fisheries, or any net at or across the mouth of a bay or estuary contrary to the orders of the said commissioners, or fishing within half a mile in any direction of an *undefined* several fishery in any estuary (5 and 6 Vict. 106); or another Act in 1848, dividing Ireland and the sea-coasts and islands into seventeen different districts, and providing that no man shall catch a salmon, salmon-trout, eel, or pollen with a net in

any district without first paying a license fee, varying from 15s. to £5, according to the effectiveness of his net in every district in which he wishes to fish, and into which his boat is drifted. Under these laws we import fish from Great Britain, and our fishermen are flying from the country in thousands. This drain we ought to stop; and it can be done only by freeing our fishermen from these and the numerous other odd restrictions on their industry.

The Dutch were said to make in the height of their prosperity £20,000,000 a year by the fisheries pursued on the English coasts. Our coasts are equally well supplied with fish. Before the Commission of 1836 it was said that there were as much fish between Achill and Galway as would feed all Ireland.

The fisheries would be the best possible means of promoting manufactures. The Dutch, by their fisheries, were said to have had more ships than Portugal, France, Spain, England, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden together, and their herring-fishery alone was said, two centuries ago, to be worth more than "all the manufactures and commerce of England apart," "all the manufactures of France apart," and "all the manufactures and plate of Spain apart." One of the pamphlets on the subject exhausts all the letters of the alphabet in describing the various trades and handicrafts which the fisheries created or employed. They would, beyond all question, lead at once to the extension of manufactures as a necessary consequence. But they are of themselves of far greater importance to us. As Arthur Young says: "No trade or manufactures can be of half the consequence to Ireland that many of her fisheries would prove, if encouraged with judgment." Above all, they would form a domain for the people in which, as the Rev. Mr. Duggan, on behalf of the fishermen of the Shannon said before the Commission of 1836, their "profits and improvements would not be liable to deductions on the score of rent."

The fisheries in addition to supplying us with food of our own taking, for our own use, and perhaps several millions worth for sale abroad, would also promote manufactures by supplying us with seamen, and pilots, and ships to take our goods to the dearest, and bring us goods from the cheapest markets. We can never compete with the English manufacturers, until we have shipping enough for our own purposes. Of the 17,819 vessels, and 177,982 seamen en-

gaged in the home and foreign trade of the united kingdom on the 31st of December, 1852, only 2178 vessels, and 13,902 men belonged to Irish ports.

The value of the fisheries as a means of promoting manufactures is thus well put by Lord Sheffield in his "Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland." London : 1785 :—

"Notwithstanding the present insignificant state of the Irish fisheries, it may reasonably be expected that in due time they will, among articles of trade, rank at least third in point of national profit, and immediately follow the linen and provision trade. In point of general advantage they might perhaps rank first by the great extension they may cause of the Navigation of Ireland..... The establishment of the fisheries of Ireland will of course promote ship-building and greatly extend navigation. Her manufactures will be carried cheaper, and in a manner forced into countries where they now either do not go or go under disadvantages : for nothing can be more certain than that those nations which have much of the carrying trade, derive many benefits from it more than the profits of freight, which however is considerable. It is needless to state the number of artificers employed in ship-building, and the many trades dependent on it : *but the fisheries are the first and best foundations of a marine.* It is the first stage : and if the country does not furnish freight for a quantity of shipping, the fisheries will help to provide it for them."—p. 151.

It will be said that as the Scotch are now in possession of the market, and can sell as cheaply as we, they will keep us out of our own markets. But this is not true. They may sell as cheaply at our seaports, but they cannot sell as cheaply at our inland towns, if we conduct the fishery from those towns. The system hitherto pursued of conducting the fishery from little piers and harbours on the sea coast is quite a mistake. For, first of all, those harbours are the dearest places to build, or make, or repair boats, nets, sails, &c., as there are few tradesmen, and little competition. Next, in such harbours, vessels are liable to such injuries from the ebbing and flowing of the tides and storms, &c., that no large vessels can be safely left there. The average cost of a boat is £10 per ton, and the average size twenty-five tons. Who would leave such a boat in such harbours? Yet without large vessels you cannot cure the herrings as the Dutch do, the moment they are taken on board, and cannot use the trawl-nets, with which alone you can take *cheaply* turbot, soles, flounders, and

other flat fish. Next, when you have the fish at those remote points of the sea-coast, you must send them to the inland markets by land, which is the dearest mode of conveyance, or re-ship them, which is another source of dearness. Whereas, if you fish from the inland towns, on our navigable lakes or rivers, you bring by the *cheapest* conveyance the fish fresh and without injury from land carriage or re-shipment to the inland market, which is the *dearest*. What you cannot sell fresh is bought up and cured; and the very offal becomes a valuable guano for increasing your profit, and fertilising the neighbouring land. Again, we have other elements of cheapness which the Scotch have not. The herrings come close in-shore with us, and are always certain on our north-west coast. We are nearer the Spanish and Portuguese markets for carrying the fish to them, and bringing home their salt, without which it is impossible to cure well. No other salt was anciently used here, or is now allowed to be used in Holland. Next, we can keep our vessels cheaper on our rivers and lakes—and the value of this is forcibly illustrated by Yaranton, who, in pointing out as the cause of the success of the Dutch and the failure of the English the fact that “we fish intolerably dear, and they exceedingly cheap,” says, first, they build cheaply, i. e., without duties on timber, iron, and ship-chandlery, &c., and in large inland cities. Next, when the buss is built, they take care to preserve it from all storms and bruises whilst it lies at home in harbour, and therefore they have cut rivers and channels for its quiet repose, which requires not the charge of cable or anchor, or of any person to look to it when not employed in fishing.”

One of the chief causes of the success of the Dutch was their making cut rivers navigable in all places where art can possibly effect it, and thereby making trade more communicable and easy than in other places,” and having so many inland seas, lakes, and rivers, not only to keep the vessels cheaply, but to convey their merchandize cheaply. If you look to the map of Ireland, you will find that nature has specially favoured us in this respect, if we only aided her a little. Thus she seems to have intended the Bann and Lough Neagh as a wet dock and canal for our northern and north-eastern fisheries, Lough Erne for those of Donegal (Enniskillen would be an Amsterdam if it had been inhabited by any people who were subject to no arti-

ficial restriction on their natural resources) Loughs Corrib, and Mask for those of Galway, Lough Derg and the Shannon, and the chains of lakes connected with them for the south-western fisheries, and Killarney, the Cove, the Blackwater, Suir, Barrow, Slaney, Liffey, and Boyne for those of the south and east. If we were to conduct the fisheries from the inland towns on these lakes and rivers, and their tributaries, we must be able, in the course of half-a-dozen years, to undersell in those markets any competitors—and what Yarranton, two centuries ago, said of the Dutch, will now apply to the Scotch:—

“Cheapness is one of the most essential parts of trade, and as he that can sell a commodity cheapest shall certainly have the trade of that commodity, so because the Dutch fish cheaper than we now, and therefore can sell cheaper, they consequently have the trade of the fishery, and by the same reason, when we are able to fish cheaper than they, we shall carry away the fishing trade from them also, for the trade must necessarily be there where it is carried on cheapest.”—p. 131.

But we shall be met with the objection that a society of London tradesmen has blocked up the Bann along which the Danes sailed in the eighth century to devastate the neighbourhood of Lough Neagh,—that an English nobleman has “hermetically sealed”* the Blackwater which was navigable to Mallow when the royal troops first besieged that town in the reign of Elizabeth—that an English gentleman from Preston blocks up the Galway river, the Corporation of Limerick the Shannon, and that in short almost every navigable river in the country is rendered impassable by virtue of modern grants from the Crown or *Scotch weirs* under the 5 & 6 Victoria, c. 106. We know that. But all these rights or pretended rights were valued by the proprietors thereof in 1849, at only £12,366, and therefore if an effort were made, it is possible that the Parliament might allow those claims to be bought up for the public good, and these rivers to be thrown open again as they were, when we were importing labourers from England, and we had the advantage of being under the Brehon laws, which most strictly forbid the erection of any obstructions to the passage of navigable rivers.

* See the Evidence of Mr. Dillon Croker before the Committee on Irish Fisheries in 1849.

The Dutch, we are told, had some other elements of cheapness which we have not now, "easy ports in point of customs;" a lumber house for getting credit on goods; a register "whereby the owner can get advances on the credit of the brigs and tackling;" good rules for the curing of herrings; "sufficient guards whilst they are laboriously drawing up into their ships the riches of the sea;" a court of merchants "to end all differences by men of their own trade, that it may be concluded with quickness and small charge;" and a law of limited partnership whereby the fisherman "who has need of a little money to mend or buy some nets, or some provisions for his voyage," can "draw in a partner;"* and "every man and maid-servant having any poor stock may venture the same in their fishing voyages which afford them ordinarily great increase, and is duly paid according to the proportion of their gain."†

The opening up of the navigation of our rivers and lakes would be another great element of cheapness towards the prosecution of manufactures. The value of this mode of communication was well known to our Carthaginian, or Phœnician, or Milesian, forefathers; for so early as the sixth century, when it is supposed that religious houses began to erect weirs across rivers for the purpose of securing a supply of fresh fish, provisions were introduced into the Brehon Laws prohibiting such erections;‡ and it is a curious confirmation of the traditional reverence for those laws which prevailed to the last moment in the country, that there is no trace of a weir across any river while it was in the hands of the native inhabitants; and even now the rivers chiefly obstructed with weirs are those of the Pale, the Boyne, Liffey, Barrow, Suir and Nore, or of the districts granted to English companies, or other foreign settlers, as the Bann, Blackwater, &c., &c. The English in England are aware of the importance of water communication, and the English common law is as opposed as the Brehon Law to obstructions to navigable rivers. In England no

* Yarranton.

† Sir John Burroughes.

‡ We state this on the authority of that most learned antiquarian, Mr. Curry, one of the commissioners for collating and translating the Brehon Laws.

expense is spared for the purpose of making canals, and improving the navigation of rivers. In 1698 the manufacturers of the West Riding of Yorkshire (for they were the principal movers in the matter,) were not content with preventing us from manufacturing our wool in competition with them, but also took pains to improve their river navigation, and in the preamble to the 10 W. III. c 25, which is to be found within a few pages of that most ruinous chapter 10, they state :

“Whereas the making and keeping of the rivers of Aire and Calder in the County of York navigable and passable with boats, barges, lighters, and other vessels from a place called Weeland, situate upon the river Aire, up to the towns of Leeds and Wakefield, in the West Riding of the County of York, will not only be a great advancement of the clothing trade of the said County, but likewise for a public good, by advancing the trade and commerce of market towns, and all other places situate near the said rivers, and the increase of watermen and the *extraordinary preservation of the highways.*”

Sir Robert Kane says :

“The expenses of land carriage is so considerable *even on the best roads as to present material obstacles to the extension of commercial intercourse.* It may be estimated for general goods throughout the country at 6d. per ton per mile. Whilst water carriage, including all expenses of freight tolls, &c., never exceeds 2½d. The most important reduction in the cost of transport is made by the substitution of water for land carriage. For this Ireland is peculiarly fitted, the extent of her principal rivers, and the number and magnitude of her lakes presenting natural means of communication such as are seldom equalled, and the structure of the central country affording facilities for the construction of canals not easily surpassed.”

An additional element of cheapness would be the making of more railways and canals. We cannot compete with England at present in this respect, but might make some advances if we could avoid the enormous preliminary expenses attendant upon the inquiries before Parliamentary Committees. This might be done by enabling the grand juries, or some equivalent local boards, to make railways and canals as they are now enabled to make common highways—or by imitating the American system of passing short Bills for making them from point A to B, and naming, or authorizing the government to name, commissioners who would be sworn to mark out the lines “in such manner as in their judgment will be best for the share-

holders and the public," and settling on the spot by means of a jury all questions of compensation, &c., that may happen to arise.

The common roads may be made *cheaper* by adopting the English system of giving the rated inhabitants of each locality the entire controul and management of them. We now waste, through grand jury jobbing, upwards of £500,000 a year on roads and bridges. There is in this sum a large margin for cheapness.

Much is said about the necessity of introducing English capital—but that is a fallacy. If we import foreign capital, the owner of that capital would reap the fruits which should reward native labour. We have capital enough in the country for all reasonable mercantile adventures, and it might be made available and cheap, if the farmers, shopkeepers, professional, mercantile, and other classes, who have money lying idle by them, could be enabled to embark it safely in commerce, without risking the loss of more than they actually embark, or, as Lord Eldon said, imperilling their "last shilling and last acre," by assimilating our partnership laws to those of America, France, Holland, Italy, and every commercial state in the world except England, and as some fancy to those of England as they formerly stood, and thus "wedding capital to labour." This could be done by an amendment of the Anonymous Partnership Act, passed at the dawn of our Free Trade policy in 1782, removing the few defects in that statute which have defeated the object of its framers.

Coal and iron and other metals cannot be as cheap here as in England, till we return to the laws that anciently prevailed here, and now prevail in the ancient mining districts of England, and in every country on the continent of Europe. We once before called attention to the fact, that more of our mines were worked before, than have been worked since, the Norman invasion; and that the surface workings of our ancient mines were precisely the same as those of Cornwall, and that the law of Cornwall is, that any adventurer may enter on a mining waste and mark out a certain portion, and register his claim in the Stannary Court, and may securely work away without further inquiry as to title, so long as he pays one-fifteenth of the produce to the owner of the surface for the time being. Under such a law as this our mines were anciently worked, and our island was famed for its "veiny silver and

its golden ore." But by one of the devices of Norman barbarism it was made a capital felony here in the reign of Henry VII., to "multiply gold or silver," i. e., to work gold or silver mines, or otherwise increase the quantity; and this remained the law till the reign of Queen Anne. James II. made a grant of all the mines in the island to the Earl of Albemarle, and this also remained in force till the reign of Anne, when the mines were all transferred to the landlords. At the common law the Crown could authorise any subject to enter upon and work a mine containing any portion of gold or silver; and so such mines might by possibility be worked. But when they were transferred to the landlords, and these were subject to entails or incumbrances, they could not by any possibility be worked, for the landlords could not work them themselves or allow another to do so, because that would be, in the legal language of the barbarians, "*waste.*" Thereupon an Act of Parliament was passed to allow a landlord to give a lease of a mine for a certain number of years, reserving a certain portion of the produce. It was soon found that the number of years was too little, and the portion of produce too great; and thereupon in the course of years another Act of Parliament was passed, slightly extending the leasing power of the landlords, but again it was insufficient. And at this present instant there is a Bill before Parliament to give a little more liberty to a landlord to get at, or to enable others to get at, the mines under his land. In the meantime all this paltry peddling has prevented the working of our mines, and has made coal, iron, tin, copper, &c., *dear* here, while they have been *cheap* in England. The remedy is obvious. Return to the simplicity and wisdom of the Brehon Law, and replace the mines of Ireland on a level with those of Cornwall, and of every other civilized country of the world, ancient and modern.

A full development of all the natural resources of the land is essential to *cheapness*. All the statutes restricting its alienation should be therefore abolished. It should be made easily saleable as in the United States for public taxes or private debts. The Crown lands should be sold or let in perpetuity on corn rents. The perpetuity of tenure conceded to the immediate tenants of church and college lands should be conceded also to the occupying tenants. Other Corporation lands should be dealt with in

like manner. All the statutes imposing duties on Beet-root sugar—on the conversion of corn, or fruit, or vegetables into spirit, malt, or anything else, which chemical ingenuity may devise, or prohibiting the growth of tobacco, or otherwise howsoever restricting the industry of the agriculturist should be abolished, and in lieu of these a uniform land tax should be imposed on all lands, with a summary power of sale for non-payment, so as to force our wastes into profitable cultivation. The protective duties on manufactures should be abolished, so that the farmer may be as free as the manufacturer to buy in the cheapest market. As production is at least as important to society as barter, tillage should be as free as trade, and the tiller as secure of enjoying the fruits of his industry as any other producer. In short, if you can, abolish Excise and Customs and all the special contrivances devised since 1172 for depriving industry of its freedom of production and exchange, and the fruit of its labour. By reverting, as far as we conveniently can, to the policy pursued up to that period, we may so alter the relative condition of the two countries that Englishmen may again send their children to labour here, *“before they should suffer any want or hunger at home; at the least we shall be able to secure that plenty and cheapness of all necessaries of life and materials of manufacture, which so alarmed our English rivals in 1698, and thus supply the only certain element of commercial success—and raise this island from being the Pariah of the nations to the condition in which it was for ages, the most thriving state in Western Europe, and keep our people happy, comfortable, and independent at home, instead of sending them to wander over the earth, pennyless, homeless, friendless, beggars, and outcasts, the scoff and scorn of the world.*

ART. VI.—*All for Jesus, or the Easy Ways of Divine Love.* By
FREDERICK WILLIAM FABER, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri.
London, Dublin, and Derby; Richardson and Son. 1854.

FATHER FABER'S work is one of the few in our time, whose merits are testified by acclamation. It seems to have touched some chord in the public mind, or, as we should rather say, in the public heart, and to have found, in many places at once, a distinct and sympathetic response. There has been no hanging back in opinion, till notes were compared and criticisms exchanged, till the men of mark, the "Sir-Oracles" of the day, had nodded their assent, or the organs of the public voice had sounded their applause. The testimony in its favour has been as precise as if it had been formal, and as general as if it had been concerted. The most dispassionate students have been compelled to approach it with a bias created by its popularity, and the most vigilant critics, to tread laggingly on the heels of its reputation. The latter of these necessities, indeed, must plead the apology for our own tardy movements in this rushing tide. The conditions of our quarterly appearance are not, it must be confessed, friendly to the criticism of works like this. Our monthly contemporaries keep their batteries constantly charged, and are always ready for an emergency. Rapid indeed must be the rise or the fall of the work which they cannot herald by their salutes, or damage by their broadsides! But we, whose powers of criticism lie dormant for three long months, may find ourselves distanced, as in this case, by the success of a very popular work. Our lingering review may have to come before the public with the lateness of an echo, rather than the promptitude of a signal. No doubt, like other conditions, ours has its advantages as well as its drawbacks. If it preclude the timely notice of an accepted work, it also prevents the hasty criticism of a doubtful one. But there are some duties which lose their obligations if not performed in time; and we must admit that the time for reviewing Father Faber's book is well nigh past. And yet it comes before us that, as there are persons whom it is a discredit not to know, so there are works which it is a discredit not to notice. Whether our

Review can dispense with the omission, as well as Father Faber's work, is a question which at any rate suggests the propriety even of a late notice of it, on grounds which are altogether independent of the work itself.

In an age, like our own, so advanced and so fastidious, in which little new on any subject remains to be said, and less than any on the subject of theology, it is, we repeat, a remarkable fact when any book, and especially one of a theological character, commands so general and hearty an expression of favour as that which has been accorded to the one before us. It is especially remarkable, we repeat, when such book is on a subject where novelty, in a certain sense, is a grave, or at any rate, a *primâ facie*, objection, and where all novelty is a watchword of suspicion. The temper of the age in this matter is apt to react upon authorship; the "safe" is preferred to the "original," and writers, especially on theology and its kindred subjects, prefer aiming at blameless moderation, to risking the charge of rashness. The effect is, that we have many works, excellent in their way, but which do not seem to rivet attention, or elicit enthusiastic praise. Now, a writer who, like Father Faber, strikes out a bolder line, not merely invests ordinary subjects, (as none can do better,) with the charm of glowing and poetic representation, but puts forth a view of spirituals which in some degree conflicts with the theories of existing writers, (and they not obscure,) we must say that he richly earns the reward which Father Faber has reaped, in the sympathy and acquiescence of so large a proportion of the religious public. Success ever merits a higher tribute, when failure would have entailed a more serious penalty.

The remarkable success of such a work as this, especially as contrasted with the comparative failure of so many others of the same class, naturally suggests the attempt to discover what, on the one hand, is that prevalent instinct in the English Catholic mind, which it has availed to address and arouse, and what, on the other, is that especial characteristic in itself, by which this instinct has been met and elicited. The enquiry is, at any rate, an interesting and important problem; and one which we may be well satisfied to open, even if we fail to solve it. To what then is to be attributed the popularity of this above other works of the same distinguished author, or, as we may even say, above most devotional and ascetical

books of our time? We will hazard a reply to this question. The point to which, as to a centre, it seeks to gather all devotion, and on which, as on a pivot, it makes all self-discipline to turn, is—the Love of Our Divine Redeemer under that Name of names, that Name of power and sweetness, which is the pledge of His love, because it is the memorial of His Incarnation—JESUS. This attribute of Father Faber's work, and not its simple eloquence, or its poetic grace, or its power of illustration, we take to be the talisman of its success. No doubt its felicity as a composition has tended to win a way into many hearts for its material subject; but, is the particular *sentiment* which it has succeeded in drawing out, one, we would ask, which can be adequately described as a mere tribute to these, (comparatively), superficial qualities? In a word, could that sentiment be sufficiently denoted by the term *admiration*, apart from the ideas of *consolation* and *instruction*? One, for instance, writes, that, in Father Faber's Treatise, thoughts hitherto latent and indefinite in his mind, seemed to find their form, elucidation, and expression; another, that it had opened to him new views of duty and new trains of devotion; another, that it had revealed hitherto unknown defects of character, and so on; while many who have contented themselves with describing it, in more general terms, as a "beautiful," or "delightful" book, have certainly intended by these epithets to denote a great deal more than the pleasure which they might feel in a volume of poetry or a brilliant exhibition of eloquence. But even should they have meant no more than to express their real *interest* in the work, even this, it must be admitted, is no common gain to have been secured by a treatise on a simply religious subject.

But we are disposed to trace these sentiments to some deeper spring, and to refer them to some cause, more adequate to their intensity, their prevalence and their coincidence. We suspect that there is in the mind of the religious English, (we are far from referring to Catholics alone,) what we have just called an *instinct* of affection to our Blessed Lord, which creates an *attrait* towards any teacher, or any teaching, which makes this the cardinal point of all sentimental and practical religion. To the existence of such an instinct, (overlaid although it be by the thick crust of heretical pravity and national pride,) there are other attestations besides that which the success of Father Faber's

work may be thought to constitute. What but such a testimony is the popularity of the more zealous Dissenters in England at the close of the last century, compared with the total failure of the Establishment at the same period, in gaining a hold upon the public mind? Let us consider, again the rapid and unprecedented sale of "Wilberforce's Practical View of Christianity,"—a work which, whatever its grave theological errors, contained the most fervent, and evidently the most heartfelt appeals to such as "love our Lord Jesus in sincerity?" The popularity, too, of that great party in the Establishment of which Wilberforce and his clerical coadjutors were, in some measure, the founders, is some evidence to the same point. And, in an opposite direction, the same fact is proved by the annihilation, or tendency towards annihilation, of the school in the same communion, which set up the cry of "enthusiasm" against all those who tried to build their practical system upon the foundation of love. We can remember the days when the Most Holy Name itself was by this party proscribed from religious compositions as a fanatical watchword! The earlier Tractarians, and especially Dr. Pusey, deserved great credit for rescuing the more affectionate side of religion from the stigma of extravagance. Even Mr. Keble, who belongs to rather an opposite school, created an extensive sympathy by his *Christian Year*, and especially by those parts of it which addressed themselves to the spirit of *Christian love*. The result, in the Establishment, has been what may be called a kind of religious *thaw*, in which the great high-church ice-berg has been broken up, and part has drifted hither and part thither, but all is in process of dissolution, and in prospect of amalgamation with some less rigid element. Love without orthodoxy is going off to the Unitarians, and love with orthodoxy is tending towards the Church, and the few who still denounce enthusiasm and will not love, are left standing in the midst, like so many frozen columns without an object or a destination. The English mind is in favour of an enthusiastic religion, when it is in favour of any. Its proverbial common sense tells it that, religion being what it professes to be, the wildest fanaticism, as Dr. Paley himself says, is a more sensible alternative than coldness and indifference. Again, Christianity has disseminated throughout the world, and even in countries which, like our own, have cast aside all but its exter-

nal profession, an unconquerable impression that its own Divine Author and Founder is the Object of gratitude, and all the other sentiments of tender and loyal affection, in a way and to an extent, which leaves no middle course between denying His prerogative and leaving Him without a rival in His empire over the heart. The very jealousy of "idolatry," which is, perhaps, among all the *theoretical* difficulties in the way of the Church, the most prevalent and the most formidable, at least in England, bears witness to the same instinct; nay, and we will add, must be sifted before it be unequivocally condemned. Were the devotion to our Blessed Lady really what Protestants often suppose it to be—did it involve, as is alleged, the infringement, in however remote a degree, of our Divine Redeemer's claim upon our supreme worship and affection, it would, of course, be a most legitimate argument against us, while even sensitiveness upon such a point, so far as it is a real apprehension, and not a mere telling topic of controversy, deserves our tenderest consideration and our most respectful deference.

Neither will we disguise our opinion, that a work, (such as Father Faber's) the whole scope of which, as its very title imports, is to set forth our Blessed Redeemer as the central point of all theology, and the congeries of devotion to Him as the focus to which every faculty of the human mind should be directed, was a *desideratum* in our religious literature well worthy of being supplied. Not, of course, that an earnest and consistent Catholic could, even by possibility, be in danger of forgetting that Jesus is all in all; but that there was a call for a work in which the relation of other parts of the Catholic system to our Blessed Lord should be pointed out, not in a technical, or merely theological, but in a popular and affecting way. The establishment, at the London Oratory, of the Confraternity of the Most Precious Blood, suggested to Father Faber a natural and convenient method of enlisting popular sympathies in such a cause. "Respicientes in Jesum"—these words are the very motto of Catholics. With the Daily Sacrifice on our altars, with the Blessed Eucharist for our characteristic privilege, with the Sign of the Cross for our customary defence, and the Image of the Crucified for our universal symbol, with the Passion, the Blessed Sacrament, the Divine Infancy, and the Adorable Heart, as the subjects of our most prevailing

Devotions, and the bond of our principal Confraternities, with Christmas and Easter as our cardinal Feasts, and the "Angelus Domini" as our daily memorial of the Incarnation, how it can ever be said of us without shame, or believed of us without folly, that the Saviour of the world is ignored, or forgotten, or set aside, in the Catholic Church, is a phenomenon than which we know absolutely no more astounding proof of the fatuity and obduracy of heretical prejudice. Yet this fact does not lessen our gratitude to Father Faber for having brought out this great truth in an explicit shape, and shown, not controversially, but practically and devotionally, that even (or as we may rather say, especially) the love of Mary, which is thought to have a tendency to outrun its kindred affection, is a main condition of furthering the glory and advancing the "interests" of the Divine Son. Now it is because English Christians, of the more thoughtful sort, desire, in their heart of hearts, to find scope for the love of their Redeemer, and because this work refers all to Him, that the appetite and the satisfaction, the cry and the response, have coincided and been found "double of one another."

So much for a general account of the work in its devotional aspect. Now, for its ascetical; which, as we think, supplies a further clue towards the solution of our problem. As, then, there is a large class of Catholics whose devotional aspirations will be met by a work like Father Faber's, so likewise, as we apprehend, there is also a large class, generally, perhaps, identical with the former, who, amid many excellent manuals which are in circulation, look out for a Treatise, which, without being strictly theological, and without superseding the work of personal direction, shall supply them with certain great *principles* of spiritual conduct, to which they may be able to refer the several actions of the day. These persons are full, on the one hand, of good and elevated intentions; they are captivated with the examples of the Saints; they would themselves be Saints, if they could. But they are ineffably conscious of their own meanness and weakness, their many falls, and the miserable inadequacy even of their best efforts to their standard and their aims. They light, perhaps, on spiritual books which depress, instead of consoling, them. These books seem to make austerities to which they feel themselves physically unequal, the almost

necessary condition of sanctity; they take fright at the view, and sink into pusillanimity of spirit. Then, perhaps, they close, once for all, with a lower grade of spirituality; they abandon self-discipline because they have not the courage for great mortifications: they drop meditation, because they cannot practise it just in the way which some writers prescribe; and ten to one but ere long, they find themselves on a lower level still, and degenerate into a state of habitual tepidity, or something worse. And yet, perhaps, after all, the cause of their depression, and the origin of their decline was, some idiosyncrasy which needed but a discriminating eye to detect, and a considerate spirit to deal with it; some flaw of constitution, or some peculiarity of temperament, which insulated them in the midst of their fellows, and called clamorously for a distinctive treatment; or some (it might be) mere bodily infirmity, which incapacitated them, without fault of their own, for the rigours of a severer rule. The personal director of this most tender class of subjects needs to be the "one of a thousand;" the treatise in which their wants should be consulted perhaps hardly existed till the appearance of Father Faber's volume. There are physicians whose chief practice is among acute or chronic diseases. There are others again whose *forte* lies in the line of ailments. Now Father Faber is eminently the spiritual physician of the latter class of patients. There needs, he says in one place, a theology for *invalids*, and, although he is speaking of those who are such in the common acceptance of the term, he might well extend the remark to such as are of a weak and sickly spiritual frame, and want to be supplied with the means of such health and vigour as their condition admits.

For the whole class to which these descriptions apply, Father Faber has furnished invaluable rules of guidance. Instead of embarrassing them with precepts, he has given them a few simple *principles* of far deeper seat, and far wider application. He has selected, for their direction, from the characters of the blessed Saints, those features which they had in common, as distinguished from those which they had as individuals; and he finds that in these common characteristics of sanctity there is nothing formidable to the most timid, and nothing impracticable by the most disadvantageously circumstanced Christian. The common characteristics of sanctity are: 1, Eagerness

for the glory of God. 2, Sensitiveness to the interests of Jesus. 3, Anxiety for the salvation of souls.—p. 31. These three dispositions, according to the measure in which they are perfected, will provide the Christian with a motive for every action, and a touchstone of every event. Each day of his life will suggest opportunities enough to excite and sharpen them. As self-interest is the *measure* of the monied man's views, self-gratification of those of the voluptuary, or self-aggrandizement of the ambitious, so will these three great objects form to the Christian the ruling principles of his whole character.

There is another feature of Father Faber's work, in its ascetical point of view, which has made it acceptable to a large class of earnest Catholics; we mean what may be called the generosity of its spirit. This quality is the effect of its dealing less with details than with their principles; but it meets the requirements of a class yet larger than the last named, although including it. We mean the body of the *scrupulous*, which we suspect to be larger than is commonly supposed. We are inclined to believe that there are very few *earnest* Catholics indeed who are not more or less in danger of this most serious defect; at any rate one class there is who are anything but free from this danger, and that is—the lax. The phenomenon to which the words of our Blessed Lord point, "straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel," is of the commonest occurrence; and it is because scrupulousness is so subtle, that it is so dangerous. Now, though laxity is far from being opposed to scrupulosity, (so far, indeed, that it is much rather its coincident temper,) what we have called generosity of spirit, or a certain largeness of mind, and of heart, is the remedy of scrupulosity and of laxity as well. It often wears, indeed, to superficial observers, the *appearance* of laxity; but they who know its workings more intimately, know that, so far from being the spring of laxity, it is the secret of conscientiousness.

What we mean by the scrupulosity of which this generosity is the remedy, or rather the panacea, will be evident from instances. There are persons, and they anything but remarkable for real strictness, who go about all their duties in a petty and haggling spirit. Their object is to save their souls at the smallest expense, and their dealings with God to take the form of a perpetual bargain. Their spiritual state is like a thing run up by contract with

mighty show, and flimsy and attenuated proportions. Moreover, they live in mortal fright of offending God in little things; so much so, that they offend Him in great ones quite by accident. They remind one of a man who gets run over in the road while he is picking up pebbles. The Eye which they feel to be upon them is an Eye, not of tender and indulgent compassion, but of narrow suspicion; the eye, not of the parent, but of the pedagogue, or a slave-master. It would be easy to illustrate this class of characters by example; but we forbear under an apprehension of being misunderstood, and so of bringing *real* watchfulness of conscience into discredit.

The quality of the spiritual life which this excellently well-intentioned, but misguided class of Christians require, is—generosity. They need to regard their relation with God less in the light of a compact, and more in that of an “understanding,” in which the mutual affection of the parties is a better security for a successful issue than legal stipulations. At any rate, if *they* do not choose to deal with their Benefactor on these terms, it is the only principle on which He will deal with them. Love will continue to be the motive of His contributions and the rule of His dealings, though fear be still the restraint upon their service. The Church, in a collect which at the present moment is said daily at Mass, describes that service as an *empire*, (“*Cui servire, regnare, est.*”) If there be one thing in the world more unlike an empire than another, it is a *bondage*. In considering the true character of the Christian state, one sees what it is that St. Paul means when, throughout his epistles, he so earnestly contends against the merely legal view of the Gospel; and again, what it is that the poor “Evangelicals” are driving at, when they lay so much stress upon the *freedom* of the Christian service. They have picked up a right idea of the matter, but, wanting the faith, they flounder about in the mud of heretical confusion while attempting to secure it. Hence the “law of liberty,” which they try to substitute for the “law of ordinances,” is no more like the “service of perfect freedom,” or rather the empire of loving obedience, than the mixture of servile restraint and unhallowed license which marks the play-time in a union work-house, or makes up the liberty of a debtors’ prison, is like the delegated lordship of creation, and the condi-

tional liberty of a loyal and loving fealty, which formed the law of the Primitive State.

To supply his subjects with such thoughts on God's infinite goodness in Nature and in Grace, as may serve at once for the checks of servile dread, and the incentives of habitual gratitude, seems to be the greatest boon which a director can confer, where dangers lie in the direction of tepidity, or scrupulosity, or both at once. To encourage those practices of the Church, which, like the Devotion to the Passion, the Blessed Sacrament, the Precious Blood, or the Sacred Heart, tend to familiarize the mind with the immensity of Jesus' love to unworthy and unthankful sinners, seems to be of all others the way to elevate the pusillanimous, to ennoble the low, to enkindle the lukewarm, and to encourage the timid. And one secret of Father Faber's success, whether as a confessor, or as a spiritual writer, we suspect to lie in the earnestness with which he insists on such topics. What is called "purity of intention," or in Gospel language the "single eye," is the object at which he aims, and with a view to which he insists so strongly upon making the *glory of God* and the *interests of Jesus*, the ruling motives of action. The subjects of the different chapters of Father Faber's work, are sufficiently characteristic of its general purport. "The Interests of Jesus," "Sympathy with Jesus," "Love wounded by Sin," "Intercessory Prayer," "The Riches of our Poverty," "Praise and Desire," "Thanksgiving," and lastly, "Purgatory," express the various results of that state of habitual affection towards our Blessed Lord, which is denoted in the Scriptural phrase "Looking to Jesus," that is to say, making Him and His cause, and His friends, the objects of our care to the exclusion even of the highest *personal* interests; proposing the glory of the Eternal Trinity, and the exaltation of the Eternal Son, as motives anterior even to the salvation of our souls, although of course inclusive of it. In this estimate, *sin* will be regarded less as it involves the ruin of man, than as it derogates from the honour of God; thanksgiving will be a higher act than prayer, as it contains no admixture of selfishness; intercessory will be the highest of all kinds of prayer, because it most consults the "interests of Jesus," and the souls in Purgatory will be, peculiarly, the objects of intercession, because their union with Jesus is secure, and admits of being indefinitely accelerated in its perfection, by the aid

of their brethren on earth. In short, the Christian, as Father Faber conceives of him, will go about all things with what is commonly called “an eye” for the glory of God, and the interests of our Divine Redeemer; he will lose no opportunity of energizing in the habit of this disposition, till it is matured into an instinct, which in turn will become the measure of all around. Thus he will become what the world calls “a man of one idea,” and pursue his “hobby” with the same ardour, the same simplicity, and the same recklessness of consequences, with which the soldier courts glory, or the merchant toils for gain. And the obvious principle of such a rule is contained in the words, “*Diligamus Eum, quoniam prior dilexit nos.*”

If any person desire to find the counterpart of such a character, or rather its exemplification, we know not whither we can direct him better than to the Book of Psalms. The history of the great Prophet, who was inspired to write the Psalms, has been a scandal to infidels, and a difficulty with many believers. They find it hard to reconcile the great faults which are recorded of him with his panegyric as the “man after God’s heart.” In the whole range of Scripture there is not a single book which is so strictly *ethical* as the Psalms; none which bears so purely the character of what is called in modern phraseology “Confessions.” Now, if we look through this book with the view of acquiring that knowledge of its author’s heart which it so copiously supplies, we shall find that holy David was just that “man of one idea” who is Father Faber’s model Christian, or to speak more exactly, who is the saint in type. To illustrate this point would be to transcribe, not texts, but passages; and at last it is not so much the quotation of single phrases which bears upon it, as the whole spirit of the divine work. David made God’s cause his own. He was literally “in love” with God’s honour. It preyed upon his spirits; it deprived him of rest. This, of course, is the secret of what are sometimes called the *vindictive* parts of the Psalms. “*Nonne qui oderunt Te, Domine, oderam et super inimicos Tuos tabescebam? Perfecto odio oderam illos, et inimici facti sunt mihi.* (Ps. cxxx.) And it may furnish the clue to the singular estimation with which David is regarded in Holy Scripture.

Now, if we might venture to speak of a great defect in the character of many exemplary Christians, we should point

to the absence of this spirit of simple *loyalty* to Christ. It may seem strange to speak of a Christian as by possibility exemplary, who wants what seems like the very essence of the Christian character. But so it certainly is, that a person may be very exact in all the duties of his state, and thus give real edification to his neighbour, who, from want of reflection, or from never having been led to think of the matter, really suffers himself all the while to be swayed by some ruling passion (not conspicuously bad) other than the pure love of his dearest, most compassionate Redeemer. Father Faber describes such a character in the earlier part of his Treatise, and makes "sensitive-ness," or, as he calls it, "touchiness" to the interests of our Lord, the great criterion by which to know "what manner of spirit" a man "is of." Where Christians are more naturally "touched" by insults cast upon their own honour, or the honour of a "wife or sister," than by some act of blasphemy, or sacrilege, whereby God's accidental glory is directly affected, the progress of His religion hindered, and the work of grace in the soul damaged or deteriorated, it is plain, account for it and allow for it as we may, that there is a flaw and a leak somewhere, which must be diligently sought out and thoroughly repaired, before the elementary idea of the Christian, as represented in the Gospel of our Lord, can be said to have been duly realized.

Father Faber's work, then, being what it is, we cannot wonder at the favourable reception which has greeted it. There were Catholics, full of amiable and earnest feeling, who wanted direction for their aims; there were others, conscious of some great defect in themselves, yet needing to be sent deeper for the source of it than to any matters of mere detail; while others were hopelessly toiling after a higher standard amid the drawbacks of weak health, constitutional timidity, or worldly business. To all these Father Faber has lent a helping hand and proffered the balm of consolation. Here, therefore, we seem to find an explanation of his success.

On the other hand, we are equally little surprised at exceptions which in some few cases have, as we believe, been taken against the book. Father Faber seems to point out, or anticipate, these in the Preface to his new edition, where he says, "All these practices and devotions may be thought to have more to do with Affective than with Effective Love." This, we fancy, is a hint at a class of objections to which the

work may give, or in some cases has given, rise. And our task would not be completed if we did not endeavour to master this objection, as well as to suggest an answer to it.

Father Faber, it may be urged, says little, directly, about that which other spiritual writers make prominent,—the saving, by each person, of his own individual soul. He touches but cursorily, and by implication rather than express notice, upon the *purgative*, and is chiefly occupied with the branches of the affective life. He rather comes round to each man's duty of saving his own soul before any other practical consideration than starts with it; includes it in the general scope of his work as part of the love of souls, by which the glory of God and the interests of Jesus are promoted, than makes it (at least apparently) the prime business of each particular Christian. And yet, it may be urged, Almighty God has charged each one with the responsibility of saving his own soul as the work to which he is especially called, and which lies directly in his way; and encourages his efforts to this end with a prospective certainty of success, which He does not assure to his prayers or efforts for the salvation of others. For they may put obstacles in the way of the grace which our prayers impetrate upon them; whereas each one of us has power of removing such obstacles to his own salvation. There is danger, it may be further said, of our overlooking self-discipline in this comprehensive love, as St. Paul himself feared to do, when he kept his body in subjection, lest in preaching to others, himself might become reprobate. For, although the active ministrations of charity have dangers which prayer has not, yet the tendency even of intercessory prayer, exclusively pursued, may be to familiarize the mind of the Christian with the sins and wants of *others* at the risk of drawing it off from his own.

Another and kindred objection which might very conceivably be brought against Father Faber's Treatise, would be founded upon its seeming to make *inclination* the rule of conduct in matters indifferent. What is called "voluntary penance" occupies a far less prominent place in this Treatise than in the writings of most spiritualists. This difference between himself and other ascetical writers Father Faber seems to recognize in the following passage, where, after speaking of the revelations of our Lord to St. Gertrude, and of some in particular, by which He graciously checked her desire of honouring Him rather by personal

austerities than by the general oblation of her daily actions, Father Faber observes:—

“Spiritual books tell us that if we indulge, for instance, our sense of smell in some fragrance, it is a huge immortification; yet St. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi runs into the garden, plucks a flower, inhales the fragrance with delight, and cries out, ‘O good, most good God! who from all eternity destined this flower to give me, a sinner, this enjoyment.’ So I know not how St. Gertrude and her grapes would have fared with some spiritual writers. She would have been told that she should remember our Lord’s thirst upon the cross, and that she should not give way, unless, indeed, she felt that she had not grace for the heights of perfection. You see our sweet Jesus, took quite another view. Thus, also, St. Theresa, in her letter to Alonzo Velasquez, bishop of Osma, speaking of herself in the third person, says, ‘Besides what I have just mentioned, then again, as far as regards her body and health, I think she takes more care of it, and is less mortified in eating; neither has she such desires of doing penance, as she used to have. But, in her opinion, all tends to this object, namely, to be able to serve God the more in other things; for she often offers Him, as an agreeable sacrifice, this care she takes of the body.’”—pp. 175-6.

There is something, we confess it, in the cast of this passage, especially one part of it, which we do not wholly fancy. But we are here quoting it, not in objection, but in illustration of objections, which we do not quite share, though we can fully understand them. To proceed, then, with the adversary’s case;—to understand which is the condition of being able to meet it. To make an oblation of actions to which we are naturally inclined is, it may be said, (nor would Father Faber deny it,) a far easier thing than to make a similar offering of a *sacrifice* of inclination. If I wake in the morning with a slight head ache, at my usual time of rising, the following colloquy takes place between two principles within me. The one says, “It is a bad thing to break in upon a habit; and the little sacrifice I make when I might so reasonably lie in bed, adds merit to the action, and so I will get up, and risk the consequences.” The other replies, “You are not obliged to get up. No particular duty calls you. You can go to the ‘lazy mass’ at eleven. Ten to one, but by getting up you will increase your head-ache; you may sleep it off.” Then comes in the thought, “Offer up your sleep, instead of your rising,” &c. &c.

Now we are not deciding this case, but putting it. The

same rapid course of argument goes on at the dinner table, where one man forbears from something very tempting with a view of strengthening a habit of resistance to inclination, and another eats it, as one of God's good creatures, "with thankfulness." Is *inclination* in these cases, to be consulted, or to be suspected? Is it to be treated as a saucy slave, poking its head into places where it is not wanted, or as a religious superior, challenging "obedience in all that is not sin?"

To the kind of objection at which this description points, (and by implication to the former also,) Father Faber seems to us to give a satisfactory, if not a complete, answer in his Preface, where he says:—

"Self-abnegation is not the subject I am treating of. I am not trying to guide souls in high spirituality. God forbid I should be so foolish or vain. As a son of St. Philip, I have especially to do with the world, and with people living in the world, and trying to sanctify themselves in ordinary vocations. It is to such I speak; and I am putting upon them *not high things*," &c.—Preface, pp. ix. and x.

This disclaimer must form the rule of interpretation for the whole work. Father Faber, then, is not writing for religious, but for people in the world. He takes such persons as he finds them, with the power of bodily mortification indefinitely crippled by long habits of indulgence, with a host of aristocratic ailments sufficiently trying to patience, but not fatal to the performance of ordinary duties; with their time miserably cut up by the inroads of business, with their spirituality seriously threatened by the tone of the society in which they are compelled to move. He does not attempt to "wind" such patients "too high" for the state to which God has called them, or to put them out of conceit of that state. He teaches them to walk before he expects them to run. He takes them with their failings and their ailments, their mangled time and their shortened opportunities, and makes, not all he would wish, but what he can, of them. "You have not time," he seems to say, "for an hour's, or half an hour's meditation. Well, our Lord does not expect impossibilities; try and make up by fervour what your act of devotion wants in duration. You cannot fast like a person in health; well, give God thanks for those who can, and do your best. Your rheumatism, or your head-ache, or your indigestion, is a better sacrifice than a meagre dinner. Unite it with

some of our dear Redeemer's sufferings or annoyances, and offer it up to Him. Again, don't suppose that the alternative with our gracious God lies between voluntary mortification and corrupt indulgences. There is a middle line, better suited to your case than the former, and wholly distinct from the latter, which is that of taking things pleasant, but not sinful, when they come in a natural way, as instances of God's goodness, specimens of His way of dealing with you, and so incentives to your love. God wants you to be happy, and to make those happy who are around you. If, denying yourself something nice which is not wrong, do not sour your temper, and encourage the spirit of scrupulosity, and lead you to think too severely of God, and make you morose, deny yourself by all means; it is the higher line. But don't make a fuss about it, and look sanctified over it; for our Lord's whole teaching and behaviour, when on earth, is infinitely more against *laying stress* upon such things, than it is in favour of bodily mortifications." Now all the objections in the world to which Father Faber may have laid himself open, will never incline us to doubt the spiritual wisdom of such direction, if, in this little sketch of it, we have not seriously misunderstood his meaning.

The only question which we can permit ourselves to entertain, is whether, throughout his Treatise, Father Faber has always kept in view the distinction which he so clearly draws in his Preface between the line of high and the line of accommodated spirituality. For instance, in the passage which we lately quoted, where St. Gertrude is introduced, there is nothing to make it appear that it is, *per se*, a lower thing to follow natural inclination, with a pure intention, than to forego it as an act of voluntary mortification. On the contrary, stress is laid upon our Blessed Lord having recommended the former course to St. Gertrude, on a certain occasion, in preference to the latter. Again, in the same passage, we read:—

"She, (St. Gertrude,) would have been told, (by certain spiritual authorities,) that she should remember our Lord's thirst upon the cross, and that she should not give way, *unless, indeed, she felt that she had not grace for the heights of perfection.*" (p. 175.)

There is something here which, as we think, wants to be adjusted with the words of the Preface. Nor would it seem to reflect upon the theory of certain spiritual writers,

that a direct revelation, in a special instance, happens to support the case of an exception.

What place, in short, does the supposed recommendation of certain spiritual writers occupy in Father Faber's theory? Waving the instance of St. Gertrude, (to which they would not, out of deference to the express revelation accorded her, have wished to apply their rule,) is it, or not, (in general,) the higher line of sanctity to mortify an appetite in union with the thirst on the cross, than to gratify it in the spirit of oblation? If not, a great difficulty is suggested in remembering that the *example* of the saints in general, not to speak of our Blessed Lord's own, is in favour of considering mortification not merely a meritorious addition to all sacrifice, but rather as involved in its very idea. If it be the more perfect way, the writers in question are, we think, somewhat unfairly treated in the above passage.

Where Father Faber gives the preference to the Saints, as spiritual authorities, over uncanonized writers, we are not sure whether he refers to their examples as collected from their biographies, or to their occasional and scattered writings. The latter, if we conceive rightly, are comparatively few, and confined, for the most part, to letters, or other unsystematic modes of information. For the Treatise of St. Alphonso belongs to a somewhat different branch of theology. What may be called the "maxims" of the Saints, as gathered from their histories, or their casual expressions, may, we apprehend, be used in different ways, and quite as much on the side of a severer, as of a milder, rule of spiritual governance. The sentiment quoted from St. Theresa's letters, in the passage we have produced, must be qualified, for instance, by her well-known prayer, "Aut pati, aut mori." And it would be dangerous, we suppose, to press too far an allowance made whether to her, or to St. Gertrude, at the end of a long course of austerities, so dissimilar from the lives of most Catholics in our own time.

It would also, we think, be somewhat technical to insist too strongly upon the distinction between canonized and uncanonized spiritualists. The line which separates, for instance, the author of the "Imitation" from any *canonized* writer in the world, (if he were not actually such,) is of the most imaginary description, and we are glad to find that Father Faber exempts, by name, that matchless

work from any seeming liability to his exceptions. That, indeed, is a book of which we will say, that if it pleased God to leave us but two in the world, we should desire that it might be one. But we may mention Rodriguez' most admirable and instructive Treatise on Spiritual Perfection, as another case of a book, proceeding, indeed, from an uncanonized writer, yet raised, by common consent, to the very first rank of its class.

We suppose, however, that the question between Father Faber and other approved spiritual writers admits of a settlement which leaves to all their own peculiar place, and distinctive work, in the Church. With the exception, perhaps, of the "Imitation of Christ," which, indeed, is as much of a devotional as of an ascetical treatise, we do not happen to remember any work of a spiritual nature which does not require to be modified, in greater or less degree, by *personal direction*. Treatises and sermons, in regard to the spiritual life, bear to the office of the individual director very much the relation of lectures and medical directories to that of the bodily physician. And most valuable in its line, as we consider Father Faber's Treatise, we are sure he would be the last to desire that it should minister to that practice, against which all the most eminent authorities contend with one voice—self direction. The utmost which any treatise can accomplish, whether in bodily or spiritual medicine, is to elucidate principles and lay down general rules. The rest must be done by those who are personally cognizant of all the features and symptoms of the particular case.

And valuable as we think that Father's work will prove to all classes of readers, there is one in particular by whom we are sure that it may be studied with the greatest advantage, and that is, priests who have the charge of souls. True though it be, that it is not (what it neither professes to be, nor could by possibility be) a complete manual of spiritual direction, it yet opens a view of ascetics, deeper, more comprehensive, and more original, than any work, at least of our own time, and perhaps even than any single work of the same compass and general interest. To speak of it as original in any sense which would imply it to be a discovery in a region of theology which has been trodden by so many saints and doctors, would be the last compliment that we should wish to pay, or Father Faber would desire to receive. But if to have collected, adjusted,

and systematized materials which lie embedded in the mines of a more abstruse theology; if to have given substance and lucid expression to the hints of other writers, and to have invested his subject with a devotional interest which removes it altogether from the province of "hard reading," and transfers it to that of the purest and most exalted recreation,—if this entitle an author to the praise of originality, Father Faber deserves the credit, not so much of having written a great work, as of having inaugurated a new era in a branch of literature which is beyond all comparison, the most important that can be named in its influence upon mankind.

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- ART. VII.—1. *Theological Essays*. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Second Edition, 8vo. Cambridge: Mac Millan and Co. 1853.
2. *Grounds for laying before the Council of King's College, London, Certain Statements contained in a recent Publication, entitled, "Theological Essays; by the Rev. F. D. MAURICE, M.A., Professor of Divinity in King's College."* By R. W. JELF, D.D., Principal of the College, and Canon of Christ Church. Oxford and London: Parker and Rivington. 1853.
3. *The Word "Eternal," and the Punishment of the Wicked.* A Letter to the Rev. Dr. JELF, Canon of Christ Church, and Principal of King's College. By F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Fifth Thousand, with a Preface. 8vo. Cambridge: Mac Millan and Co. 1853.
4. *Doctrine de l'Eglise Anglicane Relative aux Sacrements et aux Ceremonies Sacramentales.* Londres, Paris, et Leipsic. 1853.
5. *A Companion to Confession, from the Ancient Offices of the Use of Sarum.* Translated and arranged, by a Layman. Second Edition, London: Lumley. 1853.
6. *A Companion to Holy Communion, from the Ancient Offices of the Use of Sarum.* Translated and arranged, by a Layman. Second Edition, London: Lumley. 1853.

7. *Rosaries*: compiled for the use of English Churchmen. London, 1853.
8. *An Ecclesiastical Dictionary, explanatory of the History, Antiquities, Heresies, Sects, and Religious Denominations of the Christian Church.* By the Rev. JOHN FARRAR. 8vo. London: Mason. 1853.
9. *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. London: Mozley. 1853.

IT was a maxim of the syncretists that a creed or formula should be constructed on the model of the "net cast into the sea, and gathering together of all kinds of fishes," sufficiently capacious to admit every conceivable shade of belief, yet sufficiently elastic to retain them all within its meshes. It was in the spirit of this maxim that they laboured, through a whole century of weary and thankless negotiations, to draw together the discordant elements of Lutheran and Calvinistic theology, and, for a time, even to bring them both into harmony with those of their common antagonist, the Catholic Church. The professorial oath of office in their principal theological seat, the University of Helmstädt, contained a clause by which the professor was bound to use every legitimate effort to settle, according to his ability, the prevailing controversies. The same oath was prescribed to every candidate for the theological degree;* and the works of Conring, of Molanus, of Fabricius, of George Calixtus, of the younger theologian of the same name, and of many others, are a sufficient evidence of the zeal with which, in the face of much difficulty and systematic discouragement, they pursued their amiable, but hopelessly Utopian vocation.

We shall, no doubt, offend the High-Church school of Anglicans, by venturing to hint that such a principle as this ever formed a part of the doctrinal scheme of the English Reformation. They will resent, as an ignorant calumny, any comparison of their formularies with the net in the parable. It is treason in their eyes even to allude, in speaking of their Church system, to the well-known notion of a "compromise;" to allege that their Articles were so framed at their first compilation, or were so modified in their reconstruction, as to provide for the toleration both of the Catholic and the Calvinistic element; or to

* *Mosheim's Church History*, (Soames's Ed.,) iv., 177.

insinuate that both elements may be recognized as enjoying a separate and independent existence in their system, the one in the Articles, the other in the Prayer Book.

But, painful as the conviction must be to the sensibilities of this school, every day's experience must force it more and more upon their minds, that whatever may be the source of the deficiency, the dogmatic system of their Church is practically liable to this impeachment in its worst form.

We do not stop to enquire what may be the cause. It may be that the formularies themselves are designedly vague and comprehensive in their terminology: it may be that they are the work of different hands, and present, in their several parts, evidences of unreconciled and irreconcilable principles and views: it may be that the constitution of the Church contains no "living" principle of authority, whereby this vagueness and uncertainty of the "dead letter" might be neutralized. These are points which do not concern us now. Neither do we examine what may be the remedy. We do not consider whether it may be looked for in the revival of convocation; or in the restoration of synodical action to the Church; or in the recognition and extension of the authority of individual bishops. We omit all consideration of the equally important discussion, how far these remedies, or any one of them, even supposing them to be efficacious, is, or ever can be hoped to be, in the slightest degree feasible. But, however all this may be, the fact itself cannot be escaped by any device, or evaded by any dexterity.

It stands out prominently in the whole history of Anglicanism;—in the original framing of her formularies; in all the successive modifications of them, and of every portion of them; in the details of every controversy regarding them which has ever arisen within her pale,—in the Quinquarticular controversy, in the Laudian controversy, in the Latitudinarian controversy, in the Tractarian controversy. At different times different elements have been to the ascendant: at one time, the Catholic, at another, the Calvinistic, at another some modification of either or of both. But, whatever may have been the progress of each controversy, the issue has been invariably the same. Neither element has ever been able to succeed, whether in absorbing or in expelling the other.

The result has uniformly been a "compromise." Not a

compromise of amalgamation, but a compromise of toleration. Both elements have continued to co-exist, but in a perfectly distinct and independent form. Each has itself become a distinct and independent centre, from which new varieties of belief have continued to emanate, with the same prescriptive rights of fellowship which are claimed by their original. In the end, from the very multiplication of these divergences, it has become a matter of necessity, or at least of policy, to refrain from drawing the lines of demarcation too sharply. The Church herself has not ventured to look too closely into the niceties of membership; just as, when the slaves became too numerous in Rome, the Senate abolished their distinctive dress, lest, by discovering their relative superiority of numbers, they might become formidable to the masters of whom they had hitherto stood in awe.

Many of those, it is true, who dissent from the more popular belief of the Church of England, have formally withdrawn from her communion, and established themselves as independent societies. We do not refer to these. We are speaking now of the varieties of belief which have prevailed within her pale—and among those who have received all her formularies in common, and who have conformed alike to all the peculiarities of her Ritual. We do not confine ourselves to those times when subscription to the formularies was carelessly exacted and irregularly performed. In the days of Bancroft we might almost say that it was abolished altogether. "Such," he writes, "is the retchlessness of many of our bishops on the one side, and their desire to be at ease and quietness to think upon their own affairs; and on the other side, such is the intolerable pride and obstinacy of that factious sort, as that, betwixt both sides, either subscription is not at all required, or if it be, the bishops admit them so to *qualify it*, that it were better to be omitted altogether." As regards literal subscription to the Formularies, there is nothing to be complained of. On the contrary, there never has been wanting in the Church a firm and steady resolution to maintain the test of subscription as the great safeguard of orthodoxy. From the Puritan proposal for the abolition of subscription at the Hampton Court Conference down to the Arian agitation against it under Blackburne, every attempt to procure an alteration of the law has been defeated. But, at every period

during this interval, there has existed in the Church, more or less prominent according to circumstances, a party, who, while they denied the necessity of faith in what others regarded as fundamental dogmas prescribed by the articles, were yet willing to go through the formality, as they termed it, of subscribing to the articles, either as a step to ordination, or a condition of advancement to the honour or the emoluments of office; alleging that “these articles might be conscientiously subscribed in any sense in which they themselves, by their own interpretation, could reconcile them to Scripture, without regard to the meaning and intention either of the persons who first compiled or who now imposed them.”*

It is only just to say, that this unscrupulous and dishonest party, however numerous at one time in the English Church, has had few, if any, avowed representatives in more recent days. The history of the late Tractarian movement; the principles put forward upon the one side, in the discussion of the celebrated Tract 90; those alleged upon the other, during the Gorham controversy;—all make it abundantly clear that both the antagonistic schools still claim, each for itself, the direct sanction and authority of the formularies; and there is hardly any modification of either school, however extreme, which does not profess at least to be reconcilable, if not with their language, at all events with their spirit. And we freely admit, that, in the recent discussions, those who have departed farthest, upon either side, from the popular interpretation of the formularies, although they have not escaped the charge of dishonesty and special pleading, yet in reality are less liable to impeachment on this score than the advocates of the lax theory of subscription in the eighteenth century; for few of the latter scrupled to avow that the natural sense of the Formularies, as well as the sense intended by their first compilers, was directly at variance with the doctrines which they themselves maintained; nor is it possible to reconcile subscription, as understood and practised by them, with the ordinary principles of honour and truth.

But, apart from this consideration of the personal honesty of the subscriber, there is no difference between the two systems of subscription as regards the maintenance of uni-

* *Waterland's Case of Arian Subscription*, Works, II., 264—5.

formity of doctrine. So long as the Formularies are regarded as a mere letter;—so long as there exists no living and speaking authority to decide what is the true sense of the Formularies, and to condemn definitively those who affix to them any other than this sense;—so long must these diversities of interpretation subsist; so long must each party be conceded the right of regarding its own interpretation, as, if not exclusively genuine, at least equally entitled with any rival to all the privileges of orthodoxy. It is impossible to fix the limit at which this license shall stop. In the late controversy the conflict lay between the Evangelical principles on one side, and those of High Church on the other. But who shall say what will be the extremes in the next controversy which may arise? What is to prevent the application to the interpretation of Church formularies, the same rationalizing principles which are becoming every day more and more common in the interpretation of Scripture? The petition presented to Parliament, in 1772, against compulsory subscription, under the inspiration of Blackburne, was based on “the undoubted right of Protestants to interpret Scripture for themselves.”* Why may not the same principle be advanced in support of the claim to interpret the articles, the catechism, and the Prayer-book?

The reality and the imminence of this danger will appear to any dispassionate Anglican who casts his eye over the publications named at the head of these pages. The authors of all alike profess membership of the Church of England, and all profess to follow out in some way the spirit of her formularies. Yet their doctrines are wide asunder as the poles; and while both claim the toleration, and even the authority, of the same formularies, we find, upon the one side, opinions to which the most rigid Catholic may cheerfully subscribe, and on the other, principles and views which seem to reduce religion to an unsubstantial dream, and make one tremble for the foundations of Christianity themselves.

Indeed, when we turn to the first class of publications to which we are alluding, we doubt whether the large majority of our readers will be prepared to hear how many of what they are disposed to regard as their own peculiar doctrines, are still, notwithstanding the check which

* Hardwick's History of the Articles, p. 228.

such doctrines have received, maintained under the shadow of Anglicanism; much more, to what extent their most cherished practices still find favour within its ranks. We have already dwelt at such length on Archdeacon Wilberforce's very remarkable work on the Holy Eucharist, that we shall not do more than allude to it here; but another and still more conclusive illustration of these statements will be found in the other publications which we have enumerated;—works which are not of a dogmatical or polemical, but of a strictly practical character; books which are intended not for speculation, or for the indulgence of sentiment, but for use; and which, although published without the sanction of authority, and even reprobated in quarters which claim to be regarded as strictly High-Church, are yet sufficiently popular among those for whom they are designed, to find their way through successive editions. We shall briefly notice a few of these.

Every one has heard, from time to time since the commencement of the Tractarian movement, vague reports of the existence of the practices of auricular confession among Anglicans, and there are few who have not known particular clergymen pointed out as especial patrons of this ordinance. But little is known of its real working, except by those who have themselves passed through the ordeal; and the affair takes a much more definite shape when it meets us in the downright guise of a Manual of the necessary devotions connected with it—a practical “Companion to Confession,” precisely such as those which we have been ourselves from boyhood in the habit of using, containing “prayers before confession,” “prayers at confession,” “prayers after confession,” and even a detailed “examination of conscience,” (under the title of a “Form of Confession,”) upon the separate heads of the “Seven Deadly sins,” the “Ten Commandments,” “the Five Senses,” “the seven works of Mercy, bodily,” “the Seven Works of Mercy, ghostly,” “the Seven gifts of the Holy Ghost,” “the Sacraments,” (which include not only Baptism and the Eucharist, but also “Confirmation, Penance, Wedlock, Priesthood, and Anointing,”) and the Eight Beatitudes!” Such is the “Companion to Confession, from the Ancient Offices of the Use of Sarum!”

Nor is the reader to imagine that (although it is also adapted for this end) this Manual is intended as a mere guide for the private self-examination of the penitent with

a view to his humble accusation of himself to God. It is a regular form of *confession to a priest*—not meant for one single occasion, but to be employed habitually, or at least at stated intervals. The confession begins on the penitent's part with a formal self-accusation *to the priest*: "I acknowledge myself guilty to Almighty God, to all the company of Heaven, and to you, my ghostly father, that, since the time of my last confession, I have offended my Lord God grievously, and especially, &c.," following out in detail each of the heads of examination. And it is concluded by a solemn and explicit absolution on the part of the priest:

"Almighty God have mercy upon you, and forgive you all your sins, deliver you from all evil, preserve and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life. Amen.

"Then let the Priest absolve him from all his sins. It may be thus:

"OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST of His great goodness absolve thee; and I, by the authority of The Same God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, committed to me, absolve thee from all those sins which, being contrite in heart, with thy mouth thou hast confessed to me; and from all other thy sins, which, if they had occurred to thy remembrance, thou wouldst have been ready to confess; [and I restore thee to the Sacraments of the Church.] In the name of the Father, and of The Son, and of The Holy Ghost. Amen.

"Let us pray.

"Stretch forth, O LORD, unto this Thy servant the right hand of Thy celestial help, that he may search for Thee with his whole heart, and obtain what he worthily requests, through CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

"Let the Benediction follow.

"The Blessing of GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, and of THE SON, and of THE HOLY GHOST, descend upon thee and abide with thee for ever. Amen."—pp. 21-2.

It will be seen that this form of absolution is neither *deprecativè* nor *declaratory*, but strictly *judicatory*; and that it clearly supposes the power of the priest to grant absolution from sin, as the minister of Christ! In a word, there is no detail, whether of doctrine or of practice, in which this Manual could be distinguished from those drawn up under the eye of the Holy Office, except that the *Ave Maria* is introduced simply as a "Memorial of the Incarnation," and is shorn of its second part—that

which contains the direct prayer for the intercession of the Virgin Mother!

The "Companion to Holy Communion," (compiled by the same author) is written in precisely the same spirit. Perhaps we may best describe it as an embodiment in a devotional form of all the doctrines and the views regarding the Blessed Eucharist which are put forward by Archdeacon Wilberforce in his dogmatical work. It consists of a series of prayers, hymns, meditations, and extracts from the Holy Fathers, all directly expressing, in language as strong as any Catholic could imply, the most profound faith, not only in the reality of our Lord's Presence in the Eucharist, but even in the transubstantiation of the material elements of Bread and Wine; in the truth of the Eucharistic Sacrifice; and in its propitiatory power, as an offering both for the living and for the dead!

Where, for instance, even among ourselves, is the faith of Christ's presence so vivid, as not to be satisfied by such an address as the following?

"Hail! true Body* of the Virgin
 Mary born on Earth for me!
 Truly man's transgressions purging,
 Slain and suffering on the Tree!
 From Whose side for sinners riven,
 Blood flowed and water graciously!
 May of Thee the foretaste given,
 Help us in death's agony!

"O merciful, O kind, O sweet JESU, Son of Mary! Hail! JESU CHRIST, Word of the FATHER, Son of the Virgin, Lamb of God, Salvation of the world, *Holy Sacrifice*, Word in Flesh, Fountain of Pity! Hail! JESU, Praise of Angels, Glory of Saints, Vision of Peace, Entire Deity, True Man, Flower and fruit of the Virgin Mother! Hail! JESU CHRIST, Brightness of the FATHER, Prince of Peace, Gate of Heaven, Living Bread, Offspring of the Virgin, Vessel of the Godhead! Hail! JESU CHRIST, Light of Heaven, Ransom of the world, Joy of our hearts, Bread of Angels, Rejoicing of the heart, King and Spouse of Virginity! Hail! JESU CHRIST, the most sweet Way, Supreme Truth, Reward of ours, Living Charity, Fountain of Love, Peace, Sweetness of Eternal Life! *Hail! most*

* "Since He Himself has declared and said of the Bread, This is My Body, who shall dare to doubt any longer? And since He has affirmed and said, This is My Blood, who shall ever hesitate, saying that it is not His Blood?"—*S. Cyril of Jer. Cat. Lect. xxii.*

Holy and precious Body of Christ, which, set on the Altar of the Cross for the saving of the world, I believe with my heart, I confess with my mouth, a True Sacrifice, a Pure Sacrifice, a Holy Sacrifice, a Sacrifice unspotted and acceptable to God, the Holy Bread of Eternal Life and the Cup of everlasting Salvation! I worship Thee in spirit and in truth. O kind JESU! Good JESU, have mercy upon me! I pray Thee, therefore, O God, that like as I see Thee here present under the form of bread and wine, so I may be found worthy to behold Thee in the Glory of Thy Majesty, in peace and gladness for ever and over. Amen.*

"In the presence of Thy most Holy Body and Blood, O LORD JESU CHRIST, I commend unto Thee myself most miserable Thy servant, that by the virtue of Thy Holy Cross, and by the mystery of Thy Holy Incarnation, Nativity, Baptism, Fasting, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and by the coming of The HOLY GHOST The Comforter, and by Thy name Ineffable, Thou Who art GOD Almighty, Alpha and Omega, The Beginning and the End, Sabaoth, Adonai, Emmanuel, Which is God with us, The Way, The Truth, and The Life, our Salvation, Victory, and Resurrection, especially by the invocation of this life-giving Sacrifice of Thy Body and Blood."—pp. 69-72.

And, if it be said that there is here no distinct avowal of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, take the following :

"Hail! for evermore, most Holy and precious Flesh. Hail! for evermore, most Holy and precious Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. Hail! Saving Victim for the salvation of mankind, offered on the Altar of the Cross. Hail! most sufficient Sacrifice. Hail! most delectable refreshment. Hail! JESU CHRIST. Hail! Redeemer of the world, inestimable Glory of all the elect, Who, for us miserable sinners didst vouchsafe to take upon Thee *this Flesh* from the immaculate Virgin, and to shed forth *This Blood* from Thy Side, whilst hanging on the Cross; purify us, sanctify us, direct us in

* "No man eats This Flesh unless he first adores; for the wise men and the barbarians did worship This Body in the manger with very much fear and reverence; let us, therefore, who are citizens of Heaven, at least not fall short of the barbarians. But thou seest Him not in the manger, but on the Altar, and thou beholdest Him not in the Virgin's arms, but presented by the Priest, and brought to thee in sacrifice by The HOLY SPIRIT of GOD."—*S. August. in Psalm xcvi. S. Chrysostom. Hom. Cor. 1.*

"We adore The Body of CHRIST in the Mysteries."—*S. Ambrose De Spir. S. Taylor's "Worthy Communicant," VII. S. I.*

"CHRIST Himself, the Reality of the Sacrament, in and along with the Sacrament, wherever He is, is to be worshipped."—*Bishop Andrewes.*

the way of eternal salvation. *And, as in This sacred Mystery* is made a change in the Bread and Wine, so change us into Thyself, and conform us wholly to Thy grace. Amen.*—p. 78.

On the reality of the Sacrifice and its propitiatory power both for the living and the dead, the Companion is equally explicit and unreserved :

“We intreat Thee also, O Lord! Holy FATHER! *for the souls of the faithful departed * * ** that this great Sacrament of Thy love may be unto them salvation and health, joy and refreshment. O LORD my God! grant them this day a great and abundant feast of Thee, The living God, Who camest down from Heaven, and gavest life unto the world, even of Thy holy and blessed Flesh, The LAMB without spot, Who takest away the sins of the world; even of that Flesh which was taken of the holy and glorious Virgin Mary, and conceived of The HOLY GHOST, and of that Fountain of mercy which from the soldier’s spear flowed from Thy most sacred Side, that therewith enlarged and sated, refreshed and comforted, they may rejoice in Thy praise and glory.

“I pray Thy clemency, O LORD, that on the bread to be offered unto Thee may descend the fulness of Thy Benediction, and the Sanctification of Thy Divinity. May there descend also The invisible and incomprehensible Majesty of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, as it descended of old on the sacrifices of the fathers, Which may make our oblations Thy Body and Blood, [and teach me an unworthy priest to handle so great a Mystery with purity of heart and the devotion of tears, with reverence and trembling, so that Thou mayest graciously and favourably receive *the sacrifice of my hands for the good of all, living and departed.*]”—pp. 58-9.

We might multiply almost to an unlimited extent these testimonies to our most cherished doctrines regarding the Blessed Eucharist. In truth, the *Companion to Holy Communion* is simply a translation, with but few modifications or adaptations, “from the ‘Enchiridion,’ or ‘Hours,’ being the Manual of Private Devotion, according to the English Use of Sarum.” Of this Manual more than a hundred editions were circulated in England, dur-

* “The Bread of The Eucharist is mere Bread no longer, but The Body of CHRIST.”

“Contemplate the Bread and Wine not as bare elements, for they are according to The LORD’s declaration The Body and Blood of CHRIST; for though sense suggests this to thee, let faith stablish thee. Judge not the matter from taste, but be fully assured without misgiving, that thou hast been vouchsafed The Body and Blood of CHRIST.”—*S. Cyr. of Jerus. Cat. Lect. xxii.*

ing the last years of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. Accordingly, the prayers which it contains are in reality those of the old Catholic Ante-Reformation Church of England, and besides those intended for private use comprise most of the Hymns, sequences, anthems of the Blessed Eucharist, as they are found in the Sarum Missal—the *Lauda Sion*,* the *Ave verum Corpus*, the *Adoro Te Devote*, the *Pange Lingua Gloriosi*, and many others equally consecrated to Catholic use.

“Laud, O Syon! Thy Salvation,
Shepherd! Prince! of Israel's nation,
High thy choral anthems raise!
All thy might and joy it needeth,
For He all thy praise exceedeth,
Thou canst ne'er express His praise.

* * * * *

What CHRIST in That Feast completed
He ordained to be repeated
His Memorial to our eyes;
Taught in This great Rite He gave us,
We The Bread of life to save us
Hallow, a True Sacrifice.

This The Truth each Christian learneth,
Bread into His Flesh He turneth,
Wine to His most Holy Blood;
What nor sense nor sight descrieth,
That a living faith supplieth,
In divine and wondrous mode.

Under diverse species hidden,
In signs to which we are bidden
Noble Mysteries reside,
Blood made drink, and Flesh there broken
For our meat; yet in each Token
CHRIST doth e'er Entire abide;

Severed not by him that taketh,
None divideth Him nor breaketh,
Whole His blessed Self they taste;

* We are tempted to append one or two verses of the translation of this noble hymn. Like most of those which have preceded it, this translation, in a literary sense, leaves a great deal to be desired. But, as an illustration of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, is well worthy of a place here.

One, yet thousands are receivers,
 What one, thousands of believers
 Eat, yet Him they cannot waste.

Good and bad The Feast are sharing,
 Yet a doom unlike preparing,
 Life, or everlasting woe ;
 Sinners death, the righteous making
 Life their own ; from that same taking
 Ah ! what differing ends shall show.

Now The Sacrament is broken,
 Doubt not ; *but think of the Token*
Every part, as He hath spoken,
So much as The Whole doth hide ;
 In The Gift there is no scission,
 Of the Sign alone division,
 Nor in stature nor condition
 Changeth The Thing signified.”—pp. 96-99.

It will scarcely appear extraordinary that, while the substance of Catholic devotion is thus unreservedly and unhesitatingly adopted into the practice of Anglicans, there should be found some to suggest, and even to urge, the adoption of its forms, even of those among its forms which are popularly regarded as the most objectionable portion of our worship. Religious sisterhoods, like those which Miss Sellon has made memorable, are multiplying in many parts of England. Forms of devotion, which we are apt to consider as exclusively our own, are creeping silently into use. Persons who are habituated to the use of such “Companions to Confession and Communion,” are passing by an easy transition to the use of “Rosaries!” The principle of “Rosaries” has actually been appropriated by Anglicans ; the little work which we have selected under this title is compiled expressly “for the use of English Christians ;” and (strange as it will seem) among the devotions which it commends for adoption, are “Devotions to the Sacred Heart!”

Nor are these manifestations confined to the Church of England at home. An effort is being made to present her in this phase to the Catholic Churches of the Continent. A series of little tracts, exhibiting these peculiar doctrines of Anglicanism, has been prepared for circulation abroad. The little *brochure* entitled “*Doctrine de l’Eglise Anglicane Relative aux Sacrements et aux Ceremonies Sacramentales,*” is a French translation of a short tract by the

Rev. Frederick Meyrick (also translated into Italian and Spanish), the object of which is to show to foreign churches, by carefully selected extracts from the Catechism and the Prayer-book, and by eschewing all reference to the more Evangelical formularies, that, however it may be modified in its form or limited in the extent of its application, the Church of England has retained the sacramental system in all the integrity of its substance! These tracts are designed for "distribution by foreign travellers;" and it is hoped that "their circulation may tend to dissipate the unhappy misconceptions of the English Church, to which the proceedings of Miss Cunningham and her friends so frequently give occasion."

It will be seen, therefore, that notwithstanding the apparent lull of religious agitation which has succeeded the earnestness of a few years past, the leaven, however secretly, is still fermenting in the mass. Perhaps it would be wrong to build much hope upon such appearances. We have already said that these publications have been discountenanced by the most influential organs even of what is known as the Catholicizing party. But they cannot close their eyes, notwithstanding, to the facts themselves. These facts are, after all, only the natural fruit or the natural expression of that Catholic spirit, which, however repressed and overlaid by external influences, the late movement in the English Church has tended to evoke; and we, for our own part, cannot deny ourselves the happiness of hoping that, visionary and unsubstantial as is the prospect that this spirit, or any impersonation of it, will ever receive the sanction of the English Church as a body, the very introduction among Anglicans of practices, of principles, and even of forms, which express it, no matter how imperfectly, will continue to lead individuals, as it has already done, to look beyond the forms, to seek the practices in their fulness, and in the end to throw themselves generously and unreservedly into that system which alone carries out these principles consistently and completely, and which alone applies them in their full significance to every detail of the Christian life.

Would that we could look with the same hopefulness upon the opposite extreme of the contrast! Would that we could form the same anticipations of that school of which we have taken Mr. Maurice as the type! He, too,

claims to be a member of the Church of England. Until very recently he was a theological professor in that college which professes to be in an especial manner the organ and representation of High Church principles. He "accepts heartily all the formularies of the Church, the Three creeds, the Prayer-book, the Thirty-nine Articles."* He proclaims over and over again, not only that he accepts them himself, but that in all that he has written, and in all that he has taught, he has ever followed the Articles of the Church "as his own teachers and helpers;" that so far from feeling himself restrained by these Articles in the expression of the opinions which he has put forward, on the contrary, he has ever felt that "the formularies have given him boldness, have raised him to a higher view than his own, have warned him against the peril and guilt of accepting the opinions of the age as his guides."† Nor is his view of the formularies altered by what has occurred in his own person. Even since the strong expressions of reprobation with which Churchmen have visited his opinions he still professes himself a Churchman. He still "adheres to the formularies in what he believes to be their literal, natural sense;"‡ and still declares that "no recent experience of his, whether in a college or in the Church, has in the least changed his opinion, that these very formularies are the best protection against the exclusiveness and cruelty of private judgment."§

We shall see hereafter what are the doctrines which Mr. Maurice claims to hold and to teach, in virtue of the liberty thus secured by the articles of the Church of England. But it may be well, before we proceed farther, to detail briefly the proceedings which have taken place in his case.

The publication by which he drew upon himself the censure of the authorities of his college, is that which stands first upon our list, his *Theological Essays*. It is proper to observe that Mr. Maurice has himself explained in an Advertisement the origin of this very remarkable publication. "A lady, once a member of the Society of Friends," had placed him by her will under the obligation of writing, or procuring to be written, some book specially addressed

* Letter in Jelf's Pamphlet, p. 2.

† Preface to Second Edition, p. xvii.

‡ Letter in Jelf's pamphlet, p. 21.

§ Preface to Second Edition, p. xix.

to Unitarians. He felt, after several efforts to execute this task, that "nothing he had done gave him the least satisfaction." Mere controversial works, his experience assured him, "do little else than harm to those who write and to those who read." Some months since, however, the idea occurred to him, of embracing in a series of discourses addressed to his own congregation, all the topics which he would wish to bring under the notice of Unitarians. It was suggested to him that each discourse might, after it had been preached, be thrown into the form of an *Essay*. The present volume is the result. The sermons have been, of course, considerably modified. As they were actually delivered, they contained no direct address, or even allusion to Unitarians. The topics, however, and even the views, were selected with special reference to them; and in throwing the *Discourses* into the form of *Essays*, they, and the requirements of their position, have been mainly before the mind of the author. We think this a circumstance of considerable importance, as throwing light upon many of the views expressed in the *Essays*; although Mr. Maurice declares that "he has not said anything to the Unitarians, which he does not think equally applicable to the great body of his countrymen of all classes and opinions."

The *Discourses* thus modified into the form of *Essays*, had scarcely been published, (early in the summer of last year,) when they became the subject of a very warm and animated controversy. Exception was taken chiefly against the seventeenth or concluding *Essay*, which was understood to deny the Eternity of future Punishments; and a letter was addressed (July 8th, 1853,) to Mr. Maurice, by Dr. Jelf, the principal of King's College, calling for an explanation of the obnoxious *Essay*. Mr. Maurice's reply, and the correspondence to which it led, appeared to Dr. Jelf to make the allegation so clear, as to leave him no alternative but to lay before the council of the college, for judgment, the statements in the *Essay* which had been complained of. Of this intention he had, all through, made Mr. Maurice aware. The latter freely acquiesced in the fairness of this proceeding; and it is worthy of remark, as still farther illustrating what we have already said, that in accepting the decision of this tribunal, he still claims to be judged by the Church formularies.—"In it, as in all that precedes," he writes, "I have appealed to the Articles

the Creeds, and the Bible, as protectors against the notions which have attached themselves to the truth they proclaim, in the minds of our religious public, and are, it seems to me, rapidly destroying the tree of which they are the outgrowths. Having this conviction, I was more bound as a Theological Teacher to proclaim it than another person could be. But I know the risk. I cannot expect the Council to think as I do about the danger to which we are exposed, and about the remedy. If they reject me as their teacher, I shall not have the slightest cause to complain. *All I wish to be understood is, that I have asked for no changes in our formularies, for no relaxations, for no fresh interpretations. I accept heartily that to which I have subscribed.* I only pray it may not be encumbered with modern additions, that the forms, which have kept us alive through a great many vicissitudes of popular feeling, may not be contracted to suit one particular view of it. I know that Dissenters, weary of private judgment, that Scotch Calvinists, heavily bowed with the yoke of the Westminster Confession, are turning with many doubts and misgivings, but still with hope and longing, to our forms as witnesses of a Gospel to mankind, which they feel themselves hindered from preaching. What I desire for them is, that they may not find the Church of England only a new Evangelical Alliance, which substitutes for the belief in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, a belief in everlasting punishment as the bond of Christian union."

It remains only to be told that the council of King's College proceeded, in the month of October, to take into consideration Mr. Maurice's original statements, together with his explanations and the remarks of Dr. Jelf; and their judgment was that the "opinions and doubts expressed and indicated in the Essays and the Correspondence respecting future punishment, and the final issues of the Day of Judgment, are of dangerous tendency, and likely to unsettle the minds of theological students." They resolved, in consequence, that Mr. Maurice's "continuance as professor, would be seriously detrimental to the interests of the college;" and in pursuance of this resolution, he was directed by a decree of the Principal to discontinue his lectures.

In maintenance of the ground on which he had already based his vindication, namely, that his teaching was within the limits allowed by the Formularies of the Church,

Mr. Maurice (Nov. 7, 1853) "respectfully called upon the council, if they pronounced a theological sentence upon him at all, to declare what article of the Church condemns his teaching." The council, however, "decided that they did not think it necessary to enter further into the subject;" and, without assigning any more specific grounds of censure, declared the two chairs held by him in the college to be vacant."

The whole Correspondence has since been made public, partly by Dr. Jelf, partly by Mr. Maurice, and has run through several editions. These pamphlets, taken along with a series of new prefaces, on both sides, prefixed to these successive editions, will be found to contain a very satisfactory account of the entire discussion.

Such is the outline of this strange episode in the history of Anglican theology. It remains to explain, somewhat in detail, the doctrines put forward by Mr. Maurice in the Essays which have given rise to so much discussion.

We naturally turn, in the first instance, to the subject which has formed the sole ground of the impeachment against him—his statements on the Eternity of future Punishments. On this point it is impossible not to feel that Dr. Jelf has established a perfectly clear case against him.

Whatever of obscurity there might have been in the language of the original Essay, has been fully removed by the discussion to which it led. The private correspondence with Dr. Jelf; the Letter to him which Mr. Maurice submitted to the council; the letters and prefaces which he has since published; and the obnoxious Essay itself in the new form in which it appears (re-written) in the second edition of the *Essays*, are all of such a nature, as to leave no possible doubt of the justice of the censure which has been pronounced. We have no intention of entering into a regular discussion of this or any other of the doctrines put forward by Mr. Maurice. Our object is merely to enable the reader to form an idea of them, as doctrines emanating from one who, when he published them, was a Theological teacher in a Church of England College, and who is still a professing member, and we believe an officiating clergyman of the English Church. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to a bare recital of these doctrines.

Dr. Jelf's original charge against the Essay in question

was, that it “seemed to throw an atmosphere of doubt on the simple meaning of the word eternal, and to convey a general notion of ultimate salvation to all.” After receiving all Mr. Maurice’s explanations, he not only adheres to that judgment, but declares that “its terms are far too mild to express his present sense of the extent to which Mr. Maurice had committed himself to the error.”

Taking these two points in succession, let us see what is Mr. Maurice’s teaching regarding them.

In the original Essay he had written as follows.

“The word ‘eternal,’ if what there said is true, is a key-word of the New Testament. To draw our minds from the temporal, to fix them on the eternal, is the very aim of the divine economy. How much then ought we to dread any confusion between thoughts which our Lord has taken such pains to keep distinct—which our consciences tell us ought to be kept distinct! How dangerous to introduce the notion of duration into a word from which he has deliberately excluded it! And yet this is precisely what we are in the habit of doing, and it is this which causes such infinite perplexity to our minds. ‘Try to conceive,’ the teacher says, ‘a thousand years. Multiply those by a thousand, by twenty thousand, by a hundred thousand, by a million. Still you are as far off from eternity as ever.’ Certainly, I am, quite as far. Why, then, did you give me that sum to work out? What could be the use of it except to bewilder me, except to make me disbelieve eternity altogether? Do you not see that this course must be utterly wrong and mischievous? If eternity is the great reality of all, and not a portentous fiction, how dare you impress such a notion of fictitiousness on my mind as your process of illustration conveys? ‘But is it not the only process?’ Quite the only one, so far as I see, if you will bring Time into the question; if you will have years, and centuries, to prevent you from taking in the sublime truth, ‘This is life eternal, to know God.’”—*Theological Essays*. - First Edition.—p. 436.

It is difficult to discover in this curious paragraph any key to the notion of Eternity which Mr. Maurice proposes to substitute for that which is popularly entertained. But connecting this passage with one from a letter to a friend, which appears in the correspondence with Dr. Jelf, we infer that the sole ground of his own interpretation of the word, is drawn from the well-known passage of John xvii. 3.—This is Eternal Life: that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.”

“St. John repeating our Lord’s most awful prayer takes me a

step further. 'This,' he says, 'is *eternal life*, that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.' At first we shrink from the strict meaning of these words. We suppose they do not mean that eternal life *is* the knowledge of God, but only that those who obtain that knowledge or that life will retain it through eternity. But when I ask myself, Do I then know what *eternity* is? Do I mean by eternity a certain very, very long time? I am shocked and startled at once by my want of faith and want of reason. Our Lord has been training us by His beautiful blessed teaching to see eternity as something altogether out of time, to connect it with Him who is, and was, and is to come. He has been teaching me, that I have a spirit which cannot rest in time, which must strive after the living, the permanent, the eternal, after God Himself. He has been telling me that He has come to bring me into this state, that He is the way to it. How dare I then depart from His own definition? How dare I impute my own low meaning of 'eternal' to Him, and read myself into His words, when He is raising me to another meaning infinitely more accordant with the witness of my conscience, not involving the contradictions which my own does?"—"Grounds," &c. p. 5.

Strange as it may seem in so awful a subject, this is the only shadow of an argument which can be so discovered through the cloud of misty verbiage in which Mr. Maurice has enveloped it. First, he assumes that those words of our Lord, "This is Eternal Life, that they may know God," are to be taken as a *strict definition* of "Eternal Life." Secondly, he infers from this assumed definition that Eternal Death must be defined to be "ignorance of God." Thirdly, supposing these definitions to be strict and complete definitions, he assumes the entire question by assuming that either one or other of them must exclude the idea of duration; whereas, if the word eternal includes that idea, eternal life must mean that life which lasts for ever, and therefore must imply the *never-ending enjoyment* of the knowledge of God! It is hard to imagine a more arbitrary basis for any conceivable system. And yet this is, stript of its rhetorical garb, the whole framework of the argument by which Mr. Maurice professes to overthrow the received doctrine of the Church upon the most awful of all the questions in Christian theology!

It is elaborated somewhat differently, but in the same substance, in the new Essay.

"Let us consider why it is that the New Testament has more to do with the Eternity than the Old. I think no Christian will differ very widely from me when I answer, 'it is because the living and eternal God is more fully and perfectly revealed in the one

than in the other.' In both He is discovering Himself to men ; in both He is piercing through the mists which conceal Him from them. But in the one He is making Himself known chiefly in His relations to the visible economy of the world ; in the other He is exhibiting His own inward nature, and is delaring Himself as He is in Him who is the brightness of His glory, the express image of His person. Whenever the word *Eternal* is used, then, in the New Testament, it ought first, by all rules of reason, to be considered in reference to God. Its use when it is applied to Him, must determine all its other uses. There must be no shrinking from this rule, no efforts to evade the force of it ; for this is what we agreed to condemn in the Unitarians and Universalists of the last age, that they changed the force of the adjective at their pleasure, so that it might not mean the same in reference to punishment as to life. How can we carry out this rule ? Shall we say that *Eternal* means, in reference to God, 'without beginning or end ?' How then can we affix that meaning to *Eternal*, when we are speaking of man's bliss or misery ? Is that without beginning as well as without end ? 'Oh no ! you must leave out the beginning. That of course has nothing to do with this case.' Who told you so ? How dare you play thus fast and loose with God's word ? How dare you fix the standard by which the signification of a word is to be judged, and reject that very standard a moment after ?

"But are there no better reasons why we should not affix this meaning, 'without beginning and end,' to the word *αἰώνιος* when it is applied in the New Testament to God ? I quite agree that such a meaning might have seemed very natural to an ordinary Greek. The word might have been used in that sense by a classical author, or in colloquial language, without the least impropriety. But just *the* lesson which God had been teaching men by the revelation of Himself was, that mere negatives are utterly unfit to express His being, His substance. From the very first, He had taught His chosen people to look upon Him as the *righteous* Being, to believe that all their righteousness was grounded on His. He had promised them a more complete knowledge of His righteousness. Every true Israelite had looked to this knowledge as his reward, as the deliverance from his enemies, as the satisfaction of his inmost longings, as the great blessing to his nation and to mankind, as well as to himself. His Righteousness, His Truth, His Love, the Jew came more and more to perceive, were the substantial and eternal things, by seeking which he was delivered from the worship of Gods of Time and Sense, as well as from the more miserable philosophical abstraction of a God who is merely a negative of time ; without beginning and without end. Therefore, when the Son was revealed, this is the language in which the beloved disciple speaks,—'The life was manifested, and we have seen it, and we declare unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and which has been manifested unto us.' This is but a

specimen of his uniform language. Yes, and I will be bold to say that his language interprets all the language of the New Testament. The eternal life is the righteousness, and truth, and love of God which are manifested in Christ Jesus ; manifested to men that they may be partakers of them, that they may have fellowship with the Father and with the Son. This is held out as the eternal blessedness of those who seek God and love Him. This it is, of which our Lord must have spoken in His last prayer, if he who reports that prayer did not misinterpret His meaning.

“Is it inconsistent, then, with the general object and character of the New Testament, as the manifestation of His love, that Eternity in all its aspects should come before us there as it does nowhere else, that there we should be taught what it means? Is it inconsistent with its scope and object that there, too, we should be taught what the horror and awfulness is, of being without this love, of setting ourselves in opposition to it? Those who would not own Christ in His brethren, who did not visit Him when they were sick and in prison, go away, He said, into eternal or everlasting punishment. Are we affixing a new meaning to these words, or the very meaning which the context demands, the only meaning which is consistent with the force that is given to the adjective by our Lord and His apostles elsewhere, if we say that the eternal punishment is the punishment of being without the knowledge of God, who is love, and of Jesus Christ who has manifested it ; even as eternal life is declared to be the having the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ? If it is right, if it is a duty, to say that Eternity in relation to God has nothing to do with time or duration, are we not bound to say that also in reference to life or to punishment, it has nothing to do with time or duration ?”—*Essays*, pp. 446-450.

We have transcribed this lengthy extract in order that the reader may see the whole extent of Mr. Maurice's case as regards the meaning of the word “eternal.” Our object is simply to show what are the doctrines which, in his capacity of minister of the Church, he desires to inculcate, and which he regards as the only safeguard against the doubts and incredulity with which he represents the faith of the young generation of England as obscured, if not utterly clouded. Dr. Jelf has entered at considerable length, and with much clearness and ability, into the critical and philological argument as to the meaning of the word, in the language of the New Testament. With this we have no present concern, although we have seen and heard enough, even independently of the present controversy, to feel assured that, in the Church of England, and among Protestants generally, the discussion

is of the most vital urgency. It would be easy to show that the fundamental principle on which Mr. Maurice insists:—namely, “that the notion of duration must be excluded from the idea of eternity”—is directly at variance with the Scriptural use of the word; that in no less than fifty-seven passages out of the seventy-one in which it occurs in the New Testament, this notion is *necessarily* involved by the very subject-matter; that, without entering into any metaphysical analysis of the idea, the universal sense of the Christian world has attached to the word this sense, and no other; that the foundation of this universal sense of Christians is precisely that belief, on a misconstruction of which Mr. Maurice has based his own strangely fanciful interpretation; and that it is precisely *because* men believe eternity, as applied to God, necessarily to involve the notion of never-ending duration; and because they find the same word also uniformly applied to the state of the world to come, whether for happiness, or for misery; *therefore* they also believe that the eternity predicated in the Scriptural promises or denunciations in reference to that world to come, must also necessarily involve the same notion of “never-ending duration.” All this it would be easy to show. But, for the present, we shall leave the question between Mr. Maurice and the adversaries with whom he is engaged, contenting ourselves with the function of a mere historian of the controversy.

Although the passages hitherto cited have reference chiefly to Mr. Maurice’s views as the philosophical questions regarding the nature of eternity, yet it will have been sufficiently manifest that with him the question is not one of mere speculation, but full of the deepest and most awful practical interest. In truth, this question is only important because of its connection with the doctrine of the future state of rewards and punishments. This is the second, and much more formidable, of Dr. Jelf’s accusations.

In his opening letter to Mr. Maurice he had stated that the Essay “appeared to convey a general notion of ultimate salvation to all;” but on this head also, as well as on the former, he speaks much more decidedly at the close of the correspondence, and after having received all the explanations put forward by the accused. The Essay and the letters together, he affirms, unquestionably “hold out the hope that the punishment of wicked, unbelieving, and impenitent sinners, may, after all, not be everlasting.”

He believes that "this hope is set forth with more or less distinctness in more than one part of these writings;" and that "Mr. Maurice appears to look on it as a special part of his mission to inculcate it whenever circumstances may seem to require it."

All this, we are bound to say, Dr. Jelf has fully substantiated.

Mr. Maurice's language, it is true, is not always equally positive and definite.

At one time he contents himself with saying that he "*does not dare to pronounce upon the fact, that every will in the universe must, in the end, be brought into consent with the Divine will,*" (*Letter*, p. 16,) and thus that all must be ultimately converted. He "trembles indeed to affirm the contrary, and he thinks any man would." But, though he plainly conveys that in his own mind this is the import of the language used in Scripture regarding the will of God, "nevertheless there is such a darkness over the whole question of the possible resistance of the human will, that he *must be silent, and tremble and adore.*" (*Letter*, p. 16.)

At another time, in like manner, he declares that "he feels it his duty *not to say* how long any one may remain in eternal death, because he does not know;" and again, "*not to say* that all will necessarily be raised out of eternal death, because he does not know." (*Letter to a Friend*, p. 6.)

So again, he protests that "*we do not want theories of Universalism*; they are as cold, hard, unsatisfactory, as all other theories." He refuses to "fall back on the theory of Universal Restitution, which, in his early days, he found unsatisfactory, and which he finds cold and unsatisfactory still."* And, asking himself how the seeming contradictions of this awful question are to be reconciled, he candidly avows, "I cannot reconcile them. I know no theory which can. But I can trust in Him, who has reconciled the world to Himself. I can leave all in His hands. I dare not fix any limits to the power of His love. I cannot tell what are the limits to the power of a rebel will. I know that no man can be blessed, except his will is in accordance with God's will. I know it must be by an action on the will that love triumphs. Though I have no faith in man's theory of Universal Restitution, I am

* *Letter to a Friend.* In Dr. Jelf's Pamphlet, p. 7.

taught to expect a ‘restitution of all things, which God, who cannot lie, has promised since the world began.’ I am obliged to believe that we are living in a restored order. I am sure that restored order will be carried out by the full triumph of God’s loving will. How that should take place while any rebellious will remains in the universe, I cannot tell, though it is not for me to say that it is impossible. I do not want to say it. I wish to trust God absolutely, and not to trust in any conclusion of my own understanding at all.”

But notwithstanding this seeming assumption of neutrality, he, in other places, conveys very significantly, if he does not openly declare, not merely that the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments is shrouded in a mystery too awful to penetrate, but that it is irreconcilable with “the clear broad assertion of the divine charity which the Bible makes.” In the very same breath in which he avers that he wants no theories of Universalism, he lays down a theory which it is only a mockery to call by any other name.

“We do not want theories of universalism; they are as cold, hard, unsatisfactory, as all other theories. But we want that clear, broad assertion of the divine charity which the Bible makes, and which carries us immeasurably beyond all that we can ask or think. What dreams of ours can reach to the assertion of St. John, that Death and Hell themselves shall be cast into the lake of fire? I cannot fathom the meaning of such expressions. But they are written; I accept them, and give thanks for them. I feel there is an abyss of death into which I may sink and be lost. Christ’s Gospel reveals an abyss of love below that; I am content to be lost in that. I know no more, but I am sure that there is a woe on us if we do not preach this Gospel, if we do not proclaim the name of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit,—the Eternal Charity. Whenever we do proclaim that name, I believe we invade the realm of night and of eternal death, and open the kingdom of heaven.”—
[Essays, pp. 442, 443.]

What is the meaning of the allusion to St. John’s assertion, that Death and Hell shall themselves be cast into the lake of fire? What means the “abyss of love which Christ reveals below the abyss of death, in which we may sink and be lost?” Does it not clearly imply a belief on the part of the writer, that even after a Christian has been lost in the abyss of death, or, in other words, consigned to hell itself; there yet remains for him, below and beyond

that abyss of death, an abyss of love, in which he may still hope to find refuge? And is not this to hold out a distinct hope that even those who pass into the depths of hell shall still find God's unexhausted love prepared to receive them into mercy?

There is one statement of Mr. Maurice in reference to this subject which we do not think it proper to overlook. In arguing against the blasphemous limitation of God's mercy to sinners, which, as he conceives, is involved in the popular doctrine of endless punishment, he attributes to this very doctrine the secessions to Rome which of late years have become so numerous. "It cannot be denied," he says, "that men are escaping to Rome in search of a purgatory, because they see in that some token that God is merciful to His creatures, that the whole mass of human beings in our streets and alleys, whom we have overlooked and neglected, hundreds of the population of all the continental countries,—most of the American slaves, besides the whole body of Turks, Hindoos, Hottentots, Jews, will not sink for ever into hopeless destruction, while a few persons, some of whom are living comfortably eating their dinners, and riding in their carriages, without any vexation of heart, may, by special mercy, be delivered." This is one of many examples of gross misapprehension, or misrepresentation, of the doctrine of our Church, with which these essays abound. Our doctrine of purgatory, as such, could not by possibility be applied to the case of such persons as this passage contemplates. All that we venture to affirm regarding the mystery of God's mercy to the neglected classes here enumerated, and to all others in similar spiritual destitution, applies exclusively to their condition during their earthly career. Our doctrine of purgatory not only applies exclusively to the condition of souls after death, but is confined to those who, although imperfect, yet have departed from life free from the guilt of mortal sin. No Catholic would ever dream, as Mr. Maurice here imputes to us, of holding out hope of ultimate salvation to any soul, which, no matter what may have been its condition, no matter what its circumstances in reference to spiritual enlightenment, during life, yet was found at the last awful hour, sinful and impenitent. What is the measure of God's justice, what the limit of His mercy, in His dealings with the myriads of souls comprised in the classes here enumerated, we do not venture

to pronounce. But the measure, whether of tenderness, or of rigour, which we may mete in this judgment, is utterly without reference to our doctrine of purgatory. Every Catholic receives the awful doctrine of the eternity of the pains of hell with as firm a faith, as he accepts the consoling assurances of the eternity of the bliss of heaven; and in truth, the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, so far from trenching upon the faith of the endlessness of punishment, is, on the contrary, the best guarantee for its humble and unhesitating acceptance.

But passing from this vindication of ourselves, we must allow Mr. Maurice to explain his views still further.

“I cannot wonder that Divines, even those who would shrink with horror from such a view of God’s character and His Gospel as this, should crave for some more distinct apprehensions, nay, even statements respecting eternal punishment, than might perhaps be needful in former days.—‘It is quite clear, that the words which go forth from our pulpits on the subject, have no effect at all upon cultivated men of any class, except the effect of making them regard our other utterances with indifference and disbelief.’ They do not think that we put faith in our own denunciations. They ask, how it is possible for us to go about and enjoy life if we do; how, if we do, we can look out upon the world that is around us and the world that has been, without cursing the day on which we were born? They say that we pronounce a general sentence, and then explain it away in each particular case; they say, that we believe that God condemns the world generally, but that under cover of certain phrases which may mean anything or nothing, we can prove that, on the whole, He rather intends it good than ill. They say, that we call upon them to praise Him and give Him thanks, and that what we mean is, that they are to testify emotions towards Him which they do not feel, and which His character, as we represent it, cannot inspire, in order to avert His wrath from them. Cultivated men, I say, repeat these things to one another. If we do not commonly hear them, it is because they count it rude ever to tell us what they think. Poor men say these same things in their own assemblies with more breadth and honesty, not wishing us to be ignorant of their opinions respecting us. And though these considerations, so far as they concern ourselves, may not move us, how can we help being moved by their effect on those who utter them? ‘If we believe that the words Eternal Damnation or Death have a very terrible significance, such as the Bible tells us they have, is it nothing that they should be losing all their significance for our countrymen? Is it nothing that they should seem to them mere idle nursery-words that frighten children, but with which men have nothing to do?’ Is it nothing, that a vague

dream of bliss hereafter into which righteousness and goodness do not enter, which has no relation to God, should float before the minds of numbers, but that it should have just as little power to awaken them to any higher or better life, as the dread of the future has to keep them from any evil?

"The members of the Evangelical Alliance perceive, more or less clearly, that this is the state of things which has increased and is increasing, among us. They hear of a vague Universalism being preached from some pulpits in America and on the Continent. They think that notion must encourage sinners to suppose that a certain amount of punishment will be enough to clear off their scores, and to procure them ultimate bliss. 'You are relaxing the strictness of your statements,' they say, 'just when they need to be more stringent, because all moral obligations are becoming laxer, because people are evidently casting off their fear, without obtaining anything better in the place of it.' Therefore they conclude that such freedom must be checked. It cannot answer, they think, now, however it may have answered heretofore, to leave any loop-hole for doubt about the endless punishment of the wicked.

"I have stated the arguments which I think may have inclined worthy and excellent men to arrive at this conclusion; though I believe a more fatal one, one more certain to undermine the truth which is in their hearts, and which they are seeking to defend, cannot be imagined. We do, it seems to me, need to have a more distinct and awful idea of eternal death and eternal punishment than we have. I use both words, *Death* and *Punishment*, that I may not appear to shrink from the sense which is contained in either. Punishment, I believe, seems to most men less dreadful than death, because they cannot separate it from a punisher, because they believe, however faintly, that He who is punishing them is a Father. The thought of His ceasing to punish them, of His letting them alone, of His leaving them to themselves, is the real, the unutterable horror. A man may be living without God in the world, he may be trembling at His Name, sometimes wishing that He did not exist; and yet, if you told him that he was going where there would be no God, no one to watch over him, no one to care for him, the news would be almost intolerable. We do shrink from this; all men, whatever they may fancy, are more appalled at the thoughts of being friendless, homeless, fatherless, than at any outward terrors you can threaten them with. I know well how the conscience confuses this anticipation with that of meeting God, with being brought face to face with Him. The mixture of feelings adds infinitely to the horror of them. There is a sense of wrath abiding on the spirit which has refused the yoke of love. This is one part of the misery. There is a sense of loneliness and atheism. This is another. And surely this, this is the bottomless pit which men see before them, and to which they feel that they are hurrying, when they have led selfish lives, and are growing harder, and

colder, and darker, every hour. Can we not tell them that it is even so, that this is the abyss of death, that second death, of which all material images offer only the faintest picture? Will not that show them more clearly what life is, the risen life, the eternal life, that which was with the Father, and has been manifested to us? Will it not enable us to say, 'This life is that for which God has created man, for which He has redeemed man in His Son; which He is sending His Spirit to work out in man?' Will it not enable us to say, 'This eternal death is that from which God sent His Son to deliver men, from which He has delivered them? If they fall into it, it is because they choose it, because they embrace it, because they resist a power which is always at work to save them from it.' By delivering such a message as this to men, should we not be doing more to make them aware how the revelation of God's righteousness for the redemption of sinners is at the time the revelation of the wrath of God against all unrighteousness and ungodliness? Would not such a message show that a Gospel of eternal love must bring out more clearly than any mere law can, that state which is the resistance to it and the contradiction of it? But would not such a message at the same time present itself to the conscience of men not as an outrage on their experience, but as the faithful interpreter of it, not as disproving everything that they have dreamed of the willingness of God to save them, but as proving that He is willing and able to save them to the very uttermost?

"Suppose, instead of taking this method of asserting the truth of all God's words, the most blessed and the most tremendous, we reject the wisdom of our forefathers and enact an article declaring that all are heretics and deniers of the truth, who do not hold that *Eternal means endless, and that there cannot be a deliverance from eternal punishment. What is the consequence? Simply this, I believe: the whole Gospel of God is set aside.* The state of eternal life and eternal death is not one we can refer only to the future, or that we can in anywise identify with the future. Every man who knows what it is to be in a state of sin, knows what it is to have been in a state of death. He cannot connect that death with time; he must say that Christ has brought him out of the bonds of *eternal death*. Throw that idea into the future and you deprive it of all its reality, of all its power. I know what it means all too well while you let me connect it with my present and personal being, with the pangs of conscience which I suffer now. It becomes a mere vague dream and shadow to me, when you project it into a distant world. And if you take from me the belief that God is always righteous, always maintaining a fight with evil, always seeking to bring His creatures out of it, you take everything from me, all hope now, all hope in the world to come. Atonement, Redemption, Satisfaction, Regeneration, become mere words to which there is no counterpart in reality."—Essays, pp. 470-6.

We have thought it right to give this long and most important passage without curtailment, because it contains the final and deliberate expressions of the views of the author. It forms part of the Essay "On Eternal Life and Eternal Death," as it stands after the conclusion of his correspondence with Dr. Jelf, and after the formal sentence of the council of his college. It is fearful to think of the picture which the writer draws of the state of the popular mind in England in reference to this awful question: but we fear it is impossible to shut our eyes to its justice and fidelity. We can well understand how, with the views which he entertains, Mr. Maurice is but too glad to throw himself, not alone in this, but in every other "hard saying," into the ready and comfortable expedient of an expansive formulary, and to retain his hold upon the murmurers by assuring them that their murmuring is not inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel which he preaches. And, in truth, his appeal, in the conclusion of this Essay, is not so much for the acceptance of the doctrine which he has been advocating, as for its toleration, or, to speak more precisely, its non-condemnation. "Have we made up our minds," he asks, "to surrender it? Have we resolved that the belief in Endless Punishment shall be not *a tenet* which any one is at liberty to hold,—as any one is at liberty to hold the notion that the elements are changed in the Lord's Supper, provided he does not force the notion upon me, and will come with me to eat of a feast which is beyond all notions,—but *the tenet* of the Church to which every other is subordinate; just as Transubstantiation has become in the Romish Church since it has been declared essential to all who partake of the Eucharist? Let us consider, not chiefly what we are accepting, but what we are rejecting, before we tamely submit to this new imposition."

The doctrines which have led to his embroilment with the authorities of his college, are all derived from one single Essay. No other besides this came directly under their consideration. We have dwelt upon it at greater length than any of the others, because of the interest which it thus created. But many of the other Essays are equally liable to objection; there is hardly one of them which, to use Dr. Jelf's phrase, has not "thrown an atmosphere of doubt" on its subject; and, indeed, the principles which pervade the entire volume, and the system of

interpretation on which its theology is based, are such as to withdraw all the recognized securities of doctrinal exactness. We may instance the very Dedication itself, (to the poet, Tennyson,) as a curious illustration, at once of the vague and dreamy character of the writer's principles, and of the unsoundness and perilousness of his system. To assert, as is there done, as a fundamental maxim, that "*a Theology which does not correspond to the deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings, cannot be a true Theology*:"—what is it but either to reduce theology to a mass of wild and visionary speculations, or to open the way to a more subtle and refined, and therefore more perilous Rationalism? What are these "deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings?" How are they to be ascertained? From Scripture? From authority? Has one individual a right to fix his "deepest thoughts and feelings" as the standard for any other? Or rather, must it not, from the very nature of such a test, be left to each individual to decide for himself, irrespectively of every external authority? What has there ever been in the maddest visions of Swedenborg, or Zinzendorf, which might not be defended by such a standard of orthodoxy?

To turn, however, to particular doctrines;—what could be more painful than the manner in which, in accordance with this fantastic system, he refines away the sublime doctrine of our Lord's Atonement? He begins by admitting that there are grave and earnest protests against much of "what is called *our* doctrine of the Atonement."

"'You hold,' it is said, 'that God had condemned all His creatures to perish, because they had broken His law; that His justice could not be satisfied without an infinite punishment; that that infinite punishment would have visited all men, if Christ in His mercy to men had not interposed and offered Himself as the substitute for them; that by enduring an inconceivable amount of anguish, He reconciled the Father, and made it possible for Him to forgive those who would believe. This whole statement,' the objector continues, 'is based on a certain notion of justice. It professes to explain, on certain principles of justice, what God ought to have done, and what He actually has done. And this notion of justice outrages the conscience to which you seem to offer your explanation. You often feel that it does. You admit that it is not the kind of justice which would be expected of men. And then you turn round and ask us what we can know of God's justice; how we can tell that it is of the same kind with ours? After arguing with us, to show the necessity of a certain course,

you say that the argument is good for nothing ; we are not capable of taking it in ! Or else you say that the carnal mind cannot understand spiritual ideas. We can only answer, We prefer our carnal notion of justice to your spiritual one. We can forgive a fellow-creature a wrong done to us, without exacting an equivalent for it ; we blame ourselves if we do not ; we think we are offending against Christ's command, who said, '*Be merciful as your Father in Heaven is merciful,*' if we do not. We do not feel that punishment is a satisfaction to our minds ; we are ashamed of ourselves when we consider it is. We may suffer a criminal to be punished, but it is that we may do him good, or assert a principle. And if that is our object, we do not suffer an innocent person to prevent the guilty from enduring the consequences of his guilt, by taking them upon himself. Are these maxims moral, or are the opposing maxims moral ? If they are moral, should we, because God is much more righteous than we can imagine or understand, suppose that His acts are at variance with them ? Should we attribute to Him what would be unrighteousness in us ?

"These questions are asked on all sides of us. Clergymen are exceedingly anxious to stifle them. 'We know,' they say, 'by experience whither such doubts are leading. The objector begins with disputing some views of the Atonement, which may perhaps be extreme. He goes on to deny the doctrine itself ; to say that it has no place in the scheme of Christianity. He knows, however, that his fathers held it to be a vital doctrine. He suspects that it is in the Bible. The end is, that he denies the Bible itself.' Such a conclusion may well startle a good man. He feels that principles which his experience has proved to be infinitely precious are in hazard. He has never visited the dying bed of a humble penitent who did not cling to the cross of Christ as her dearest hope, who did not feel that without His sacrifice and death she could have no peace. He asks whether he is to rob the poor and meek of these jewels because certain proud men do not like the casket which contains them, because they cannot bring the teachings of the Bible to the level of their understandings ?"—Essays, 137-9.

It will be seen that the difficulties or protests here detailed, are directed precisely against those notions of the Satisfaction of Christ which the Scriptures present to us, and which every orthodox writer regards, as entering into its very essence:—the infinite debt due, on the part of man, to God's justice ; Christ's voluntary substitution of Himself in their place ; and His reconciling them to His Father by the sufferings and death He endured for them.

Now how does Mr. Maurice deal with these protests ? Does he attempt to show that they are unjust or groundless ? Does he vindicate against them those great and

fundamental principles of the Christian theory of the Satisfaction? Let us see.

“The broad simple Gospel, that God has set forth His Son as the propitiation for sin, that He has offered Himself for the sins of the world, meets all the desires of these heart-stricken sinners. It declares to them the fulness of God's love, sets forth the Mediator in whom they are at one with the Father. It brings divine Love and human suffering into direct and actual union. It shows Him who is one with God and one with man, perfectly giving up that self-will which had been the cause of all men's crimes and all their misery. Here is indeed a brazen serpent to which one dying from the bite of the old serpent can look and be healed. The more that brazen serpent is lifted up, the more may we look for health and renovation to the whole of humanity, and to every one of its palsied and withered limbs.”—*Essays*, pp. 140-1.

Vague and general, and unsatisfying as is this statement of the great dogma of Christianity, it satisfies all Mr. Maurice's requirements. True to the principles laid down in the Dedication, he admits that “the humble penitent clings to the cross of Christ as his dearest hope;” because this notion of the Sacrifice corresponds with “his deepest thoughts and feelings.” But beyond this he will not go; because this is sufficient to “meet all the desires of these heart-stricken sinners!” And he deliberately lays down this principle as a decisive test, not merely in reference to remote consequences and conclusions from the doctrine of the Atonement, but even in reference to those principles already alluded to, which, as we have said, enter into its very essence. Still speaking of these “protests,” he continues:—

“But is the clergyman who preaches this gospel, and sees the effect of it upon some of his flock, therefore bound to adopt those conclusions respecting the reasons of Christ's death, which have so shocked the conscience of the sceptic whom he is condemning? Properly speaking, his business is simply to proclaim the good news of reconciliation. Reasons may occur to him besides those which the Bible gives us. Some may be plausible, some may be tolerable. But they do not belong to the essence of its commission. Woe be to him, if he mistakes the best of them for that which it tries to account for. Since, however, it is inevitable that his understanding and imagination will be busy with this and every other subject divine or human that he handles, it is very necessary that he should perceive what conclusions of theirs may contradict the truth which God has committed to him. For this purpose, I would beseech him to observe carefully which portions of his statements

come home to the hearts of the really humble and contrite—which afford delight and satisfaction to the conceited, self-righteous, self-exalting men and women of his flock, who in ease and health think that they are safe, because they are condemning others, who in sickness and on a death-bed discover that in seeming to believe everything, they have actually believed nothing.”—Essays, pp. 141—42.

So that, in deference “to the conscience of the sceptic,” the doctrine of the Atonement is to be pared down to a “simple proclamation of the good news of reconciliation!” We are no longer to believe that “God’s offended justice demanded an infinite punishment; that that infinite punishment would have visited all men, had not Christ interposed and offered Himself as the substitute; and that He, by His sufferings, reconciled the Father!” We are not to “believe that Christ rescued us out of the hand of God by paying the penalty of sin.” (p. 145.) We are not to “tolerate that notion of God, which represents Him as satisfied by the punishment of sin!” (p. 147.)

In place of all these clear and intelligible views, we are to accept, as better “corresponding to the deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings,” such vague and vapid *vores et præterea nihil* as the following summary of his own ideas.

“Supposing all these principles gathered together; supposing the Father’s will to be a will to all good;—supposing the Son of God, being one with Him, and Lord of man, to obey and fulfil in our flesh that will by entering into the lowest condition into which men have fallen through their sin;—supposing this Man to be, for this reason, an object of continual complacency to His Father, and that complacency to be fully drawn out by the Death of the Cross;—supposing His death to be a Sacrifice, the only complete sacrifice ever offered, the entire surrender of the whole spirit and body to God; is not this, in the highest sense, Atonement? Is not the true, sinless root of Humanity revealed; is not God in Him reconciled to man? Is not the Cross the meeting point between man and man, between man and God? Is not this meeting point what men, in all times and places, have been seeking for? Did any find it till God declared it? And are not we bringing our understandings to the foot of this Cross, when we solemnly abjure all schemes and statements, however sanctioned by the arguments of divines, however plausible as implementations of declamation, which prevent us from believing and proclaiming that in it all the wisdom and truth and glory of God were manifested to the creature; that in it man is presented as a holy and acceptable sacrifice to the Creator?”—Essays, pp. 147—48.

With our knowledge of Mr. Maurice's notions regarding the Atonement, we need not be prepared to expect any extraordinary strictness on the general question of creeds. It is impossible to mistake the tendency of suggestions like the following.

“But I know why many will think that such a course may have been adapted to former days, and yet be unsuitable for ours. I shall be told ‘that it was very well to speak of Charity, divine or human, when the importance of dogmas and of distinguishing between orthodox and heretical dogmas, was admitted, nay, if that is possible, exaggerated; but that now, when all dogmatic teachings are scorned, not by a few here and there, but by the spirit of the age; when it is the minority who plead for them and feel their necessity; and when the popular cry is for some union of parties in which all barriers, theological, nay, it would seem sometimes, moral also, shall be thrown down:—at such a time to speak of putting Charity above Faith, or of referring to Charity as a standard for Faith, is either to palter with words in a double sense, pretending that you agree with the infidel, while you keep a reserved opinion in your own heart which would repel him if you produced it;—or else it is to give up your arms to him, owning that he is vanquished.’

“I feel as strongly as these objectors can feel, that this age is impatient of distinctions—of the distinction between Right and Wrong, as well as of that between Truth and Falsehood. Of all its perils, this seems to me the greatest, that which alone gives us a right to tremble at any others which may be threatening it. To watch against this temptation in ourselves, and in all over whom we have any charge or influence, is, I believe, our highest duty. In performance of it, I should always denounce the glorification of private judgment, as fatal to the belief in Truth, and to the pursuit of it. We are always *tending* towards the notion that we may think what we like to think; that there is no standard to which our thoughts should be conformed; that they fix their own standard. Who can toil to find, that which, on this supposition, he can make? Who can suffer, that all may share a possession which each man holds apart from his neighbour?

“But Dogmatism is not the antagonist of private judgment. The most violent assertor of his private judgment is the greatest dogmatist. And, conversely, the loudest assertor of the dogmatical authority of the Church, is very apt to be the most vehement and fanatical stickler for his own private judgments. His reverence for the Church leads him to exercise in his individual capacity, what he takes to be her function in her collective capacity. He catches what he supposes to be her spirit. He becomes, in consequence, of all men, the most headstrong and self-willed. There must be some

other escape than this from the evils of our time ; this road leads us into the very heart of them.

“It seems to me that, if we start from the belief,—‘Charity is the ground and centre of the Universe, God is Charity,’—‘we restore that distinctness which our Theology is said to have lost,’ we reconcile it with the comprehension which we are all in search of.—‘So long as we are busy with our theories, notions, feelings about God—so long as these constitute our divinity—we must be vague, we must be exclusive.’ One deduces his conclusions from the Bible; one from the decrees of the Church; one from his individual consciousness. But the reader of the Bible confesses that it appeals to experience, and must in some way be tested by it; the greatest worshipper of the Church asks for a Bible to support its authority; the greatest believer in his own consciousness perceives that there must be some means of connecting it with the general conscience of mankind. Each denounces the other’s method, none is satisfied with his own. If Theology is regarded not as a collection of our theories about God, but as a declaration of His will and His acts towards us, will it not conform more to what we find in the Bible—will it not more meet all the experiences of individuals, all the experiences of our race? And to come directly to the point of the objection which I am considering, will it not better expound all the special articles which our own Church, and the Christian Church generally, confesses? This at least is my belief.”—*Essays*, pp. 7—10.

The obvious effect of this, and many similar statements, more or less distinct, is to depreciate the importance of dogma in religion, and to substitute, for the bond of doctrinal uniformity, and for distinctness of doctrinal belief, the vague and generic notion of a society of spirit, and a bond of mutual charity. It is plain, indeed, from several distinct declarations, that in his eyes truth is subjective rather than objective; that the theology for which he seeks, and which he considers necessary for mankind, is not a collection of objective truths for all, but a body of subjective convictions for each individual.

“I submit this remark to the earnest consideration of all classes of Unitarians, but especially of those who are becoming discontented with the tenets of their forefathers. They very naturally argue in this way,—‘We cannot bear the yoke which is upon our necks already. You would put a heavier one upon them. We have been beaten with rods; you would beat us with scorpions.’ The other Dissenters press the same argument upon their disciples: ‘You complain of us for compelling you to accept dogmas which you do not feel to be reasonable, nay, even for preventing you from appealing to Scripture against them, because, after a congregation

or school has accepted a certain interpretation of Scripture, it is bound by that. What would become of you, then, if you, were connected with a Church which formally and avowedly holds its members to a certain Creed? I am not careful to answer this argument. I am a very bad proselytizer.—‘If I could persuade all Dissenters to become members of my Church to-morrow, I should be very sorry to do it;’ I believe the chances are, they might leave it the next day.—‘I do not wish to make them think as I think.’ But I want that ‘they and I should be what we pretend to be,’ and then I doubt not we should find that there is a common ground for us all far beneath our thinkings. For truth I hold not to be that which every man troweth, but to be that which lies at the bottom of all men’s trowings, that in which those trowings have their only meeting point. But what I cannot and would not do, I believe the experience of a great many Dissenters will do for them. They will be driven to Creeds by their weariness of tenets. They will find that they are at the mercy of every tyrannical congregation, of its wealthiest member, of every dogmatist who rules a school, of the public opinion of the sect which rules him. They will be compelled to ask, ‘How does this happen? Is there no escape from these oppressive judgments of human beings,—no escape, but into absolute doubt and denial? not even an escape into *them*,—for what intolerant dogmatists there are among doubters and deniers!’ If they want freedom for their reason and wills, the old Creed speaks of One who came to deliver them. If they feel that the language of Scripture cannot be tied down by the language of a formula, Creeds oblige us to look out of themselves to some book which shall unfold the person and the acts of Him of whom they are bearing witness. They never can put themselves in the place of our reason or of Scripture, till their words are perverted, and the sense of them contradicted. Why there should be such documents in the world, I can explain no more than I can explain why any part of the order of Nature should exist, or why it should be in harmony with any other part. I find it so. I give God thanks that it is so. I hope, in the day when He is revealed, and we are all called to answer for the use or abuse we have made of His gifts, that He will enable us to enter more fully into this and many other mysteries of His government, which I understand most imperfectly, but which have helped me to understand myself.”

—Essays, pp. 315—17.

We find precisely the same avowal in other places. He has an evident sympathy with all men as long as they are “uttering the deepest conviction of their own hearts.” (p. 396.) He accepts the teaching even of the wildest fanatics and visionaries, as long as it bears this passport.

““But if these words are openly proclaimed, what a plentiful

crop of ranters and fanatics shall we have ! What crowds will run after them ; for who then will have a right to deny their inspiration ? A dreadful prospect ! But is it a prospect ? Have we not the fanatics and ranters already ? Do they not draw disciples after them ? You have tried to weaken their influence by telling them that the Bible was the Inspired book ; that it is utterly absurd and extravagant for men in these days to call themselves inspired ; that the same course has been tried in former times, and has always led to ruin. There is great apparent justification for this method ; it has been used often by very ingenious and sagacious men, with whom it ought to have succeeded, if it was to succeed. But it has not succeeded. It has not cured the immediate evil which it was meant to cure ; it has left the seeds which produced that evil always ready for fresh germination. And what is worse, this kind of treatment has destroyed precious seeds, which God has planted in men's hearts, and which they cannot afford to lose. You long to expose the impostor, the mountebank, who is deceiving a number of poor simple souls. *But do you desire that the earnest, cordial faith, which has been called forth in them, while they are following him, should be taken from them ? Do you desire that those fervent hopes, kindled for the first time in men who have been crawling all their days on the earth and eating dust, should be put out for ever ?*—Essays, pp. 346-7.

Still wider the basis laid down in the following passage.

“I do not indeed say that this witness must come from us alone, perhaps not from us chiefly. *Let it come from where it will, God must be the author of it.* He may see fit to bring this truth with mighty power to the heart of some Italian monk, who has been seeking in vain to make himself holy, and discovers that holiness must come from a Spirit or Holiness, who is also a spirit of Unity. It may come to some Romish Bishop as he listens to the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and believes that the sevenfold gifts are intended for him. It may come to some earnest member of a Protestant sect, feeling that the Spirit of Truth cannot be the Spirit of narrowness. It may come to some man lying outside of all churches and sects, and asking whether he can be intended to be only a part of an unsympathising, forlorn world. To whichever it comes first, the faith will pass rapidly, as by an electrical chain, from one to another. It will break through all barriers of opinion and circumstance. None will know how he has received it, because all will have received it from that Spirit who bloweth where He listeth, and of whom you cannot say whence He cometh or whither He goeth.”—Essays, pp. 407-8.

We shall not be surprised, therefore, to find, that in the Essay on the Unity of the Church, the notion of external unity is utterly discarded. It is not merely that the idea

“that forms and professions constitute a Church is disclaimed;” that the principle that “external badges mean the same thing as an indwelling spirit,” is denounced as “wicked trifling.” (p. 386.) He traces all the failures, and shortcomings, and crimes of Rome, to the want of practical faith in the profession which she makes in “an indwelling spirit, a spirit of truth and power, which is to bind all together, and enable her to rule the nations,” (p. 399.) To the same unbelief he attributes all the sins of Protestant National Churches, (p. 401.) And he distinctly maintains, that through all the crimes, and all the sins of both, the Church has subsisted, and still continues to subsist. “It would be the utter uprooting of our faith,” he says, “if we found that there was no such body as the Apostles told us there should be, with which all lying and contention should be at war; if there was no spirit dwelling in that body against which these heresies, and corruptions, and Antichrists are fighting, and which will at last prevail against them. Romanists, Protestant nations, all sects, declare that *there is such a body, and that there is such a Spirit.* Their words bear witness of it; their crimes, which outrage these words, bear witness of it still more.”

We must confess, nevertheless, that we have sought in vain for any clue to the understanding of his own theory on the subject. He discards every known and received theory; as well the theory of one universal Church, with a recognized centre, as that of distinct national Churches, each bound together by its own laws and formularies. But he gives no intelligible substitute for the schemes which he explodes; nothing beyond vague and dreamy generalities like those which we have cited; nothing beyond some imaginary Church of the Future, for which the present and all past Churches have been but a crude preparation; nothing beyond some wild and fanciful hope of a coming day, “when the bells of our Churches shall indeed

‘Ring out the darkness of the land;
Ring in the Christ that is to be!’”

The same vagueness and indefiniteness pervade all these Essays, even those which are least objectionable. Words and phrases consecrated to orthodox use are freely retained; the substance of the doctrine which these phrases were de-

signed to embody, is frittered and refined away. No one, for example, could appear more strong than Mr. Maurice in the assertion of the great Christian dogma of the Judgment, and in his estimate of its moral effect upon men's minds and hearts. "It was their strength in prosperity and in calamity." It "saved them from floating with the current of the times when it was gentle—from being swept away by it when it was strong." (p. 293.) But when he comes to explain his theory of the Judgment, it resolves itself into the simple belief of God's presence in all places; His knowledge of all our acts; His perpetual supervision of our whole life, from the cradle to the grave; and that constant responsibility to Him, and to His law, of which we cannot rid ourselves, no matter how we desire it. This is the kernel of the dogma; all the rest is but the shell. The popular idea of a Final Judgment is but "a fanciful picture of a great assize, to which all ages and nations shall be summoned" (p. 291.)—the "old story of Minos and Rhadamanthus." (p. 300.) In its stead Mr. Maurice gives us shadowy speculations like the following:—

"It is impossible, without violating the laws of my being, the eternal order and constitution of things, that I should separate myself from Christ. He is the Lord of my own self, of my spirit; whether I confess Him or not I must continually hear His voice, be open to His reproofs. Wherever I am, whatever I am doing, He must be there; He must be the standard of my acts; the right in them must be that which has originated in Him,—the wrong must be the revolt from Him. No present or possible conditions of our being can change this order. Death, it has been proved, does not dissolve our relation to Him; He has entered into it for us. The Resurrection from the dead is a resurrection for us as well as for Him; it has vindicated man's true condition, not subverted it. The Ascension, if we admit it to be a fact, not a mere idea, proves, as I urged in the last Essay, not that we are divided from Him, but that place cannot divide us; that we are spirits; that when we act as if we belonged to the bodies which we are meant to rule, we stoop knowingly; and are condemned by our consciences. Such a doctrine, I said, so far from being at variance with the facts of history and the laws of the physical universe, is confirmed by both. History shows how confident men have been in all times that they were meant to ascend above their earthly conditions, and to have fellowship with an unseen world; their noblest dreams have had this origin,—their wildest and most degrading superstitions have arisen from their incapacity to claim what they felt was their right. Physical science shows how many violations of true and divine laws men commit when they become slaves of their bodies,

and into what ignorance they fall when they accept the testimony of their senses as determining those laws; in either case they are evidently not obeying reason, but setting it at naught. What follows? This exclusion of Christ from the eyes of sense is not, as men fancy, an interruption of that judgment which He, as Lord of their spirits, is continually pronouncing; they are not less in His presence, open to His clear, all-penetrating vision, now, than if He were walking in their streets. The disciples who accompanied Him when He journeyed from Galilee to Jerusalem, and sometimes were amazed at the mystery of His being, and at His knowledge of their thoughts, understood first when He was parted from them how entirely independent that being and that knowledge were of the accidents which then surrounded Him,—how much these accidents had interfered with their recognition of Him. As long as they had any notion that they stood to Him only in the peculiar relation of disciples to a Master, as long as *that* relation seemed to them an external fleshly relation, they wanted the real awe and check, as well as the real help and support, of His presence. It was when they understood that this relation was common to them with a multitude of persons nowise bound to them by kindred, occupation, race; it was when they learnt that the real bond between a disciple and a Lord is not a visible, but an invisible one, that they exercised themselves to have consciences void of offence, being certain that all things were naked and open to the eyes of Him with whom they had to do, and that to be reprov'd by Him was a far more serious thing than to be reprov'd by Sanhedrims or Proconsuls. The Creed, then, affirms, for you, and me, and mankind, first of all this discovery of theirs,—that Christ, ascended on high at the right hand of God, is our judge, the judge of the living and the dead. I do not say that this is all which the words signify; I do not think so; but I say that whatever else they signify, they signify this, and that we never can enter into the other part of their signification if we do not acknowledge this as the groundwork of it. And though this meaning may be latent in our popular discourses on a great judgment day,—and I have no doubt it is,—I cannot think that the hearers or readers of those discourses commonly detect it; they suppose that they are, at some distant, unknown period, to be brought into the presence of One who is far from them now, and who is not now fulfilling the Office of a Judge, whatever other may be committed to Him.”—Essays, pp. 294-7.

In order to pare down the great Christian doctrine of the judgment to these attenuated notions, he does not scruple to explain away the most solemn and awful language, not alone of the Creed, but of the Scripture itself. The fearful words of our Divine Redeemer are wrung from their natural and obvious meaning without scruple,—the language of St. Paul is most violently distorted, the bet-

ter to be accommodated to these rationalistic views. How can any limit ever be placed to what has been not inaptly called the *dis*-interpretation of Scripture, if men once accept such views of its most awful truths as are disclosed in the elaborate and ingenious expositions of the doctrine of St. Paul on the Judgment, which Mr. Maurice endeavours to put forward as a key to the more profound meaning locked up within the figurative prediction of our Redeemer? We have perhaps wearied our readers' patience already by the number and length of our extracts; but this, both for itself, and for the principles which it involves, is too important to be overlooked.

“What is the office of a Judge? If we follow the popular representations of the great Assize, we should conclude that it was fulfilled when certain persons were subjected to an infinite penalty for their transgressions, and certain others were absolved from that penalty,—perhaps acquired, by some means, an infinite reward. It is obvious that those who make these statements, *intend* to accommodate themselves to the ordinary maxims of men; to those which are recognized in earthly jurisprudence. They rightly assume that there must be an analogy between the divine procedure and that which we own to be righteous here. ‘The difference of degree,’ they would say, ‘does not prevent the inspired writers, and ought not, therefore, to prevent us, from resorting to the same language to represent both.’ I fully accept this statement, and, therefore, I would put it to any English jurist, whether such an account of the function of a judge as this satisfies any conception that he has formed of it? Would not he say at once, ‘It is a very secondary part of this function to assign penalties or rewards: that, in a majority of cases, is done already by the law which the judge announces. But to discern who is right and who is wrong; amidst a multitude of shifting, distracting appearances, to find out the fact; to detect the lie which is hidden under the plausible coherent story; to justify the true and honest purpose which may have got itself bewildered in a variety of complications and contradictions,—*hic labor, hoc opus*; here is, indeed, a sphere for the exercise of that judicial faculty, which we all esteem so highly,—scarcely any of us enough.’ And I am certain we shall find that, when the Scriptures speak of a divine Judge, it is *this* correspondence, *this* analogy that they mainly suggest to us. You hear of the Word of God, who is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword; who divides asunder soul and spirit, joints and marrow, who is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart. You hear St. Paul declaring that though he is not conscious of anything against himself, he does not judge himself, but he that judgeth him is the

Lord. You find him using, in the same passage, the remarkable expression which occurs again and again in his writings, and to which I shall have to refer presently for another purpose, that it is a very little thing for him to be judged by a *human day*. Such an expression, so strikingly denoting the kind of light which men were able to throw upon the secrets of the heart, is a key to thousands of others in the New Testament—nay, I will be bold to say—a key to the language of the Bible, wherever there is an allusion to the judgments of God, or to Christ as judge. Everywhere the idea is kept before us of judgment, in its fullest, largest, most natural sense, as importing discrimination or discovery. Everywhere that discrimination or discovery is supposed to be exercised over the man himself, over his internal character, over his meaning and will. Everywhere the substitution of any mere external trial or examination for this, is rejected as inconsistent with the spirit and grandeur of Christ's revelation.

“Nowhere is this difference more remarkably brought out than in the words which we have translated, ‘*For we shall all appear before the Judgment-seat of Christ.*’ When we hear these words without examining them, or their context, we are likely enough to say, ‘Here is the old story of Minos and Rhadamanthus again; St. Paul knew that it was familiar to the ears of the Corinthians. He altered it, and adapted it to his Christian notions.’ I am far indeed from denying that St. Paul was anxious to preserve the eternal truth which lay hid in those legends. He would have been most grieved if he had, in any one point, made the Greeks, to whom he proclaimed a faith, unbelievers. It was his duty to avail himself, as far as it was possible, even of the forms of language,—especially if they were not merely Greek, but human forms, appealing to the feelings and consciences of men in all countries,—which had been associated with old convictions. To this extent I am ready to admit that the word ‘judgment-seat,’ or ‘tribunal,’ was intended to remind the Corinthians both of the courts with which they were familiar in their own city, of the more solemn Areopagus, and of those which their imaginations had fashioned on the model of these for the pale spectres in the world below. But if this were his object, mark what the process of transformation is. In the first ten verses of this chapter, and several of the preceding, he has been working out the doctrine that man stands in a twofold relation; to an earthly visible tabernacle which is dissolving; to an invisible Lord. The dissolution of that perishable tabernacle will not, he says, involve homelessness, nakedness. There is a new clothing provided for him; a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Here there is much groaning; the body bears the signs of suffering and death. He longs to put on one which shall be free, living, immortal, ‘*that mortality may be swallowed up of life.*’ He believes that God is working in him to produce such a renovation, and has given His Spirit as an earnest

of it. He is confident, therefore, and had rather be absent from the body which is making such demands upon him, that he might be present with the Lord of his spirit. 'For we walk,' he says, 'by faith, not by sight.' We do not see Him to whom we are united; we only believe Him and trust Him. And whether that vision at any time is strong or weak, whether we are crushed by the external tabernacle, or are rising above it, we are still ambitious to be well-pleasing to Him, 'For we must all'—not appear—but 'BE MADE MANIFEST before the tribunal of Christ.' A time must come when it will be clearly discovered to all men what their state was while they were pilgrims in this world; that they were in a spiritual relation just as much as they were in relation to those visible things of which their senses took cognizance. That which has been hidden will be made known; the darkness will be no longer able to quench the light which has been shining in the midst of it, and seeking to penetrate it; each man will be revealed as that which he actually is, that every one may receive the things done in the body according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad."—Essays, pp. 297-302.

With this singular passage, we must close our extracts from Mr. Maurice. But, copiously as we have drawn from his pages, we feel that the idea which we have been able to convey of his Essays is extremely imperfect. They can only be judged, indeed, after actual perusal. The effect which they produce upon the mind can scarcely be described. The reader arises in a frame of mind not unlike that of a man awaking from a long and overpowering sleep:—his past impressions half obliterated, half confused, and yet without a definite sense of having received any new ones in their place. Our extracts have been confined to a few of the Essays. But the same observation applies to them all. There is hardly one among the many subjects that they touch, which they do not tend in a greater or less degree to unsettle. The great facts and mysteries of the life of our Lord, although stated expressly enough in words, yet viewed in the light in which they are presented in these pages, appear to fade away before our eyes. The Resurrection dwindles down into a general notion of the Restoration of Humanity. The doctrine of Regeneration loses half of its practical significance. The Resurrection of the Flesh becomes in part a symbol, in part a fact. Even our sense of the great dogmas of the Trinity and Incarnation themselves, although we cannot fix upon any positive ground of our mental discomfort, yet, from the very elaborateness

with which it is attempted to reconcile them with those "deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings," which form the basis of Mr. Maurice's theology, becomes, we know not how, confused and unsatisfactory.

And to return to the topic with which we commenced, and in illustration of which we have referred to Mr. Maurice as one extreme, and to the ultra Catholic party as the other, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact on which we have already dwelt, that the author of these strange views claims, even while he puts them forward, to be, and to continue, a member of the Church of England; that he has subscribed, and continues to receive, all her formularies and creeds; that he still officiates as one of her ministers; and that, even since he has been deprived of his professorship, he enjoys a high and increasing reputation as a theological teacher. At the very height of the outcry against his orthodoxy, (which was raised by a party in the Church, but in which the authorities of the Church, as such, have taken no share,) a bishop of the Church of England in the Colonies, (Dr. Colenso, of Natal,) took occasion to express his admiration and regard, by dedicating to him a volume of sermons which he then published!

Let the facts which we have stated on the other side be remembered at the same time. In the very same Church within whose pale one party is thus frittering away the great mysteries of Christian faith, another, more silently, but yet with constant and laborious zeal, is labouring to build up a system which falls but little short of Catholic truth itself!

Meanwhile, what is the Church herself doing? Archdeacon Wilberforce is permitted to re-construct the old Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice: but in the very same hour Mr. Maurice cuts away, equally uncensured, the very foundations of the faith in the sacrifice of the cross itself. The author of the "Companion to Holy Communion," indulges his devotion by offering the Eucharistic commemoration for the souls of departed brethren, while Mr. Maurice sets aside the belief in the eternal punishment of the wicked!

Both subscribe the letter of the same formularies. Which of the two interprets aright their spirit? Are we to expect a revival of the principles of the days of Hoadley and Balguy? Or are we to look forward with

hope to another Laudian era? Or, (what is of infinitely more solemn import,) can we conceive that when our Lord gave authority to a Church to "teach all truth," He ever meant that authority to remain a dead letter,—as it remains,—and as her history, from the very earliest origin, proves that it must ever remain—in the paralysed hands of the impotent Church of England?

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*The Trials of a Mind in its Progress to Catholicism*: a Letter to his old Friends. By L. Silliman Ives, L. L. D., late Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1854.

Of all the converts whom God has of late years brought into the Church, not one has occupied a more illustrious position, or made sacrifices more heroic, than Dr. Ives. The Church welcomed him as the first-fruits of the Protestant Episcopacy; as a champion of the truth in America his importance was felt to be even greater than it would have been here, where, for so long a time, the first talent of our universities has ranged itself on her side; and Catholics saw with veneration and joy those sacrifices to which we have become accustomed, surpassed in degree by one so remarkable in talent, and so high in rank; "who," as he tells us himself, "abandoned the position in which he had acted as a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church for more than thirty years, and as a Bishop of the same for more than twenty years; and sought, at his time of life, for admission, *as a mere layman*, into the 'Holy Catholic Church,' and with no prospect before him but simply peace of conscience, and the salvation of his soul." (Pref.) The process by which Dr. Ives arrived at so strong a conviction must be highly interesting; but there could be no doubt of the result to a mind in which deep humility was united with so firm a grasp of truth, as is shown in the following passage:

“To me it seemed utterly absurd that God should condescend to instruct man, because of his ignorance, how to save his soul, and then leave him to make a single surmise, allow him even to point his own finger in the way, or put in a word of direction how to follow it—utterly absurd and impious that God should be supposed to depend, in any degree, upon the helpless being whom He designed to rescue from his state of absolute helplessness—to borrow light in any way or measure from the dark mind, which, in pity, He condescended to illumine and to guide. I felt, therefore, that I might justly demand *exactness* and *infallibility* in the answer to my enquiry for God’s *exact will*, as it was to be an answer *from God*; that this word to me should require no additional clearness from the dictates of my own perplexed reason,—that His truth should be rendered suspicious by no human alloy; the bright page of His revealed will be dimmed by no uncertainty of man’s reason; that man’s reason be employed only as the active receiver of the pure mind of God. Not only my own wants urged this claim, and the very nature as well as *promise* of God, who, in mercy, undertook to meet them, *justified* it, but also the reverence due to His perfections, and the gratitude due to this love would allow no other. I felt that He had invited me to come and learn of Him, promising rest to my soul; and that, had I come thus at His own invitation, for an answer less than *infallible*, it would have been an insult to His infinite wisdom and power; that had I expected less, when He condescended to supply, it would have been a return of base ingratitude and distrust for the marvellous provisions of His condescension and love.

“He said to the weary, ‘Take my yoke, and *learn of me*, and ye shall find rest to your souls’—He said to those groping in doubt, ‘*I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.*’

“Knowing, therefore, that I ‘walked in darkness,’ I sought with all my heart this ‘light of life,’ knowing, too, that Satan himself was sometimes transformed to imitate this light, I was the more wary, and the more importunate and determined in my demand to know the truth, the *whole* truth, and nothing but the truth,—as it is in Jesus. Verily could I say with St. Paul, ‘I count all things but loss for the *excellent knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord.*’ But I felt that it must be *knowledge* and not *conjecture*; that the perfections of the great Lawgiver justified the expectation of *certainty*; that the state of man required it—the yearnings of his heart demanded it—the love of Christ pledged it—the provision in Christ offered it—the promise of Christ insured it. My demand, therefore, was for that perfect knowledge of God’s will, upon which I could found a *certain and abiding faith.*”—p. 20.

This single-hearted determination to know and to follow the whole will of his Creator, embodied itself immediately

in the great question—"What is the revelation of God?" And this great question he resolves and examines in every light that can be brought to bear upon it from Scripture, the testimony of the Fathers, the evidence of history, and the light of reason;—all pointing the same way, all giving the same answer. To those who will reason out the question, there can be no escape from the inevitable conclusion; and Dr. Ives had no desire to escape it. In his brief, most touching self apology, alluding to the "seeming inconsistencies which arose from a too great effort on his part to remain a Protestant," he says, "To the mariner, inured to the peculiar hardships of the sea, it will be no cause of wonder that one tossed upon the bosom of its treacherous waves, now toiling amid conflicting elements, and then distracted and deceived by shifting mists, should, in making his way to the shore, describe a somewhat devious track." (Intro.) Let us follow up this most happy illustration, and observe that from the more dangerous mists that arise in a man's own heart, Dr. Ives was free, and therefore he reached the shore in safety. Standing, at length, upon the rock of certain truth, his exultation is as deep and generous as his convictions had been. Shipwrecked in earthly goods, he truly rejoices in his loss, counting all things of no value, compared with the "pearl of great price," which has been given to him.

II.—*A Catholic History of England*, by WILLIAM BERNARD Mc'CABE, Vol. III., 8vo. London, Newby, 1854.

We have been favoured with an early copy of the third and concluding volume of the *Catholic History of England*. We have already, on occasion of the publication of each of the earlier instalments of the work, expressed, in common with almost every one of our contemporaries, the most unreserved approval of the first and second volumes of this most interesting history. The value of these volumes, however, has been materially deteriorated by a vague apprehension which has gone abroad, that, owing to the new and engrossing occupations of the author, its completion had become problematical, or at least, must be regarded as likely to be indefinitely delayed. Although, therefore, the volume now upon our desk has not yet been regularly given to the public, we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of anticipating the formal day of publication, and announcing at the earliest possible oppor-

tunity, the completion of this important and long expected work.

The third volume of the *Catholic History of England* commences with the reign of Edward the Martyr, and comes down to the Norman Conquest; thus completing the history of the Anglo-Saxon period.

To a Catholic, we need hardly say, this is the most interesting period in the history of England. There is none which is so full of Catholic memories, none which so perfectly exhibits the working of the Catholic religion in its free and unrestrained activity. With the advent of the Norman princes, a spirit of Erastianism was introduced into the English Church, which had been unknown in its purer and earlier times. With subjugation to state control and to other domestic influences, came a jealousy of Rome on the part of the crown, and on the part of the Church a servile fear of the crown, which checked her natural tendency to cling confidently to her legitimate protector. The fatal despotism which breathes through the Statutes of Provisors and of *Præmunire*—the niggardly and ungracious spirit which animated the projectors of the law of mortmain and similar enactments—have left their trace in almost every detail of the History of the Norman Church of England.

In the Church of the Anglo-Saxon times it was very different. The same pure spirit which pervades all its social and municipal institutions is found even in greater perfection in the entire department of religion, and well deserves to be chronicled by one who can understand and appreciate it.

How admirably Mr. Mc'Cabe is qualified for this task, no Catholic of these realms need be informed by us. If he had undertaken the task for himself and from his own individual resources, there are few who could have hoped to execute it more worthily. But Mr. Mc'Cabe, as the readers of his former volumes will remember, has done better than this. He has told the story of those simple Catholic times, not in his own language, but in that of their own contemporary annalists; and he has done this so admirably, that, while his work retains the simple spirit of the old chroniclers in all its purity, its diction is yet so easy, and its method so judicious, as to produce all the effect of an original history. In this and every other

respect, the third volume well sustains the reputation of its predecessors.

We commend it heartily, therefore, to all Catholic students of English history. It treats the Anglo-Saxon period under a phase quite different from that which it is viewed by Lingard in his *Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*. Lingard describes the doctrine and doctrinal practice of the age; the *Catholic History* tells the story of its inner life. Each, therefore, may be regarded as the complement of the other. Both are indispensable to every English historical collection.

III.—*Short and Familiar Answers to the Objections most commonly raised against Religion.* From the French of the Abbé de Ségur. Translated with the Author's permission, by E. S. M. YOUNG. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1854.

The appearance of a translation of the celebrated little work of the Abbé de Ségur calls for a special notice from us, not only on account of the enormous circulation which it has obtained in France—amounting to an almost incredible number of editions in a short space of time—but also on account of what appears to us to be the peculiar adaptability of this celebrated production to the condition and wants of the people of this country, from the remarkably terse and distinct manner in which popular objections are replied to, combined with a cheerfulness of diction which has rendered it so singularly charming to our neighbours. The *Univers* has lately said, that, since the publication of the “*Devout Life*,” by Saint Francis of Sales, no work so adapted for popular use has appeared. There still exists among a certain class of Catholic readers in England, a prejudice—a most unwise prejudice we venture to say—against works having what is called a French character. It is, we think, too much lost sight of, that the general readers of our own country, in our own times, are no more like the readers of half a century ago than the French mind of that epoch is like the French mind of to-day. What is certain, is, that works which require much time and careful study, are no more suited to the present general religious wants of England than of France. That the evil to be attacked is the same, the remedy to be applied is also the same in both countries, and that the darkness of ignorance and error is to be dispelled by the light of knowledge and truth. The way to do this most effectually

is the question which commands our serious consideration, and it would seem that what has been so singularly successful in neighbouring countries, should be at least equally successful here, where the want of light is still greater from the thickness of the darkness and the ignorance in regard to Catholic truth which surrounds us.

Two eminent apostles of the Catholic Faith—the celebrated Dominican, Father Lacordaire, and the Abbé de Ségur—have distinguished our age and their country, and rendered their names illustrious. The former by the brilliancy of his genius, and the splendour of his eloquence, enraptured vast crowds of his young countrymen during many years in the name and the cause of truth. His marvellous exposition of Catholic doctrine, his bold examination of the boldest pretensions of heresy and schism, and his comparisons of them with Catholic truth, poured out a flood of intellectual enlightenment upon France, the effects of which have been, and are now strikingly visible. This great Christian orator has appealed to the human intelligence to judge between an exposition of Catholic doctrine and the speculations of man, and has so well succeeded in elevating the doctrine, of which he is the apostle, so far above the finite systems of men, as to leave no room for doubt as to which is the divine and which is the human work. He has held up to ridicule the absurd charge of ignorance brought against us by ignorant men, by proving that “Catholic reason includes human reason, whilst human reason does not include Catholic reason: that Catholic reason is human reason, and something more, and as the greater outbalances the less, it is clear that human reason is in subordination to Catholic reason.” We have already called the attention of the readers of the Catholic Standard to the first volume of a translation of these celebrated Conferences, by Messrs. Richardson and Son. The Abbé de Ségur’s work is of a more popular character, professing to be *Short and Familiar Answers* to the most general Objections raised against Religion. We have perused it with great interest, having been long acquainted with it in French, and aware of its vast success; thousands upon thousands of those little volumes have been gratuitously distributed by the good and zealous Christians of neighbouring nations, and scattered like good seed from the hand of the sower. The translation

merits our highest eulogy ; it has evidently been a labour of love for the talented body who has undertaken it, and manifests, especially in the great difficulty of rendering short phrases, in the form of questions and answers, from French into our own tongue, a most skilful and real knowledge of the resources of both languages. We think, however, that had the style been a little less elevated, and more popular, it would have been more in accordance with the spirit of the original ; this may, perhaps, not be an evil in England. Our principal object in bringing this publication before the Catholics of this country is, to afford them the means of easily spreading the knowledge of our Holy Religion among those who are yet in ignorance of it. We wish to see this work in the hands of every Catholic who is able to distribute it, because it presents a mass of important matter in a most pleasing form, and is written so as to interest, and we hope, convince readers of all classes ; it has also been tried, and been singularly successful in France and Belgium. The volume before us is very superior in appearance to its French prototype ; and is sold, we observe, at One Shilling and Sixpence. We could have wished that such enterprising publishers as Messrs. Richardson and Son had counted upon a larger sale, and had issued it at a Shilling. Cheap books alone can hope for extended circulation, and we feel assured that this work once known in England, will become as generally circulated as it is in France and Belgium. Nothing is more wanted here than the habit of distributing works of this kind ; we do not despair of seeing this most Christian practice, at least as general among Catholics as among schismatics ; upon this excellent practice depends in a great measure the work of correcting the errors which the heresy of past times has imposed upon our countrymen.

Messrs. Richardson and Son have done much for the cause of truth by the publication of the works of these two illustrious Frenchmen ; there should be no doubt about the success of such publications.

We have only space for a short extract.

“ XXIII.—THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS HAD ITS DAY.

“ *Ans.*—She has existed nearly nineteen hundred years, and nearly all that time the same thing has been said of her.

“ Every age, every impious being, every inventor of a sect or

heresy has thought to see that famous day when the Catholic Church should be buried never to rise again; they have each believed themselves destined to intone the 'De Profundis' of the papacy, of the Catholic priesthood, of the mass, and of all the ancient forms of belief of the Church.....and, nevertheless, THE DAY COMES NOT.

"Thus, in the first century of Christianity, one of the proconsuls of the emperor Trajan, wrote to him, 'Before long, thanks to persecution, *this sect* will be crushed, and we shall hear no more of this God crucified.'

"And Trajan is dead, and that God crucified reigns ever in the world!

"In the same manner, three centuries later, Julian, the apostate, boasted of preparing the grave of the Galilean, that is, of annihilating His religion and His Church.

"And Julian is dead, and the Galilean and his Church still live.

"And so, in the sixteenth century, Luther, that revolutionary monk, who made a religion out of pride and revolt, spoke of the papacy as of a superannuated institution about to perish for ever: 'Oh Pope!' said he, 'I was thy torment during my life-time, after my death, I shall prove thy destruction!'

'And yet, Luther is dead, and his Protestantism is melting away on all sides! And the papacy remains more living, more flourishing, more venerated than ever!

"In like manner, Voltaire, the enemy of Jesus Christ, who signed his letters, 'Voltaire, the mocker of Christ,' or, 'Let us crush the wretch,' (that is to say, Jesus Christ and His Church,) wrote to one of his friends, 'I am weary of hearing that twelve men were sufficient to found the Catholic religion; I want to show the world that one man was sufficient to destroy it.' 'Twenty years hence,' he wrote to another, 'the Galilean will be no more heard of!'

"And twenty years later, almost to the very day, Voltaire died in a paroxysm of despair, calling for a priest, whom his friends, the philosophers, would not suffer to approach him.

"But the Catholic Church lives still, traversing all ages, bearing down with resistless force all who attempt to overthrow her or impede her peaceful progress.

"The same fate will attend our grand modern systems, philosophical and social, which modestly assume to be reformations of the religion of Jesus Christ, substitutes for the Catholic Church.

"Less formidable than their predecessors, the unfortunate inventors of these systems are quite unconscious of their weakness! They imagine they have given something new to the world, whilst, in reality, it is nothing but a second-hand copy of the old theories of Voltaire, of Calvin, Luther, Arius, &c. &c. &c.

"Have they forgotten the Saviour's words to the first of the

Popes and the first bishops, 'Go, teach all nations, I will be with you all days, even to the consummation of the world?'

"Have they forgotten what He said to the chief of the apostles, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, AND THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAIL AGAINST IT?'

"What God has founded, can they hope to be able to destroy?"

"No, the Catholic Church has not 'had her day;' her day will never come to an end, until the world shall come to an end.

"The Church fears nothing; she knows what is the divine principle of her strength, of her life. And she will consign her present adversaries to the tomb, more surely and more speedily than any one of her predecessors."

IV.—*Thoughts and Affections on the Passion of Jesus Christ, for Every Day in the Year*; drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church. Translated from the Italian, by the REV. FATHER IGNATIUS of S. Paul, Passionist. Vol II. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1854.

Those Catholics who have purchased the first volume of this beautiful work, will not be sorry to have the second; and should any of our readers not have seen it, we can recommend it to them with confidence. It is this second volume which contains the Meditations on the Passion, properly so called, from the condemnation of our Blessed Saviour, to the removal of His Sacred Body from the Cross; and it is appropriately published at this solemn season of the Passion, for which it will be found a valuable companion. The Meditations are assigned to the Days of the Year; but they may be used in any other way, according to the convenience and leisure of the devout reader.

V.—*The Imitation of St. Joseph*, translated from the French, under the superintendence of the Redemptorist Fathers. Published with the approbation of His Grace the MOST REV. DR. CULLEN, Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin: Duffy, 1854.

Those Catholics who already entertain a special devotion to St. Joseph, will be delighted with this little work, and others may be led by it to follow the advice of St. Teresa, when she says, "Would that I could persuade all men to be devout to this glorious saint, by reason of the great experience I have had of the blessings he obtains from God. I have never known any one who was truly devoted to him, who performed particular devotions to his honour, that did not advance more in virtue, for he assists

in a special manner those souls who recommend themselves to him." The little work we are now recommending consists of thirty-one short meditations on the life of this saint; in these the virtues of his hidden life are studied, and enforced with great power and sweetness, and it will be understood from the nature of the subject, that the instructions are both practical and of general application; these are followed by special devotions in his honour, which are very good, and sufficiently short.

VI.—*Stumpingford: a Tale of the Protestant Alliance, Jonah and La Salette.* London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1854.

A cleverly written Tale, full of interest and instruction, and calculated to be useful to those whom it more immediately concerns.

VII.—*An Abridgment of the Catechisme de Perseverance.* Translated from the French, by LUCY WARD. London: Dolman, 1854.

We cannot but consider as an acquisition to our English Catholic literature, a work which is a great and standard manual of instruction in France. It contains a mass of information; in fact, a complete history of religion from the beginning of the world, with a sketch of the chief characteristics, and most eminent men of each period; concluded by a complete examination and explanation of the ceremonies of the Christian Church. Such information is given on natural philosophy as might throw light upon the main subject; and the whole is arranged with the methodical precision for which French works are remarkable. If we say that we object to the catechetical form of conveying information upon such an extensive scale as this is, that to us the Catechism seems to be properly a more enlarged *creed*; that is to say, a formula of words, condensing doctrines; and that it breaks up, and formalizes more general instruction, rendering it less interesting in itself, and less improving to the mind in the process of acquisition; if, as we said before, we should give this opinion, we but state our own idea upon the subject. Many arguments are advanced on the other side, which we leave to the attention of our readers. There can be no doubt that the Catechisme de Perseverance is a work of sterling value, and that Miss Lucy Ward has most judiciously abridged, and freely and sensibly translated it.

VIII.—*The Tudor Queen, Mary.* Being an Abridged History of the Events and Personages connected with her Reign. By STEPHEN WELLS. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1854.

The author of this “synopsis” modestly disclaims any pretension to “have been enabled either to add anything, or to throw fresh light upon any matter connected with the reign of” Mary. He is content with the humble credit of a “condenser of facts provided by historians,” whose reputation is unquestioned. His sources are Lingard, Miss Strickland, and the recent History of England by the very Rev. President of Sedgley Park, Canon Flanagan. Those who look for a thorough-going defence of those acts of Mary’s reign that have been most called in question, will be disappointed in Mr. Wells’s little work. He claims for her no more allowance than Protestant writers (Burnet for instance) have conceded: that she was a model of every private virtue—that the persecuting acts of her reign have been grossly exaggerated; that the Protestant Elizabeth’s religious severities were of a tenfold more aggravated and less excusable kind; that her husband the Spanish Philip was probably the chief instigator of the severities of Mary’s reign; that those severities were not enacted with the approval of the chief authority of the Church, but against it; and lastly, that the Catholic religion is in no way responsible for what was so done amiss. We know there are those who think, that at this time of day a somewhat higher ground might, and should be taken, but even this, perhaps, ultramoderate view is quite enough materially to mitigate the stigma vulgarly attached to one of our (too few) good monarchs. Mr. Wells concludes his narrative with an exhortation to us to “be thankful that Providence has cast our lot under the benign destiny of a Queen, in whose bright example we see a reflection of every virtue and duty, which can add lustre to the character of a Christian, a female, and a sovereign.”

IX.—*Is there a Church, and What is it?* Two Lectures, by WILLIAM HENRY ANDERDON. LECTURE I. There is such a thing as a Church upon earth. LECTURE II. It is not a Protestant body. London: Burns and Lambert, and Travis, Liverpool.

Our readers may not all be aware that Mr. Anderdon is the convert who gave up one of the richest livings in Leicester, and leaving the people who regarded him with an especial admiration, embraced the Catholic faith, of which

he will shortly return as Priest to the same mission. Great indeed are the results we may expect, not only from his piety, but from his great ability. We have seldom met with such effective discourses as those we are noticing. The logic is as pointed as it is sound, the argument comprehensive and clear, without once becoming tedious, the style easy, popular, and forcible. We need not follow the line of argument adopted, but we can say that many points are taken with such originality and vigour, as may be serviceable even to our Catholic readers, if not for themselves, at least as bright and keen weapons wherewith to furnish the controversial armoury, which now-a-days, heaven help us! most of us are obliged to keep in readiness. Many of the illustrations are particularly happy. We give the following as an instance:—

“Protestantism in general, Anglicanism in particular, may contain individuals to be respected, to be cared for, as the Trojan horse contained real live warriors. But the thing itself, the system, is a wooden horse after all, caparison it and curry it as you will. It was knocked together by human hands at the first, and it requires to be wheeled along by them at every move. Effective as an engine of state craft, obeying that strong steady impulse, like any other machine, but as a religion stiff and lifeless, I could as soon worship a stock or a stone, as invest it with any feeling of reverence. And yet you are probably angry with me because I cannot regard this same manifest wooden horse as a winged Pegasus.”

X.—*A Critical and Historical Review of Fox's Book of Martyrs.*
By WILLIAM E. ANDREWS. London: Andrews, 1853.

We see with great satisfaction a new edition of this admirable controversial work so greatly valued by Dr. Milner, and which has done so much good service in the Catholic cause. It contains a mass of facts, refuting the calumnies of that period, and specially those contained in that great staple of Protestant argument, Fox's Book of Martyrs; and is a work so invaluable as a book of reference, and for the quantity of information, which it contains, that no Catholic library should be without it.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JUNE, 1854.

ART I.—1. *Denkschrift des Episcopates der oberrheinischen Kirchenprovinz, in Bezug auf die Königlich Württembergische, Grossherzoglich-Badische, Grossherzoglich Hessische und Herzoglich Nassauische allerhöchste Entschliessung vom 5 März 1853 in Betreff der Denkschrift des Episcopates vom März, 1851.* Zweyte Auflage. 1853. [Memorial of the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of the Upper Rhine, in reference to the Resolutions of the 5th of March, 1853, which were taken by the respective Governments of the King of Württemberg, of the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and the Duke of Nassau in regard to the Episcopal Memorial of March, 1851. Second Edition. Freyburg in Breisgau, 1853.

2. *Das Recht der Kirche im Badischen Kirchenstreit.* [The Rights of the Church in the Ecclesiastical Contest in Baden.] Mayence, 1853.

3. *Deutsche Volk's-Halle.* November und December. 1853.

THE Catholic Church, which in Germany had received so fearful a shock in the sixteenth century, shorn as she then was of so many of her fairest provinces, had, towards the close of that age, partially recovered her losses. She was then recruiting her strength, and arraying herself in new comeliness, putting forth fresh institutes of piety and learning, and exerting the most benign influence on public and private life, when the tremendous conflict of the Thirty Years' War checked her career of beneficence. Scarce had Catholic Germany begun to rally from the long exhaustion consequent on that struggle, when, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, Febronianism introduced new elements of disturbance into her Church. Moral laxity, as well as the doctrines of Jansenism, which

had been transplanted from France into Germany, smoothed the way for the success of this error. The ecclesiastical electors and the prince-bishops, engrossed with the cares of temporal government, habitually delegated to others the spiritual administration of their dioceses. The canons, in many chapters, chosen exclusively from noble families, were frequently sluggish and lukewarm in the discharge of their sacred duties, as well as indifferent to the cultivation, or even patronage of learning. Among the religious orders much laxity had crept in.

It was at this critical juncture that Febronianism arose. Von Hontheim, a suffragan bishop of the elector of Treves, published under the name of Febronius, a work denying the divine institution of the Papacy, conceding to the Pope a mere primacy of honour, and not a supremacy of jurisdiction, and deriving his dignity from the Church, and not from our Lord. His book, though written without talent or learning, yet, as it flattered the spirit of insubordination so prevalent in that age, found wide circulation, and exerted a most mischievous influence. Many of the clergy and laity, inoculated with its principles, became the pliant tools of the Emperor Joseph II., who, not many years after the publication of that work, ascended the imperial throne of Germany. This prince, endowed with an excellent understanding and great natural benevolence, might have been the bulwark and the ornament of his country. By his perverse policy, he became its scourge, inflicting on the Church and state of Austria calamities even to this day intensely felt. Surrounded by Jansenists and infidels, he brought about, through the instrumentality of the former, the triumph of the latter. While the Catholic press was reduced to a forced silence, schismatical, and even impious publications met with every encouragement. All direct communication between the Holy See and the Austrian bishops was interdicted; all intercourse between religious houses and their foreign superiors was prohibited; almost all convents and monasteries were gradually suppressed; their property confiscated with a brutal violence, equalled only by the Revolutionists of a more recent date; all religious confraternities were put under ban; pilgrimages and processions were strictly forbidden; the most minute, puerile, and withal vexatious regulations issued respecting Divine worship, by the emperor himself, who sought to dim the beauty of the sanctuary; clerical education brought

under the exclusive management of the state; episcopal jurisdiction trampled under foot; and every effort made to bring about a national schism.

In temporal affairs, the emperor Joseph II. pursued an analogous policy. Many of the institutions of the old paternal monarchy were swept away—the political rights of the clergy and nobles violated—the usages and franchises of provinces set at nought—the free municipalities curtailed of their privileges—a centralizing bureaucracy established in their room—the most equitable demands of the local legislatures treated with disdain; till universal discontent, disaffection, and civil war revealed to the infatuated monarch the abyss he had brought his country to. In his civil, as well as ecclesiastical policy, Joseph II. was the worthy precursor of the French Revolutionists.

While in the east of Germany this emperor was exerting so cruel and debasing a tyranny over the Church, in the west, the ecclesiastical electors of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne held a Synod at the town of Ems, where they passed a series of resolutions, most derogatory to the rights and jurisdiction of the Holy See, and proved themselves too faithful followers of the principles of Febronius. But Providence was preparing avengers as well on those who thus so shamefully betrayed their sacred trust, as on those who had so long and so cruelly persecuted His Church. The invading armies of revolutionary France tore the Netherlands from the crown of Austria, and shortly afterwards annexed the ecclesiastical electorates of the Rhine to the “one and indivisible” Republic.

During the revolutionary wars, the Catholic Church of Germany remained in a state of extreme languor and depression. Sees kept long vacant—parishes bereft of their pastors—monasteries unpeopled of their inmates—the ministers of religion despoiled of their patrimony—the religious edifices robbed of their sacred treasures or falling to decay;—such was the sad spectacle exhibited in many parts of Catholic Germany.

By the organic decree of the imperial diet, held at Ratisbon in the year 1803,* the secular princes, whose territories had been seized on by the French, and were incor-

* This is called by the Germans, “Reich’s-Deputation’s Haupt-Schluss.”

porated in the Rhenish Confederation, were indemnified out of the ecclesiastical principalities and domains.

Paralysed as the Catholic Church in Germany thus was by her natural defenders and protectors, how could she cope with the formidable errors of the age? Assailed on her northern frontier by German Rationalism, and on her western by French Voltairianism,—two forms of irreligion that both issued out of the Reformation of the sixteenth century—she needed all her moral strength and material resources to resist such new and dangerous foes. But how, with her sanctuary despoiled—with her religious services curtailed—her old endowments confiscated—her various institutes for the promotion of piety, charity, education, and learning suppressed—and so many of her pastors indolent and tepid, or imbued with false and schismatical doctrines;—how could she meet this formidable crisis?

To the same cause is to be ascribed the feebleness of German Catholic literature in the eighteenth century. At a time when the Protestant mind of Germany was putting forth so many splendid master-pieces of genius and learning, nothing could be more tame and insignificant than the contemporaneous literature of Catholic Germany.

For this twofold phenomenon, causes internal and external may be assigned. Protestant Germany, emancipated from the arbitrary trammels of the old Lutheranism, and finding in Rationalism a more consistent development of the principle of private judgment—the life of Protestantism—displayed that intellectual strength, which the sense of consistency ever imparts, and before the direful consequences, moral, intellectual, and social of Rationalism had had time to develope.

But how could Catholic Germany have a share in this spring-tide of the national literature, when its natural protector, the emperor, was the bitter persecutor of the Church; and inexorably proscribed all Catholic publications: when even some of the ecclesiastical princes gave themselves up to the counsels of irreligious ministers; and when a bastard Catholicism, under the name of Febronianism, was everywhere fostered and encouraged? How could a sham have the force of a reality? How could Catholic art, and letters, and philosophy spring out of a semi-Protestantism? Accordingly, it was only when the horrors of the French Revolution had revealed the turpitude of the Voltairian philosophy, and the excesses of German Rationalism had

led many distinguished Protestants to embrace the Catholic faith, Catholic Germany entered on her career of moral and intellectual regeneration.

The territories, which once formed part either of the Austrian empire, or of the ecclesiastical electorates and principalities, like those of the bishopric of Münster, and the archbishoprics of Cologne, Mayence, and Treves, were in 1803 handed over to Protestant princes, like the King of Prussia, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, the King of Würtemberg, and others. The treaty of Westphalia, which left untouched the relations between the Catholic subjects of Catholic sovereigns, regulated and determined, according to the normal year, 1624, the religious rights and liberties of Catholic subjects living under Protestant rulers. These rights and liberties the above-named Protestant governments have up to the present time more or less grievously violated. Hence their oppression of the Catholic Church in these newly-acquired provinces was more manifestly illegal and unjustifiable, than even the religious tyranny of the emperor Joseph II. over his Catholic subjects.

By their system of refined oppression, these Protestant Governments conceived they had for ever enslaved, and would eventually be able to ruin the Catholic Church. In fact, by the *Placet* they impeded the free circulation of spiritual life between the head and the members of the Church; by the almost exclusive nomination to ecclesiastical benefices they hoped to possess in the clergy pliant instruments for their policy; by the proscription of religious orders they sought to enfeeble the Church, and by checking the growth of all sacerdotal piety and learning to paralyse her influence; while, by shutting her out from all control over schools, colleges, and universities, they strove to secularize education, bring up a generation totally estranged from Catholic teaching, and thus prepare, as they fondly believed, the way for Protestantism.

But the Scripture tells us, "where the Lord buildeth not the house, they who labour build it in vain." And they who conspire against the Lord and against His Christ, have been caught in their own devices. The Protestantism which these German princes would fain have transplanted on the Catholic soil, was a rotten plant without prolific force, or prolific only to destruction. The extremes of German Rationalism, as well as the dreadful scenes of the French

Revolution, had provoked a strong Catholic reaction throughout Europe; and Catholic Germany did not remain behind this movement. Illustrious converts led the way in this new train of thought; and old Catholics, equally distinguished, were associated in their labours and their glory. The priesthood, now chiefly taken from the ranks of the peasantry, which in Catholic Germany had preserved untainted the purity of faith and morals, was by degrees renovated in mind and temper, and presented a remarkable contrast to the clergy of the preceding age. With this religious spirit it combined ample profane and theological learning, acquired in the universities, and especially in those theological Faculties which these Protestant Governments were bound by the Concordats to maintain, and for which, while no professors could be nominated without episcopal approbation, the very credit of those governments forced them to choose able and learned men.

Dishonestly as they acted in not filling up or in leaving vacant the chairs of philosophy and history in direct opposition to the statutes of the mixed universities, they could not elude the obligation of maintaining theological faculties. Thus, at the university of Tübingen, while not a single lay Catholic was appointed to a professorial chair, a Catholic Theological faculty subsisted, adorned by the most eminent divines, and annexed to it was a convictorium, or seminary for Church students. This seminary was quite independent of the university; many of its members never attended any lecture of a Protestant professor; and thus, while Rationalism and Pantheism were uttering their blasphemies around, it became the seminary of the most illustrious defenders of the Church. Here Drey, and Möhler, and Staudenmaier, and Hefele successively taught.

At Freyburg in 1840, a reform was made with the sanction of the Baden Government in the theological faculty. But that very reform has, with the grace of God, been instrumental in training up a clergy that at this moment forms the nucleus of an energetic opposition to the Court in its impious encroachments on episcopal jurisdiction.

The Prussian cabinet affected for a time greater liberality, and called to the chairs of philosophy and canon law distinguished Catholics, like Windischmann and Walter, and to the divinity professorship an eminent theologian, like

Dr. Klee, who there overthrew the ascendancy of Hermetianism.

But unjust as this Government often was to Catholics in violating the statutes of the mixed universities, its conduct was toleration itself, when compared with that of the petty states of Germany. The university of Freyburg—though a strictly Catholic foundation—the Baden Government made every attempt to protestantize, not appointing a single layman of Catholic principles. In the mixed universities of Tübingen and Giessen, Protestantism, contrary to positive statutes, as well as all justice, has ever had far more than the lion's share:—indeed, out of the theological faculty, Catholicism has obtained nothing.

But see how these iniquitous Governments have been caught in their own toils! Some of the professors of history whom they nominated, though tolerably indifferent to religion, were honest and impartial, as well as able and learned men, who had outgrown the prejudices of the sixteenth century, and therefore could mete out justice to Catholics and Protestants alike. Others again were men, who, half approximated to the Catholic Church, and treading in the footsteps of the illustrious John von Müller, the founder of the modern historical school of Germany, were enthusiastic admirers of the middle age, defended the Popes in their contests with the emperors, as the champions of European freedom and civilization, and solved some of the more difficult problems of mediæval history with more fairness as well as depth, than the Catholic Gallicans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This course of historic research has led not a few eminent men, (and among the more recent examples we may notice distinguished historians, like Hurter and lately Gfrörer) to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

The same remark will apply, though in a less intense degree, to several Protestant professors of philosophy.

But events were rushing on. The glorious resistance made in 1837 by M. von Droste-Vischering, the archbishop of Cologne to the iniquitous encroachments of the Prussian Government, broke the yoke of tyranny, that had long weighed on the German Church. This event acted like an electric shock through all Germany. The zealot it inflamed with new zeal—it roused up the lukewarm—it emboldened the timid—infused new vigour into episcopal counsels, and rallied the clergy and all ranks of the laity

around their afflicted Church. Next followed the reform above adverted to in the theological faculty of Freyburg. This was succeeded in 1844 by the schismatical movement of Ronge, which served but to purge the Church in Silesia and Baden of bad priests, and stimulate the zeal of the faithful. This again was followed by the dreadful Revolution of 1848, which convulsed Germany to her foundations. The course and issue of this Revolution are too vivid in the reader's memory to require any mention. The freedom of the Catholic Church was solemnly stipulated in the parliament of Frankfort. And the emancipation of that Church has been one of the few good results of a Revolution, which, had it not been arrested in its destructive career, would have established in Germany a bloody and anarchic terrorism.

A large proportion of German bishops assembled in the year 1849 at Würzburg, and there drew up a statement of ecclesiastical grievances, and invited the princes of Germany by carrying into effect the principle of perfect religious freedom, as proclaimed at Frankfort, to remedy these grievances. With a like intent the Austrian bishops assembled in council at Vienna the following year, and addressed a similar petition to their monarch.

These episcopal demands, grounded as they are on justice, on Canon Law, on the principles not only of the old German empire, but on those recently proclaimed by the Frankfort parliament, and incorporated into the new political constitutions of the states of Germany, have not everywhere met with the same success. In Austria, indeed, thanks to her pious and chivalrous emperor, those demands have been fully acceded to; in Prussia, they have been so to a great extent; in Bavaria, they have been but imperfectly realized, and with an ill grace on the part of the Government; while in Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and, to a less degree, in electoral Hesse, they have been flatly refused. This denial of claims so just and sacred has brought on the contest still going on between the last-named Governments and the episcopate of the Upper-Rhenish province.

The archbishop of Freyburg and his suffragan bishops, the bishop of Limburg, the bishop of Rottenburg, the bishop of Fulda, and the bishop of Mayence, drew up in 1851 a memorial to the above-named Governments of Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Electoral Hesse,

and Nassau, claiming a restitution of long-withheld episcopal rights. These episcopal rights concerned, firstly, the appointment to all ecclesiastical benefices where the Government could not show a clear, canonical title to the right of presentation; secondly, ecclesiastical education, as regards the control over seminaries, and a concurrence in the nomination of theological professors at universities; thirdly, the examination of candidates for Holy Orders; fourthly, the abolition of the Government Placet in respect to all papal bulls; fifthly, the regulation of public worship; sixthly, the establishment of monasteries and ecclesiastical congregations of all kinds; seventhly, the right to enforce ecclesiastical penalties against the laity; eighthly, the right of free intercourse with the Holy See; ninthly, the free election to bishoprics and to prebendal stalls; tenthly, the appointment of vicars-general, and the officials of the ordinary; eleventhly, the long-promised landed endowment of bishoprics; twelfthly, the independent administration of ecclesiastical property; and lastly, a large influence of the Church over every description of schools.

These claims and demands of the Upper-Rhenish Episcopate, the above-named Governments have with various modifications refused. Their reasons for rejecting the episcopal demands, were embodied in a series of Resolutions dated the 5th March, 1853.

The Bishops in the Memorial, which stands at the head of our article, have replied to this State-Paper, and by an elaborate argument vindicated every claim they had advanced in the first Memorial, which in 1851 they addressed to the several Governments above-named. In this masterly address, which is generally attributed to the pen of Baron von Ketteler, the holy Bishop of Mayence, all the claims of the Prelates on the points above adverted to, are proved and defended by the maxims of Canon Law, as it is received throughout the whole Catholic Church; by recent Concordats entered into between the Holy See and these very States; by the letter and the spirit of their own civil Constitution and municipal laws; by the public Law of Germany in all ages, and especially since the Treaty of Westphalia; by historical precedents in different countries, and lastly, by the dictates of common sense.

The above-named Governments in their State-Paper quite overlook the rightfulness of the claims urged by

the prelates, and consider merely the expediency of their demands in regard to the well-being of the State. But to make right subordinate to expediency, is as the bishops well observe, to overturn all notions of justice, undermine the very foundations of society, and consequently, bring ruin on the State itself. This cry of public safety, say the prelates, is the pretext under which the Revolutionists in the last and present century have sought to subvert all vested interests, and assail the most sacred rights.

The spiritual independence of the Catholic Church, and all the rights, which that independence involves, as they were founded on immemorial usage in all German States, and were solemnly guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia, that defined the religious liberties of Catholic subjects, living under Protestant Governments, were again at the commencement of this century expressly recognized by the organic decree of the Imperial Diet, held at Ratisbon in the year 1803. These spiritual rights of the Catholic Church this Diet sanctioned, at the very moment that it was secularizing the Ecclesiastical Electorates, and confiscating Church-property. Equally solemn was the recognition and sanction, that those rights received from the Constitution of the Protestant Governments, to which the Catholic territories constituting the Upper-Rhenish Ecclesiastical Province, were at the commencement of this century handed over.

These Governments, which took possession of the territories formerly subject to the ecclesiastical Electors, grievously violated the liberties of the Church. Against their unjust and vexatious encroachments, the Electors of Mayence and Treves in the early part of this century strongly protested. Then came on the Napoleonic wars in Germany, the effects of which we have already described.

Shortly after the peace of 1814, the Bishops of this Province had recourse to the Holy See, imploring it to induce their Governments to ameliorate the condition of their oppressed Church. The States in question had about the year 1818, passed a series of resolutions most oppressive to Religion, and which, at a later period, His Holiness Pope Pius VIII, in a Bull addressed to all the Bishops of the Upper-Rhenish Province, characterized as containing errors and innovations at direct variance with the doctrine and constitution of the Catholic Church,

“and whereby,” to use his own words, “that Church was subjected to the most lamentable and most ignominious servitude.”

A Concordat was concluded between the Holy See and these Governments. By the Bull *Provida Solersque*, issued by Pope Pius VII. on the 16th August, 1821, and the articles whereof have been confirmed and developed by the Bull, *Ad Dominici Gregis custodiam*, which Pope Leo XII. delivered on 11th April, 1827, it is provided, first, that in conformity with the desires of the above-named States, the Bishoprics of Freyburg, Rottenburg, and Limburg should be erected, and those of Mayence and Fulda undergo new circumscriptions; secondly, that with respect to the elections of bishops, canons, and vicars of cathedrals, the right of excluding the *personæ minus gratæ* from the list of candidates should be conceded to the sovereigns; and thirdly, that in all other respects, the rights appertaining to the Church, and more especially the episcopal jurisdiction belonging to bishops by the existing Canon Law, were claimed and defended by the Pope.

The laws, therefore, determining the legal relations of the Catholic Church in the Upper-Rhenish ecclesiastical Province are as follows:—firstly, the Canon Law, as it has ever existed in the times of the German Empire, as it was guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia, and upheld by the organic Decree of the Imperial Diet of Ratisbon in 1803.

Secondly, the solemn stipulations laid down in the Bulls *Provida Solersque* and *Ad Dominici gregis custodiam*.

We shall now proceed to describe the persecution exercised against the Catholic Church by one of these Governments, that of Baden. In doing so, we shall avail ourselves of much of the information contained in the able pamphlet, that stands second at the head of our article: “*Das Recht der Kirche im Badischen Kirchen-streit.*”

The ecclesiastical Commission (Ober-Kirchenrath),* which was the instrument of the Baden Government for

* This properly means, Superior ecclesiastical council; but as this term might be misunderstood, and as it was a Board entirely dependant on the civil power, we have preferred the title, “Ecclesiastical Commission.”

persecuting the Catholic Church, was composed exclusively of Catholics, and among them, two ecclesiastics. What sort of Catholics these must be, the reader will soon be able to judge for himself. This Commission impeded the Archbishop in the exercise and enjoyment of all those rights, which in common with the Suffragans of his Province, he had claimed in his Memorial of March 1851, and which he has vindicated in the second Mémorial of 18th June, 1853. Of this we have already had occasion to speak.

With respect to the first point in litigation, the nomination to vacant benefices, the Archbishop of Freyburg declared he would respect the appointments of the Government, when it could show a clear canonical title to the right of presentation. Acting, however, in a spirit of peace, he was disposed to recognize all the uncanonical appointments of the Government up to March 1853, but after that normal year he was determined to enforce his own canonical rights. To this effect he addressed a letter to the Commissioners, calling on them to obey the mandate of their ecclesiastical superior.* To this episcopal letter the Commissioners in substance replied, that it was the duty of every subject, and still more of the public functionary, to obey the laws of the land. They would lament any collision between their ecclesiastical and civil rulers; but they could not doubt which of the two was entitled to their obedience, since the Archbishop himself was subject to the laws of his country, and had once implicitly obeyed ordinances of the same nature with those now impugned. †

Thereupon the Archbishop made the Commissioners a most dignified reply, intimating his astonishment that they should venture to give their ecclesiastical superior lessons as to the fulfilment of his duties to the Government—and when in a recent and most critical period, he had evinced the most steadfast, uncompromising loyalty. He said the maxims laid down in the letter of the Commissioners, struck at the very root of Catholicity, would have prevented the propagation of the Gospel, and cast a stigma

* Document I. Letter of the Archbishop of Freyburg to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 10th of June, 1853. *Das Recht der Kirche*, p. 44.

† Document II. Reply of the Ober-Kirchenrath, Carlsruhe. 14th June, 1853.

on those heroes, who have vindicated the rights and liberties of the Church against the encroachments of the secular power. Obedience, he declared, was due by him as well as every subject in things temporal only, and not in things spiritual, over which the State was attempting to usurp a control. He added, that the question of appointment to benefices was a purely ecclesiastical matter to be determined solely by the Canon Law, and called on the Commissioners to represent to the Grand Duke that they could not without grievous sin lend themselves to the execution of measures, leading to the overthrow of all episcopal jurisdiction. He subjoined, that although through the pressure of the times, and in order to avoid greater evils, the prelates had not enforced the Canons of the Church, they had never formally renounced their rights; and they were now resolved to exercise them, the more so as in Prussia, the bishops were in the full enjoyment of their spiritual independence.

He concluded by calling on the Commissioners to discharge their obligations to the Church, and not force him to resort to measures that would afflict his paternal heart.*

Thereupon the Commissioners answered, that the charge of disloyalty they repelled with indignation, especially as they were not responsible to the Archbishop for their official behaviour. They did not feel themselves called upon to enter into an enquiry as to the principles which should determine the relations between Church and State, but could not forbear remarking that no Government would permit the limits between spiritual and temporal power to be fixed exclusively by the ecclesiastical functionaries.

It must next be a matter of astonishment, that the Archbishop, instead of applying to the Head of the State, who issues and abrogates laws and ordinances, should not only provoke to disobedience the members of the Ecclesiastical Commission, who, by virtue of their office have to enforce existing laws; but even threaten them with ecclesiastical penalties, in case they continue to follow them; although in regard to their sovereign, they but thereby fulfil their duty, and in respect to the Church,

* Document III. Letter of the Archbishop of Freyburg, 24th June, 1853.

do nothing more than what the Archbishop himself did a short time ago, though he held no civil office to bind them, as they were bound.*

To this the Archbishop replied: If the members of the Ecclesiastical Commission chose to refer to themselves, what he had said about disloyalty shown to the Government at the period of the Revolution, it was their own affair. The Archbishop had not accused them; but only wished to point out to them the way, whereby they could elude an *apparent* collision of duty.

There was no question of investigating any principles as to the relations of the Church to the State, but as to the rights which appertain to the Church by her constitution, and are guaranteed in public treaties.

The question is not about any one-sided fixing of the limits between the two powers, but about the exercise of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which the state is not competent to restrict or to prevent, since it has once for all recognized and guaranteed the Catholic Church in her independence. On the contrary, the one-sided fixing of these limits is committed by the civil power, when, not respecting the rights of the Church, it makes the so-called plenitude of sovereign authority the sole and exclusive standard of its acts, and even after a compact concluded between it and the Holy See issues *one-sided* ordinances, which run directly counter to that compact, and against which the other contracting party—the Sovereign Pontiff—has put forth the most decided protest.

The members of the Ecclesiastical Commission allege in their own excuse, that they have only to enforce existing ordinances. But here precisely it is afflicting to see, that as Catholics, they *enforce* ordinances against which the Episcopate protests, and whereof long ago the Head of the Church has said, that they are contrary to the doctrine and the constitution of the Church; that they remain in a position, whereby they *de facto* deny the hierarchical constitution of the Church, and contribute on their part to *protestantize* it; whereby they exercise the most essential rights of the Bishop, nay, exalt themselves above their chief pastor.

Not to disobedience to their sovereign and the laws of

* Document IV. Letter of the Ecclesiastical Commission to the Archbishop, dated Carlsruhe, 1st of July, 1853.

the State, has the Archbishop provoked the members of the Ecclesiastical Commission; but he has invited them only to make a petition to the sovereign, that he should be just towards the Catholic Church. But even this loyal course they are unwilling to pursue.

This resistance must inflict the greatest pain on the heart of the Archbishop; and if he does not immediately enforce against them those measures of severity, which those, who will not hear the Church, provoke; it is in the hope, the second Memorial that the Bishops of the Upper-Rhenish Province are about to publish, will bring them to a sense of their duty.*

To this letter of the Archbishop, the Ecclesiastical Commission made no answer. In consequence the Archbishop sent another letter, dated 5th August, 1853, expressing his desire to know what resolution the Commissioners had come to, and trusting that their reply would turn to his consolation and his joy.

The Director of the Ecclesiastical Commission, M. Prestinari, replied to the Vicar-General, Dr. Buchegger, on the 19th August, 1853, that himself and colleagues had referred to the higher authorities the two letters of the Archbishop, and therefore might forbear answering them. Yet he requested that the following considerations might be brought under the notice of the prelate. The members of the Commission must retain their views, as previously set forth by them, till their sovereign shall dismiss them from their office. Then their places must of course be filled up by other functionaries; and if the Archbishop should wish to proceed against them also as Catholics, then must the Government at last intrust these places to Protestants.

From the episcopal letter of the 15th July, it seems it may be inferred that the Archbishop himself pays some regard to these considerations, since he requests of the Commission to make a representation to the sovereign to be just towards the Catholic Church. But this in the subordinate official position of the members of the Commission appertained as little to their office as it was even compatible with their official duties, to give the Archbishop an account, or even acquaint him with any

* See Document V. Letter of the Archbishop, dated Freyburg, 15th July, 1853.

representations they may have made in a high quarter. Besides, such a representation would be without influence on the further course of affairs. Hence the Archbishop would not require it of them, and still less would he proceed against them with ecclesiastical penalties, because they deem it not in their power to comply with his demand. But should these intimations not meet with the attention hoped for, so the following formal reason may be urged on the archbishop. The ecclesiastical power extends not to the Government Boards, nor to the *members* of these Boards as such; it is only *individual Catholics* who are subject to that power, in respect of the duties incumbent on them as *Catholics*. The question, therefore, naturally occurs, wherefore should only the members of the ecclesiastical Commission be called upon to present such a petition to the sovereign, and wherefore the same requisition should not be made to the other *Catholics of the diocese*.*

Hereupon the Archbishop addressed a letter dated 6th September, 1853, to his Vicar-General, Dr. Buchegger, requesting him to represent to M. Prestinari, the chief of the ecclesiastical Commission, the following observations: It would certainly redound to the honour of the Commissioners, if they would avert from their heads the penalties formerly intimated; but this desire should be manifested by *deeds*. Such a wish, however, is belied by the very first passage of their letter, where they say that the temporal sovereign is the only authority, that has in this matter to decide. This would be true, if the office held by the Commissioners were purely political, and were not one, which rendered those invested with it opponents of ecclesiastical authority, enemies of ecclesiastical freedom, and executors of ordinances hostile to the Church. And the Bishop is not authorized to tell the faithful committed to his care, that they should not exercise such functions! When the Director of the Commission holds out the threat that the Board will be filled with Protestants; such a menace is least capable of checking the Archbishop in the fulfilment of his duty; for by such a step the horrible

* See Document VII. Letter of the Director of the Ecclesiastical Commission M. Prestinari to the Very Rev. Dr. Buchegger, Vicar General and Canon at Freyburg, dated Carlsruhe, 19th August, 1853.

scandal would be set aside; that even *Catholics* lend themselves to the enslavement of their Church. Then there could be no question of a *Catholic* ecclesiastical Commission; then it would be manifest to the world, that the civil government alone had usurped possession of episcopal rights. Then no doubt could any longer prevail, that the present system of ecclesiastical government by the State led to the *protestantizing* of the Catholic Church. The thing menaced, therefore, would turn out quite to the interest of the Church. Moreover, no reason can be given why a subordinate functionary of the State may not request his sovereign to dismiss him from functions incompatible with his conscience and his duties as a Catholic Christian. Such a prayer would but attest his conscientiousness. The members of the ecclesiastical Commission declare it to be contrary to their duty to give to their archbishop an account, or even information respecting the representations they have made in a high quarter. But while they—priests and laymen—would fain control their archbishop lest he should undertake anything dangerous to the state, the archbishop must be utterly indifferent whether *his inferiors*, (and such the ecclesiastical Commissioners are and remain, so long as they be Catholics,) satisfy the just demands of the Episcopate. Such a position in Catholic Christians is a crying abuse. That a representation made to the Government by the ecclesiastical Commissioners, would have no influence on the course of this business is not to be credited. For if the Commission has hitherto exerted an injurious influence on the Church, it might now by a statement of the truth exercise a salutary one. To exert any ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a Government Board, or any of its members *as such*, has never occurred to the archbishop, but only on *Catholics*, and in respect of the duties, too, which were incumbent on them as Catholics. Now it is the plain duty of every Catholic to hear the teaching Church, the Pope, and the Bishops, and to believe that the Holy Ghost hath instituted Bishops, and not temporal princes, to rule the Church of God.

All exhortations and remonstrances made to these Commissioners on the part of the Archbishop and his Vicar-General having proved fruitless, the prelate resolved to expel from the Church these refractory members. Instead of obeying their spiritual superior they had re-

course to the temporal power. The Government sent the Counsellor of State, M. Von Stengel, to employ every threat with the Archbishop in order to deter him from the discharge of his duty. These menaces failing to shake in the least degree the apostolic firmness of the aged prelate, M. Von Stengel requested a delay of fourteen days, before the sentence of excommunication should be promulgated. This respite the Government employed for passing the ordinance of the 7th November, 1853, whereby the episcopal rights of the Archbishop were virtually suspended; for no act of jurisdiction could he exercise without the approbation of a special lay Commissary, called Charles Burger.

On the expiration of the fourteen days, the sentence of Excommunicatio Major against the eight ecclesiastical Commissioners, was by order of the Archbishop promulgated on the 7th November, 1853, in the Cathedral of Freyburg, and in the parish church of Carlsruhe. On the same day the sentence of Excommunicatio Major was also promulgated against the civil Commissary, Charles Burger.

Thus did the venerable Archbishop of Freyburg exhaust every measure of conciliation, before he proceeded to excommunicate these unworthy members of the Catholic Church. Nothing can exceed the wisdom—the gravity—the Apostolic firmness of the Pastoral, which this excellent Prelate, now in his eighty-first year, issued on this occasion. We can spare but one extract.

“These three acts,” says he, “the purely personal and pastoral condemnation of the members of the ecclesiastical Commission—the appointment to the above-mentioned curacy*—and the examination of the seminarists—all things purely ecclesiastic, permitted by that very independence which the Constitution of the country accords to the Church, and to which in all countries of the world bishops possess an undisputed right, the Grand-Ducal Ministry has chosen to regard and treat as encroachments on the rights of the sovereign. This Ministry in the week before last sent one of its members to confer first with ourselves in private, then in an Assembly held with us and our Chapter, called upon us under threats to revoke our aforesaid Acts as actions of disobedience to the laws of the land, and to submit without reserve to the ecclesiastical law of the state, as it exists *de facto*. But our holy Church

* That at Constance.

teaches us the obligation of obeying legitimate Powers only in things permitted. The Christian must not obey the civil Power, when it commands anything unlawful in itself, for the simple reason that such is forbidden by God ; *we must obey God rather than men*. Hence, as our duty dictated, we repelled this demand, and our venerable Chapter, as was to be expected from it, has stood by its bishop. We have, in a special address to the Ministry dated the 4th of this month, (November, 1853,) expressed our firm resolution to guard the rights of the Church.

“But now something incredible, and perfectly unique in the whole history of the Church was to take place! By a ministerial Ordinance of the 7th of this month, announced in the Government Gazette, We, the Bishop of a million of the Faithful, and the Metropolitan of an extensive ecclesiastical province, were de facto suspended from the spiritual government of the archbishopric committed to us by God. The government of this, to us so precious portion of the Church, must according to the ordinance of the Ministry be carried on by a subordinate police-functionary, without whose approbation, We, the Archbishop and our officials can perform no official act, nor issue any ordinance to the faithful. And this functionary, who is baptized in the Catholic Church, has accepted this commission, and provokes her to chastise him.

“Oh! may we not exclaim with a great Confessor of recent times, ‘Thank God! the turn of violence is come!’ But what is inflicted on us is not open violence,—this violence has something to command respect; but here one would fain make the Church and her head pastor—we fear not to use the expression—*dumb*.

“By this ordinance it has been attempted to detach our spiritual sons from us, their spiritual father: they have been flattered, but at the same time their honour has been wounded, as their presumed disobedience has been extolled, and temporal advantage promised to them.

“It has been attempted by measures of police to separate us the divinely-ordained pastor from our flock. Without any ground whatsoever, ecclesiastical obedience and the open profession of it has been likened to a disturbance of the public peace. All the faithful who are prepared to undertake the defence of the rights of the Church, are menaced with penalties as in the time of warfare. In a country, where by the Constitution liberty of the press is established, all presses have been confiscated, that they might print nothing from us in defence of the Church’s rights. Faithful Catholic priests have been threatened with measures of police, and impunity promised to those who should violate their duty.

“Thus to all former violences has been added the extremest dishonour to the Church! Nay, the last steps of those state-canonists manifest to every one, what plan they pursue against the Church of God; they reveal the final term on that frightful field, where the Church can neither live nor die.

“Now will the public judgment of those who still have faith, and of those who love righteousness, be clear. This portion of God’s heritage hath, indeed, long been a scandal to the righteous; but now it stands revealed before the eyes of the whole world.

“We, O beloved priests and faithful children, are now given for a spectacle to angels and to men. Let us in this our trying situation be all worthy of our mother, the holy Church. Let us be devoted to God, willing to offer sacrifice, obedient after the example of Him, who was obedient unto death, and even the death of the cross. But may Almighty God grant us the strength, that we may be unto you an encouraging example, true to the cry: ‘For righteousness struggle with all the power of thy soul, and strive even unto death for righteousness. And God will subdue thy foes for thee.’”—Volk’s-Halle, 22 November, 1853.

Now began the work of religious persecution. An ordinance was promulgated by the Grand-Duke, inflicting the penalty of imprisonment on every ecclesiastic, who should read to the people this pastoral, or the sentence of excommunication against the Church-Commission, or on any layman who should dare co-operate in the publication thereof. The Chapter, as we see, rallied round the intrepid prelate, cordially acted with him in his resistance to the usurpations of the state, and has shared all his labours, trials, and persecutions. With five or six exceptions, the parochial clergy, we are happy to say, have remained true to their archbishop and the cause of ecclesiastical freedom. A touching instance is recorded of a blind priest, who from the lips of his aged mother learned by rote the archbishop’s pastoral, and then mounted the pulpit, and repeated its contents to his congregation. The pay of the Archbishop and of the Chapter was withheld by the Government. The priests, who had been guilty only of reading the incriminated Pastoral, were sometimes on leaving the Church, publicly and brutally seized by the police, and dragged to prison. Some parishes were bereft of their only pastor, and in consequence, was the celebration of the Divine Mysteries suspended. In other districts the people surrounded the prisons, where their priests were incarcerated, and loudly demanded their liberation. Other parishes addressed to the government petitions and remonstrances, which it was compelled to attend to.

The laity, as well as the clergy, have of late been marked out for persecution. One of the cabinet ministers, a relative of the excellent Catholic, Baron von Andlau—

disgusted with the intolerant policy of the government, has tendered his resignation. Various public functionaries who would not lend themselves as instruments to the tyrannical measures of the Court, were either deprived of their places, or transported to others of inferior dignity. This infatuated government, which has all along evinced such weakness and irresolution towards the democrats and the socialists, has had the incredible folly, as well as meanness, to persecute the hawkers and vendors of Catholic publications.*

The Archbishop, true to his apostolic character, has exhorted his diocesans to remain peaceful and loyal to the Government, and, instead of gathering together in tumultuous meetings, to assemble in the House of God at stated times, in order to offer up prayers for the persecuted Church.

The Government, fearful of the effects which the incarceration of the clergy would have on their people, has of late resorted to the system of fines. This profligate Cabinet little calculated on the energetic opposition it has encountered in the Catholic population. It naturally conceived that the systematic corruption, which more than any other German court it had for the last fifty years resorted to in order to debauch the faith and morality of its subjects, would have rendered them not only passive spectators, but ready instruments of its irreligious tyranny. It had hoped its Erastian views would be carried out by a clergy as anti-papal and anti-celibate as that of 1830, which had called down the censures of Pope Gregory XVI., and had overlooked the process of internal regeneration which it had been passing through. It had forgotten that the population had felt the great Catholic Movement of 1837, which had pervaded all Germany; that it had been disgusted with the miserable schism of Ronge, had cruelly suffered from the Socialist revolution of 1848, and been edified and consoled by the Jesuit Missions of 1850. The present persecution, which would have been most perilous in Baden twenty years ago, can now tend only to consolidate and diffuse the faith; and the triumph of the Church in that country—prepared as it has been by preceding events, will now be consum-

* See Volk's-Halle for December 1853.

mated. Already the other Governments of the Upper-Rhine, appalled by the noble attitude of the Baden clergy and people, have shrunk from invading the sanctuary, and enforcing those measures of oppression against the Church, which they embodied in their Resolutions of March 1853. Who doth not see the finger of God in all these events?*

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- ART. II.—1. *Venerabilis Bedæ Opera Historica.* Ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum recensuit Josephus Stephenson. Loudini: 1838.
2. *Bedæ Opera Omnia.* By the Rev. J. A. Giles, D. C. C., late Fellow of C. C. C., Oxford. Whittaker and Co. 1843.
3. *Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.* Cura Roberti Hussey, B. D. Hist. Ecclesiast. Prof. 1846.
4. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History.* Bohn's Antiquarian Library. 1847.

THE year 680 is one of the most memorable in the earlier ecclesiastical annals of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. In that year the great St. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, presided in the National Council of Hatfield, in which the voice of the Hierarchy of the Heptarchy was, for the first, and we believe the only time, synodically expressed upon matters of Catholic faith; the Prelates proclaimed their adhesion to the doctrines of the five first General Councils, and subscribed the decisions of a synod in Rome, under Pope Martin, condemnatory of the heresy of the Monothelites. In this year also, St. Wilfrid, recently restored to his See of York, sat as the representative of the Angles, Britons, Scots and Picts, in a council assembled by Pope Agatho in Rome, preparatory to the holding of the sixth General Council, the third of

* We had written the above when we learned by the newspapers that the Government of Baden has revoked the ordinances against the Archbishop.

Constantinople. In this year also, John, the Precentor of St. Peter's, in Rome, was employed in thoroughly and finally establishing in the Monasteries and Churches of Northumbria the complete ceremonial of Rome, and more especially that Choral Service which, after a considerable interruption, our newly created Canons are now about to resume. In this year, too, the noble Lady Hilda died, the most illustrious of Abbesses, the counsellor of Kings, the nurse of Bishops and learned men, whose name, even though it be mentioned in connection with "Lady Hilda's Snakes," is still named with veneration and affection by such as dwell on the coasts of Deira and Bernicia. In the same year also, (and we will on no account pass him over,) died Lady Hilda's "warden of the oxen," Cædmon, the prodigy of his own age, and the wonder of ours; as remarkable in his life as in his death; the first and greatest of Saxon Bards, who undoubtedly "first sung of chaos and eternal night," and revealed to Milton the hideous landscape which first met the eyes of the fallen archangel. It was in this year also, when not more than four stone-built Churches were to be seen from the Humber to Iona, nor more books, probably, than many of our readers can number on their own shelves, that an Anglo-Saxon child, seven years old, probably an orphan, was conducted by his relatives, and consigned to the care of the Abbot of a neighbouring monastery, where he lived to be ordained Deacon at the age of nineteen, Priest at thirty, and died at about the age of threescore, leaving behind him writings which lived in the hands of men a thousand years without the aid of the press; and which, when a foreign press first threw them forth in the shape of eight folios, were found to contain evidence of masterly acquaintance, not only with the Biblical learning of the time in its highest and widest range, not only with the vast and varied literature which the Church had created in seven prolific centuries, but also with the literature, the history, the science, and the philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome.

We readily believe that there is scarcely one of our readers who has not long since discovered, under this slight disguise, and perhaps slight exaggeration, that this "*clarum et venerabile nomen, et multum nostræ quod profuit urbi,*" is the name of Venerable Bede. Indeed, there is very

little disguise here at all, beyond the suppression of his name. In three or four lines we have given almost the whole of the authentic details which we possess of the life of Bede. Never, perhaps, was there so great and venerated a name linked with so brief a story. How the heart of the child may have beat when brought into the presence of Bennet Biscop, the far-travelled Thane, trained to arms in the court of the Bretwalda, now the Reverend Abbot of the Monastery; how the young cœnobite was disposed of after taking leave of his guides; his dress, his bed, his board, his school, his amusements; how soon he began to "perfect praise" by mingling his treble with the resounding choir; how soon he was set to minister at the altar, "girded in a linen ephod,"—upon such matters as these we need not wonder that both he and his contemporaries have been silent, although he himself, when he both wrote and sung of the life of St. Cuthbert, lovingly went into details quite as minute as these. But the misfortune is, they have been equally silent upon every other period of his life.

Little as we know of the schoolboy, we know no more of the modest and pious Deacon, the devout Mass-Priest, the learned and laborious Monk. Altar, choir and cell, the late and early lamp, and parchment volumes—these, and a few casual particulars scattered through his writings, (and seldom were writings more scanty of them,) are all the materials available to most enthusiastic of his admirers, wherewith to construct a biography of the Monk of Jarrow. But we have probably more cause to lament than to complain of this. The life of Bede cannot have been rich in incident. Mere literary biography was not in fashion, and even if it had been attempted, would have possessed few charms in the eyes of the men of his age, or in ours either, we suspect, unless it had been written by himself. A year or two after his death he was appropriately and expressively styled by St. Boniface "the lamp of the western Church." And what can be said of the lamp, even of the sanctuary, but that it burns and shines by day and by night, burns and shines stilly and silently consuming itself in the Sacred Presence which it proclaims? Add to this that the two matchless communities that he left behind him were dispersed, and their Monasteries spoiled by the torch and brand of barbarians before the close of the century in which he died; and thus a miserable stop

was put to greater things, probably, than a biography of Bede.

There are some who would persuade us that England has no history prior to the Great Charter, and very little indeed deserving the attention of an age like this before the rebellion of Monmouth, and the landing at Torbay. It would be very easy to show that this narrow and partisan sentiment is not universal. Some of the most elaborate works, and the predilections of some of the brightest literary names of the age, do not favour it. The "Corpus Historicum," sanctioned by Parliament, and intended to embody every document, and every fragment, bearing upon our early history, in every language, beginning with Herodotus, will close five or six hundred years before the days of Clarendon and Burnet, the real fathers of English history, according to this school. The fifty volumes of the "English Historical Society" will stop at the reign of Henry VIII., wholly confined to the field of history which lies beyond both the Revolution and the Reformation. Bohn's progressing series of the translated Chronicles of England, shows that some portion of the million even have leanings in the same direction. And when, to the distinguished names employed upon these noble undertakings, we add those of Thorpe, Palgrave, Hallam, Wright, and Kemble, as well as a list of congenial names in France and Germany — Lappenberg, Pauli, Thierry, Guizot—we shall have shown that there is an amount of interest and curiosity, in our age, regarding Anglo-Saxon life and literature, which is not likely to be wholly absorbed by the reign of William of Orange, and his immediate successors. The humble list, at the head of our article, not complete, of the Ecclesiastical History of Venerable Bede, which scarcely covers the period of the Bretwaldas, sufficiently proves that, in common with every other nation, Englishmen have a keen and curious, if not a very affectionate interest, in looking back to the early development of that spirit, and the very first germination of those institutions, which the Anglo-Saxon race is now so resolutely diffusing and planting, wherever there is room for diffusion and planting, on the face of the globe.

However, it is not our purpose at present to state what amount of claim either the history or the literature of those early times may have upon our generation; our object is a much more humble one; we merely purpose,

preparatory to an early notice of the "*Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," (more especially the works of Bede, (now, strange to say, published for the first time in England,) to put before our readers a few remarks chiefly connected with Bede, which have occurred to us on looking over and comparing the editions of his history before us.

We are sorry to say that we cannot pass any high commendations upon that of Dr. Giles. Since it will again come under our notice as forming the first three volumes of Venerable Bede's works, we will merely say that it is preceded by one hundred and fifty pages of prefatory matter of no great value, is wholly without note or comment, and is distinguished by a peculiarity of very questionable taste, an English translation on the dexter page confronting the Latin of the original.

Bohn's Edition, also edited by Dr. Giles, is a much preferable volume; it contains, besides the History, a translation of the Saxon Chronicle, elucidated by brief historical notes, and is prefaced by a life or rather eulogium of Bede, written by Dr. Giles, and written with a sincerity of veneration and scholarlike enthusiasm for which we render him hearty thanks.

By far the best edition which we are acquainted with in one volume is that of Mr. Hussey. It contains besides the history, the interesting Lives of the Abbots, the noble and apostolic Epistle, addressed by Ven. Bede the year before his death, to Egbert, Bishop of York, and the letter of St. Boniface to Cuthbert, a document of great importance in the Ecclesiastical History of this period. It contains, too, the valuable notes, (but not the appendices) of Smith, with a large addition of his own, distinguished for judgment, accuracy, and research, frequently corrective both of Smith and subsequent editors. In our opinion, Mr. Hussey deals with the obscurities of the history, and they are not few, in a more satisfactory manner than any previous editor.

But the first edition in point of time, and if taken with "*Opera Minora*," which forms the second volume, the first in value also, is undoubtedly that of Mr. Stephenson. The supplementary documents collected in the second volume are both extensive and of great value, selected with liberal judgment, often difficult of access, at least one of them, "*Lives of the Abbots*, by an anonymous writer," now for the first time printed, and all of them

necessary almost for the elucidation of the period over which the History extends. The notes are not very numerous, are very brief, (sometimes more brief than satisfactory,) and seldom enter into discussion. He has adopted very judiciously, considering the field before him, the curt, pointed, and compendious style of annotation, in which it is now the fashion to illustrate the ancient classics; but he is apt merely to point out a difficulty, and pass on with a reference to some extraneous source of solution. He has rendered welcome service by giving some account, in very few words, of the more obscure personages that we meet with in the History, and has paid great attention to chronology. This edition also, is prefaced with a brief biography of Bede, an analysis of the history, and an interesting account extracted from Bede, of the documents and sources of information of which he availed himself in the composition of his History. For these reasons, and also because it stands at the head of the noble series, published by the Historical Society, for which Mr. Stephenson is the Editor, this is the edition which will undoubtedly be chiefly consulted by historical and critical writers hereafter, and the one to which we shall principally refer in the course of our observations.

It was not to be expected, that even by an elaborate investigator, much either of consequence or novelty could now be brought to light in connection with the life of Ven. Bede; but there is one discovery for which we are indebted to Mr. Stephenson, which he conceives to have been made under happy auspices, and upon which he plumes himself with a complacency quite, we think, up to the mark of his merits. The question it raises is one, we admit, rather of interest than importance; but it occupies conspicuous space in Mr. Stephenson's preface, and gave rise to a controversy which we venture to think has rather been reopened than closed by the opinion pronounced upon it by a writer, as our readers will find, of illustrious name.

It is no longer a question whether Venerable Bede ever visited Rome or not. The affirmative, for reasons easily assignable, has been abandoned; but whether or not he was ever summoned to Rome, and that in terms highly complimentary to himself, we take leave to consider as still an open question. William of Malmesbury, cautiously

and expressly declining to answer for the fact of the *visit*, says there can be no doubt whatever about that of the *invitation*; and thereupon transcribes a letter of Pope Sergius to Ceolfrith, Abbot of Jarrow, in which, after stating that he had matters on hand which required the assistance of men of learning and research, he charges him to lose no time in sending "religiosum Dei nostri famulum Bedam, Venerabilis tui monasterii presbyterum, ad veneranda limina Apostolorum." This we suppose would have been decisive of the question if it had not contained an anachronism. Bede was not a priest at the date of this letter, 701, nor till two years after. This difficulty has given rise to much home and foreign controversy; some writers pronouncing the whole letter to be a palpable forgery; others content with surmising interpolation; others endeavouring, but in vain, to reconcile it with opposing facts that cannot be disputed. Mr. Stephenson is confident that it has been reserved for him, after the lapse of seven centuries, not only to demonstrate the interpolation, but to drag to light the interpolator. Among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, he has met with a copy of Pope Sergius's letter, which he supposes to belong to the early part of the eleventh century, and which contains neither of the words Bedam nor Presbyterum, but runs thus, "religiosum Dei nostri famulum venerabilis tui monasterii ad limina Apostolorum," &c. We will place before the reader Mr. Stephenson's reasoning and inferences upon this fortunate discovery.

"The volume" (containing the Cottonian MS.) "was written in the early part of the eleventh century, and is therefore much earlier," (say a century) "and of better authority than *Malmesbury*."

"It appears, therefore, that Malmesbury having met with a letter in which the Pope requested Ceolfrith to send *one of his monks to Rome*, concluded that Beda must have been that individual, and without attending to the chronological difficulties which attend such a supposition most unjustifiably *inserted* Beda's name in the text, and also designated him as 'presbyter,' which rank, as we have seen, he did not attain until some time after the death of Sergius. Thus arose the error respecting Beda's mission to Rome, which, after a lapse of seven centuries,

we are now able satisfactorily to dissipate.”—Introd. to H. E. pp. 12.-13.

Now we cannot consent to admit this as a successful specimen of historical criticism. Making fair allowance for a little elation of spirits, on so interesting a discovery, it savours too much of the prejudice, much mitigated in our age among scholars of his class, that the monastic writers were all incurably addicted to habits of forgery, and that when a difficulty occurs, it is quite a legitimate mode of solution, needing no apology whatever, to resort to the mendacity of the monks. This entire letter was formerly pronounced to be a forgery. Mr. Stephenson, for the credit of his own discovery, will willingly allow that it is no such thing; and it would have been graceful in him to have acknowledged, that time and the Cottonian MS. have vindicated, so far at least, both the honesty and the judgment of Malmesbury. But Mr. Stephenson's summing up has a worse fault than this. It professes to convict Malmesbury of dishonesty, and begins with assuming it, and cannot go on a single step without assuming it. We will proceed to some more specific remarks upon it.

1. The issue is, not as it will be seen Mr. Stephenson here puts it, between the Cottonian MS. and Malmesbury *himself*, but between that copy and the copy which Malmesbury professes to *transcribe*, and which Mr. Stephenson admits he did transcribe with substantial fidelity, with the exception of the two words in dispute. The question, therefore, that arises is, which of the two copies is to be preferred—is the Cottonian MS. defective here, or was that of Malmesbury interpolated by any one—let alone by Malmesbury. Mr. Stephenson prefers his own, which he conceives to be of the eleventh century. The conjectured age of the MS. is of small consequence in this instance, since it is still placed at the distance of 300 years from the date of the original letter—a period long enough to account for defects and omissions as well as interpolations. But what was the age of Malmesbury's copy? It could not well be later than the eleventh century, and may, for aught we know, have been two or even three centuries earlier.

2. “It appears,” says Mr. S., “that Malmesbury met with a copy without a name, and most unjustifiably inserted that of Beda.” But how or whence does this appear? The very reverse appears to us; viz., that he met with a

letter which *contained* the name, and transcribed it; and this because he says so. Surely the mere existence of a MS. without a name does not disprove his assertion. Or is it maintained that Malmesbury must necessarily have written from this very copy now in the British Museum, or even from one exactly conformable to it? But this again is assuming that that, or such copies, were the only ones afloat in the world for four hundred years. The variations which, though not affecting the substance of the letter, Mr. Stephenson marks as occurring between the texts of Malmesbury and that of the Cottonian MS., almost prove to certainty that he copied neither it, nor one conformable to it.

3. Again, if no copies had ever existed containing the name of Bede before the time of Malmesbury, how are we to account for the reports current in his time, and even before his time, which he avouches, that Bede was not only invited to Rome, but went? Did Malmesbury misrepresent and belie his own living generation to their faces, and interpolate a letter, to convince them that he told the truth? It may be so, but certainly the Cottonian MS. does not prove it.

4. But, after all, it may be said, since we are compelled to admit that the word "presbyterum" is an interpolation, inasmuch as it implies an indisputable anachronism, why not allow "Bedam," which is here found in connection with it, to be an interpolation also? Precisely because this word does *not* contain an anachronism, and is in no way necessarily tainted or implicated by its association with that alleged interpolation.

It is true that this answer may be retorted with some appearance of plausibility; viz., that "presbyterum" may possibly be the genuine reading of the letter, and that the anachronism may be occasioned by the insertion of the name of Bede; that the person summoned to Rome was, in point of fact, a Priest, and therefore could not be Bede, as well as that it was Bede, and could therefore be only a Deacon. But the reports prevalent in, and before, the days of Malmesbury, that it was Bede—Priest, or no Priest—who was summoned, is quite sufficient to cast the balance between these two arguments; and we will hereafter show that there is no parity of reasoning here. However, the reader will shortly see that this is the view, or nearly so, that Dr. Lingard takes of this question.

We beg to remind the reader that hitherto we have neither admitted nor denied that there has been interpolation, but have only contended that the discovery of the Cottonian MS. is insufficient to convict either Malmesbury, or any other person, of that guilt. We will now confess, however, that we are infinitely more inclined to pronounce this MS. defective, than we are to set aside the testimony of Malmesbury and his time, as well as other concurring evidence; and what is more, that we are led to this conclusion, among other reasons, by the text of the Cottonian MS. itself, in which the language of the Papal letter appears to us to be reduced to something very nearly bordering upon nonsense. Let the reader judge. Sergius, as we have said, charges the Abbot on no account to fail in paying prompt attention to his request; “sed absque aliqua remoratione, *religiosum Dei nostri famulum venerabilis tui monasterii*, ad veneranda limina Apostolorum.....non moraris, dirigere.” Does the reader say *content* to this? Is there nothing wanting, “no craving void left aching” here? How are we to translate the words we have underlined? “A monk”—“the monk”—“a certain monk”—of your house? None of these is admissible. In short, the words do not admit of rigorous translation. Mr. Stephenson adroitly, but we think “unjustifiably,” evades the difficulty by translating “one of his monks.” But even so, does this mean any one of them? That is absurd. Some particular one? But there is not a particle of specification to be found about the words. Are we to believe that his Holiness, or his secretary, writing to summon to Rome a single individual of known preeminent learning, and undoubtedly known by name, would employ mere vague and indefinite terms, and thus leave the Abbot to select a man at his pleasure, as he might do the bearer of a letter or a message from Jarrow to Wearmouth? And even if that were his meaning, it is to be presumed he would have expressed it, which he has not done. It seems to us almost *manifest*, therefore, that the Cottonian MS. is defective in this passage, and that some defining and specifying word of some description is wanting here to give to the Papal letter even common grammatical accuracy; and that word we believe to be “Bedam.” In this opinion we are proud to be supported by, we believe, as great a name as can be quoted upon such a subject. Dr. Jaffé, author of the superb “*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*,”

(Berolini, 1851,) speaking of this letter of Sergius, and having expressed his concurrence with Dr. Giles, who pronounces the letter to be genuine, adds, in reference to the question before us, "Nec minui ejus fidem puto si, cum Malmsb., post 'famulum' addamus 'Bedam.'" So that this great ecclesiastical critic, who, we imagine, is no patronizer of interpolators and interpolations, thinks it would be not very unjustifiable, but quite safe, to add this scandalous interpolation to the text of the Cottonian MS. itself.*

If this be not satisfactory to an advocate of Mr. Stephenson's opinion, it is certainly of a nature to check his triumph over the honesty of Malmesbury, and may lead him to suspect that the "error respecting Beda's mission to Rome, which, after a lapse of seven centuries, has been satisfactorily dissipated," is threatening to revive; and an error of this sort, that threatens to revive under the critical eye of the present age, is a dangerous one, and contains within it, it is to be feared, something of the vivaciousness of truth.

We must now turn to a new, and more interesting phase of this controversy.

Dr. Lingard, in his interesting "Miscellaneous Notes on Bede," (Ang. Sax. vol. II., p. 410, last ed.,) has put forth, and seems inclined to adopt, what, as far as our acquaintance with the controversy extends, we consider to be a novel opinion; at least we are not aware that it has ever been previously patronized by any distinguished advocate.

On referring to the "Notes," it will be seen that Dr.

* We were not aware, when we wrote the above, that the Cottonian MS. had undergone more careful inspection by Mr. Hardy, the result of which will startle our readers, we imagine. "The words of that document," says Mr. Hardy, though it is much injured by the fire, are, in this passage, most legible. They run thus: "Religiosum Dei famulum N," (for nomen,) and the name Beda is inserted in the margin. These words have been read incorrectly, as it seems. "Dei nostri famulum."—Hardy's Ed. of Malmesbury, vol. i., p. 87. We need make no remarks upon this extract; our readers will perceive how imperfectly the condition of the MS. had been previously described, and how arbitrarily it has been dealt with. We request them to bear in mind that this *henceforth* favourite MS. of ours does *not* contain the mischievous word "presbyterum."

Lingard makes light of the Cottonian MS., has no doubt but that "Bedam" is the genuine reading of the papal letter, shrewdly guesses, (if he had not been enlightened by Giles and Hardy,) the actual condition of that MS., and frowns upon Stephenson for his charge against Malmesbury: "The character of Malmesbury," he says, "should shield him from such an imputation;" and thus proceeds to state his opinion above alluded to, viz., that the Beda of Sergius's letter is not the Beda known to us as Venerable Bede, but some other.

"It should be recollected that Beda was not a solitary name, but probably common among the Cœnobites of that age; as we read of Beda the elder, a priest, attendant on St. Cuthbert (Ap. Min. p. 20.) and the monastery of Wearmouth contained other learned men besides Beda the deacon, as appears from the character of Witmer, one of his fellow monks. I must own that it appears to me improbable that the Beda of the letter could be our Beda; 1st, because unless we suspect the papal secretary or his Anglo-Saxon transcriber of a most glaring error, the person invited was already a priest. Yet Beda the historian was not then a priest, nor till two years after the death of Sergius; 2nd, because the person invited was one celebrated for his erudition, and it is difficult to conceive how Beda could have been honoured with such a character in Rome, at a time when he had written no book, nor given any public proof of his learning and talents. It was only after his ordination to the priesthood that he began to write by order of his bishop and of his abbot."

Our readers will have felt, in this extract, the force of that cool judgment, that lucid statement, and that inflexible adherence to his text, which constitutes so valuable and charming a characteristic of every critical remark of Dr. Lingard, and will wonder at our rashness and presumption in venturing to approach such a position so guarded. We shall attempt no apology, since none could be framed that would avail us to the extent of our necessities in such a point of view. But we know, as all our readers know, that Dr. Lingard was the last of men to take up a position with either the expectation or the wish to hold it by the mere prestige of his name. The foot-notes of his own pages, "*multorum ossibus alba*," are too thickly strewn with the wreck of other men's errors and mistakes for him ever to have flattered himself that he could have navigated the broad and perilous waters over which he sailed, without once grazing either rock

or shallow. Under these impressions we will proceed to our remarks upon his two arguments.

The first, it will be seen, is *wholly* founded upon his conviction that the word "presbyterum," is the genuine reading of the papal letter; he has no doubt, any more than we have, that it was found in Malmesbury's copy, nor can any interested motive be assigned. Mr. Stephenson neither assigns nor insinuates any, which could induce him to deviate from it. But why is that copy to be preferred to all others? We recommend the reader to be on the alert, for undoubtedly we are bringing up the Cottonian in the van of an assailing party. The Cottonian MS. does not contain the word "presbyterum." It may be said that the scribe of that copy, not being able to read the *name*, left out also the *designation*, but this would be an assumption; it was his business if he were a faithful scribe, (and we think the reader has seen some proof of his conscientiousness,) to transcribe his copy as far as he could read it, and we believe that he did so, and left out the word because it was not there to copy. So that we have already *two* MSS. in our favour.

Malmesbury, we should have said before, copied into his history only parts of Sergius's letter. Usher was in possession of an *ancient* Anglo-Saxon MS. copy, containing the *entire* letter, and his MS. did not contain the word "presbyterum." We are not aware that any other copies distinct from them are in existence. So that we have here three to one against the supposition on which Dr. Lingard founds his arguments. And even if the same argumentation be applied to the copy of Malmesbury, that we have applied to the Cottonian, the result must still be in our favour.

But how account for the presence of the word in *any*, even *one* copy, if it were not contained in the original letter? We find no great difficulty here. It may very well be the innocent and very excusable *insertion* of some copyist in the long lapse of four hundred years between the time of Malmesbury and the death of Bede, when he had come to be known as Bede the priest or presbyter, as familiarly as he is now known amongst us as Venerable Bede. There would be no greater violation either of truth or propriety in this, than there is in saying that Dr. Lingard published his "Anglo-Saxon" in 1806, although he was not graced with that title till many years after.

It may be, too, that the original ran thus: "Bedam Venerabilis tui monasterii, *diaconum*," and that after the death of Bede the copyist, may have *substituted* presbyterum, for the reasons just assigned. But granting even, what we are under no obligation to do, that the word was contained in the original papal letter, may it not have been a mistake of the papal secretary? We see nothing so very outrageous in supposing that *he*, being directed to summon to Rome from a monastery, almost upon the borders of the Scots and Picts, an ecclesiastic, whose wide renown for erudition made it desirable that he should sit in council along with the most learned men of the age upon matters concerning the universal Church, (for they were no less than such,) *took it for granted* that he *surely* must be a priest; *surely* must have attained the sacerdotal age of twenty-seven, and consequently, with such merits as his, *must* have received the sacerdotal orders, and designated him accordingly. The mistake would be singular, but certainly does not exceed belief. Our memory does not serve us at the moment, but we think there are many similar instances on record. We do not think, therefore, that the *state of the MSS.* is such as to compel Dr. Lingard to side wholly with one against the others; especially when it is remembered that it is much more easy to account for the insertion of this word in a single MS., if it did *not* occur in the original letter, than it is to account for its *noninsertion* in two or three MSS. if it *were* there. The former might be done wholly blamelessly, the latter could hardly take place but under the influence of dishonest motive, and dishonest motive, in this instance, we believe it is impossible either to assign or divine.

We must not omit to refer our readers to the text, (p. 191) to which Dr. Lingard's "Notes" are appended, where he insists upon the age of Bede, as well as upon his mere degree of Deacon, as rendering it unlikely that Bede could be the person invited. "At that time Bede was a young man of *seven-and-twenty*, and had not been advanced to the priesthood."

This objection appears to resolve itself into the previous one; for if he had been a priest, as by the practice and precedents of the time, he might have been, it would probably not have been urged; and if the question be raised as to what age would qualify him for the invitation,

we know not how it is to be settled. As it is admitted that the person was summoned for his literary services in some way or other, we suppose, if he was learned enough, he was old enough. Dr. L. maintains and proves against Mr. S., that Bede was born in 673, and if so, at the date of the invitation 701, he was assuredly in his *twenty-eighth* year, and how far advanced in it we know not. There is something remarkable in Bede's advance towards the priesthood. The canons of the time seem to require twenty-five years for deacon's orders, and five years more previous to further promotion. Bede anticipated the canonical time for the diaconate by six years; and for some unknown reason, probably to allow him more leisure as the "magister" of the monasteries, remained deacon eleven years! Mr. S. informs us that the canons respecting the age of admission to the several orders were in force at this time in England. But this can hardly be; Bede's own abbot was ordained at twenty-seven, and Easterwine abbot of Wearmouth at twenty-nine, and St. Wilfred we imagine must also have been an exception, as he is stated to have been consecrated bishop at thirty.

Neither is there, nor was there then considered to be, anything in the mere rank of deacon to disqualify for exalted and responsible office. Sigfrid of Wearmouth was elected abbot while yet in deacon's orders, and lived and died abbot and deacon. Wilfrid also was abbot of Ripon, and yet but deacon. Alcuin, who, during the latter part of his life bore an ecclesiastical burden, almost more than episcopal, and was chosen prolocutor, in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, lived and died a deacon. So that we do not see what should hinder Bede from being considered, in the language of Sergius, as "*artium literatura imbutus*," and as well qualified to render literary service as a deacon of twenty-eight, as he would be when a priest at thirty. The difference of time is too slight to amount to consequence in the case of a person of Bede's character and admitted attainments at this period.

We proceed to the second argument alleged by Dr. Lingard to prove that Venerable Bede cannot have been the "Beda" of the letter.

It must be confessed, that on the supposition, (which we adopt,) that Venerable Bede was the person invited, the distinction conferred upon him, and the tribute paid to his learning, is one which, considering the circumstances, has

few parallels. The more we dwell upon it, the more it excites our wonder. It has occurred to us that the compliment may possibly have been exaggerated somewhat. It is by no means necessary that this urgent summons to Rome should be looked upon, (as we believe it often is), as a resort to Bede as a man of pre-eminent general erudition, judgment, and experience, for his assistance in the general legislation of the Church. Neither his age, nor his secluded habits, nor his residence on the extreme borders of the Church, could have specially qualified him for a seat in the papal councils in such a character. The object for which the person was summoned, did, it is true, concern the Church at large. But may not the matter in hand have been some question of limited range—some special point, then under consideration, which Bede was understood to have pre-eminently mastered, such as the computation of time and questions of chronology? The discussion of these questions in England began in his time; we know how warmly they were debated, and we see in his works to what an extent they engrossed his attention. The very first work he *published*, (“*De Temporibus*,”) the year after, possibly the year before, he was ordained priest, was upon chronology, thus showing what field he had most cultivated, or was most eager and most prepared to occupy. This is certainly not a very extensive or elaborate work, and was soon eclipsed by another on the same subject, which made him illustrious throughout the West for accurate and masterly calculation; so much so, that in the old chronicles his name is entered as “Bede the computator,” Bede, the “chronologist,” Bede, the “last of the chronologers.” We have not any special means at hand to ascertain whether or not Pope Sergius was engaged upon any such subject. It may be mere prepossession in us, but we think the language of his letter, vague as it may seem to be, appears to favour our conjecture. The person summoned was supposed to be versed in the sciences, for so we venture to translate, (“*artium liberatura imbutus*,”) the matters in hand were such as “*non sine examinatione longius innotescendis*,” were not to be further cleared up without examination or revision, and when cleared up, “*per ejus præstantiam*,” by his superior skill, he trusted would be found to be of service not only to the Church at large, (“*ecclesiæ generali*,”) but also, (“*etiam cunctis tibi creditis*,”) to the community

of Jarrow. The Monks of Jarrow were still fighting the battle of the orthodox computation. We submit this conjecture to the judgment of our readers. We have put it before them because we believe there is foundation for it, and because it reduces His Holiness's compliment, in our opinion, to more just, and in some respects, perhaps, to more admissible dimensions. However, it is not our purpose to diminish the honours conferred upon Bede, but in proportion as they are unprecedented, we are unwilling to see them stripped from the venerable man who has worn them so modestly and so long. Be the tribute whatever it may, our readers we doubt not, will agree that it was merited, it is our belief that it was *paid*.

We cannot help thinking that Dr. Lingard lays too much stress on Bede's defect of reputation as an author at this period, when he pronounces it fatal to his claims to be the Bede of Sergius. We do not conceive it was necessary that he should have been known as an author. All that was necessary to account for the invitation, and to justify it too, was, that the person sent for, was supposed by the parties concerned, to be qualified to forward the object for which he was wanted; and we have no difficulty in believing that Bede, at this period, was both supposed and known to be so qualified. The young priest who, at the age of thirty, was prepared at the bidding of his abbot and bishop to begin the series of works which placed him at the head of the scholars of Christendom, and at three-score, wrote the delicious line, "*semper discere, semper docere, semper scribere dulce habui,*" must have borne his faculties meekly indeed if he was not known, at least to his own community, to deserve a distinguished place amongst the scholars of his country, even while he yet wore the deacon's stole. Dr. Lingard himself, at much about the same period of life, though he may not have given promise of the magnificent things which he lived to accomplish, was hailed as the brightest hope of the Church's chivalry in England, before he had sent a line to the press.

But if want of reputation as an author, at that period, militate against the claims of Bede, although he proved himself so fraught with erudition when he did begin his career as an author, it must certainly be allowed to be utterly fatal to any other Bede on record, since none of that name, either then or at any other period, is known to

have been an author at all. We hardly see the pertinence of Dr. Lingard's reference to Beda the elder and Witmær, unless it be to shew that there were learned men in both monasteries; which of course is not questioned. But Beda the elder was of Lindisfarne, and Witmær of Wearmouth. The Beda of Sergius was a subject of Ceolfrid's, a monk of Jarrow.

But granting, it may be said, that Bede's erudition was well known at home, it will still remain to be shown that its fame could have travelled to Rome at this period. With submission to the reader, we conceive that this is already done. Dr. Lingard allows that the name of the learned person whom Sergius directed to be sent to him was Beda, and a monk of Jarrow. It is plain, therefore, that the fame of *some* Beda *had* travelled to Rome, and that the same was a monk of Jarrow. Was there then at Jarrow, or even at Wearmouth, another monk of that name, who had attained to Roman fame, and yet was never heard of either then, before or since? There can scarcely be a stronger instance than this of that defect of public reputation, which Dr. Lingard exacts in the case of Venerable Bede, but so easily dispenses with in the case of the unknown.

Nor will it be difficult to shew *how* Bede's reputation *might* be, and probably was, conveyed to Rome at this period.

For this purpose we will not insist upon that flocking to Rome of Anglo-Saxons of all degrees, kings, clergy, monks, and religious ladies, which soon became matter of serious complaint as regards the last named class; nor upon the intimate acquaintance of Bede and St. Wilfred, who was so familiar at Rome, and the next to Bede himself, perhaps, in ecclesiastical learning, of all the English scholars of the time; nor upon Albinus, the Abbot of St. Augustinus in Canterbury, who knew Bede so well, that he was the first to single him out, passing over both his own and every other monastery, as the fittest man to write the "Ecclesiastical History of the Angles," whom Bede, in his preface, calls the "auctor et adjutor opusculi," his most active purveyor both of written and unwritten materials for his use, and who, as King Alfred suspends his translation to tell us, was "a man far-travelled and learned;" nor upon John, a Priest and bosom friend of Bede's, to whom, on his departure for

Rome, he made a present of his versified Life of St. Cuthbert, *to take with him to Rome*, several years before the invitation of Sergius. Any of these, or at least all of them, are quite sufficient to constitute a channel of communication by which the reputation of Bede may have been conveyed to Rome. But we will ask our readers to follow with us some other journeyers to Rome about this period. Bede informs us, that towards the close of the pontificate of Sergius, Ceolfred sent a deputation of his monks to Rome, that at the head of the deputation was Huetbert, afterwards Abbot; that the object of the deputation was to obtain from Sergius a grant for Jarrow of the same immunities as had been conferred by a preceding pontiff upon Wearmouth; that they spent a considerable time, probably a year, in Rome, transcribing documents, collecting books, and gathering whatever information they could, to bring home to their monastery; that on their return they were the bearers of two letters; the one a favourable reply to their Abbot's supplication, which reply, Bede informs us with great emphasis, was read and confirmed by the King in a synod of Bishops; the other, *the letter before us*, directing "Beda" to be sent forthwith to Rome; which letter Bede has nowhere alluded to—a silence which savours of invidiousness if the compliment it contained were paid to one of his brother monks, but extremely characteristic of his modesty if paid to himself. They arrived in Rome some time in the year 700, and left some time in the following year. Sergius died in September of that year. So that, as Dr. Lingard observes, the intelligence of his death possibly might, probably would, reach Jarrow as soon as the returning monks. "At all events," he adds, "the death of the inviter explains the cause why no use was made of the invitation." This, we hope, is a sufficiently accurate condensation, so far as it concerns our purpose, of one of Dr. Lingard's beautiful historical inductions, which the reader will find in the "Notes" referred to, and in the text.

And now, reverting for a moment to Mr. Stephenson and his translation; "*one of his monks*;"—does he still suppose that Sergius wrote to the Abbot for one of his monks, at a time when he had had a whole troop of Jarrow monks about him for a whole year, transcribing documents, rummaging his libraries, and possibly making their way to

the papal regesta?* He did want "one of his monks," but it is clear that none of the deputation would serve his purpose; and before they left Rome he would give them a letter to say who it was that he did want.

Venerable Bede has borne honourable testimony to the literary attainments of his pupil Huetbert, the head of the deputation, and as one of their objects appears to have been to augment the literary treasures of their monastery, it is natural to suppose that at least some of his companions would be men of more or less congenial character and tastes. Now, is there any thing unreasonable in supposing—nay, can we help believing, that during their long stay in Rome, in their conversations with the librarians and literary men of Rome, these Saxon monks would gratefully tell of the flame for study which Theodore and Adrian had enkindled in England, what a succession of scholars they had left behind them, how every visitor to

* For this assertion we had no authority, at the time we wrote, beyond the particulars supplied by Bede's Preface; we have since met with additional proof of it, attended with interesting circumstances. Soon after the death of Bede, St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, ignorant of the precise discipline regarding the marriage of relatives, as laid down by St. Gregory the Great, for the Anglo-Saxon Church, applied to Rome for the queries of St. Augustine upon that subject, and St. Gregory's answers, and was informed by the Librarian that they were *found missing*. He then applied to Nothelm, who had just been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and who was probably the purloiner of them; for Bede, in his preface, informs us that Nothelm, while yet a Priest, and on a visit to Rome, "having, *with the leave* of the reigning Pope, Gregory, searched the archives of the holy Roman Church, found there *certain epistles* of the blessed Pope Gregory, and other Pontiffs, on his return to England, by the advice of the Reverend Father Albinus, brought them to me, to be inserted in my history." We find no trace of the Archbishop's reply; but he does not appear to have informed St. Boniface of the state of the case; for six years after this, (if the date of the letter be correct,) St. Boniface, writing to Egbert, now Archbishop of York, sends him copies of these very letters, which he says, "I have received from the archives of the Roman Church. I never dreamt they had come to Britain," (*quæ non rebar ad Britanniam venisse*.) So that it appears probable that Ven. Bede had the original letters before him to transcribe into his history; and that the Archbishop, instead of sending them, or copies of them, to St. Boniface, sent them direct to Rome, from whence they were despatched to Mentz.

Rome was expected to return laden with books, but that there was *one* brother of theirs in Jarrow, who would give something to be there with them in the midst of the accumulated treasures of the literary world, whose whole soul, not St. Jerome's more, was devoted to ecclesiastical learning, "qui semper discere, semper docere, semper scribere dulce habebat," and who would one day shine among the scholars of England, "velut inter ignes luna minores?" We willingly allow that this is not pure history, but rather a free dip into the philosophy of history, and that our readers are quite at liberty to decline to follow us. But we do contend that it does not either violently stretch or exceed the possibilities or even probabilities of the case, and that it does point out a way by which Bede's reputation *might have* travelled to Rome at this period; indeed, a way by which all that was known of his preeminent erudition at home, might also be known at Rome.

Neither ought we to overlook the fact of the extraordinary attention paid by Pope Sergius, during the whole of his Pontificate, to the affairs of England. Among the documents entered in the Pontifical "Regesta" that we have alluded to, as coming from the hand of Sergius, there is but one alone which does not concern the welfare of the Anglo-Saxon Church; so that in his interviews with the Jarrow monks, we think it highly probable that the pontiff would prompt, and even exact much more specific details regarding the condition of their monastery, and the character of its inmates, than we have ventured to put into the mouths of the deputation. For instance, we think it very likely he would enquire what could possess those Scottish monks in their neighbourhood to adhere so stupidly to their old exploded Jewish and Egyptian cycles, and not fall in with the rest of the Church in celebrating Easter, &c. At all events, looking at these opportunities which Sergius had of knowing and hearing whatever he would upon these matters, and bearing in mind the fact that he did know, and had heard of some Bede of Jarrow's reputation, to be at a loss to know how he could either hear or know of the reputation of Venerable Bede, monk of Jarrow, looks to us like hesitation misplaced; and we cannot but think that Dr. Lingard in yielding to it, was overtaken with a little critical scrupulosity in this instance; rather than oppressed by reasonable perplexity, and thus threw the weight of his name into the wrong scale.

There are many other points in the history of Bede, to which, if space permitted, we should be glad to allude. The time and the place of his birth, for instance, are questions upon which much obscurity still rests, and which may still afford a wide field of enquiry to his biographers. Critics of a high order are much at variance respecting the year of his birth. Mr. Stephenson, unduly influenced by the reasoning of Pagi, assigns it to the year 674. We cannot see how this can be correct. Bede shuts up his History at the year 731, probably at the commencement of that year, as one of the last events which he records is the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which occurred in 731, January 13th. Bede himself says he was then in the 59th year of his age. It seems manifest therefore, and beyond the reach of reasoning to affect it, that a person who was in his 59th year in 731, must have been born before 674. He cannot have been born later than 673.

As to the second question, there was formerly a prevalent local tradition, for which, however, there appears to be no good foundation, that Bede was born at Jarrow, or the immediate neighbourhood. This was much disturbed on the first appearance of Dr. Lingard's History of England, in which he stated that Ven. Bede was born at Sunderland. This statement was also censured by Ghele, who was then in England making minute enquiries into the life and writings of Ven. Bede. In his "Anglo-Saxon Church," (vol. ii., p. 189,) Dr. Lingard reconsiders this opinion, and seems disposed to adhere to it; principally, as our readers will find, because in Alfred's translation of the History of Bede, he is stated to have been born "on *sunderland* of the same monastery;" which Dr. Lingard understands to mean on the land *sundered* or *cut off* from the monastery by the river Wear; but which others understand to mean no more than on land *sundered*, or set apart from the royal domains, for the use of the monks.

We think this question may, in some degree, be determined by resorting to another source of evidence. Bede informs us that he was born "in territorio ejusdem monasterii," which Alfred translates as above, and which, as Dr. Lingard observes, is applicable (per se) to any one of the Folclands. Both Dr. L. and Mr. Stephenson agree that the land on which Bede was born belonged, at the time of his birth, to the monks. If so, it is clear that he was born neither on the Jarrow nor Sunderland property,

but on the fish, or Wearmouth allotment, north of the river which was conveyed to them by Egfrid in 672; for they were in possession of no other. The Jarrow property, which was the next acquisition, was granted in 682, when Bede had been two years at school.

Perhaps, indeed, it is now impossible to ascertain the precise place of his birth. We cannot overlook the conjecture which is offered by Dr. Wilcock in his "*Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth*;" namely, that whereas some eminences about a mile distance from Gibside, on the north bank of the Derwent, bear his name, being called "*Bede's hills*," the place of his nativity may have been in that neighbourhood;* and although we cannot subscribe to this conjecture, yet we refer with great pleasure to the learned and eloquent Tract published so long ago by the venerable author, then a missionary on the interesting territories of which we are speaking, afterwards transferred to a more active and laborious field on the banks of the Mersey, where he still survives to survey from the Convent heights of Everton "*Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ.*"

But scanty and unsatisfactory as are the materials for the elucidation of this and many similar points in the life of Bede, it may still be possible for a careful and conscientious biographer to glean many interesting fragments of information. The quick and watchful eye of Dr. Lingard, for instance, has discovered one incident in the life of Bede of great interest, which, we believe, has escaped the notice of every other writer. Among the supplementary documents published by Mr. Stephenson in his invaluable appendix is a "*Life of the Abbots by an anonymous writer*;" who informs us that as soon as the monastery of St. Paul's (Jarrow) was completed, a colony of twenty-two brothers, of whom only ten had received the tonsure, was sent to take possession of it, and that shortly after, all of this party who were qualified to read the lessons and chant the antiphons were carried off by a pestilence, except the abbot and one little boy, (*uno puerulo*) so that they were compelled to discontinue the chanting of the canonical hours, with the exception of vespers and matins. They continued this for a week; but the afflicted abbot, finding additional affliction in the

* *The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth*, translated from Ven. Bede, by the Rev. P. Wilcock, 1818.

mutilation of the services, resolved that the whole of the office should be duly performed, and, with the strenuous exertions of all that remained, he and the boy alluded to (per se et quem prædixi puerum) contrived (non parvo cum labore) to chant it in full till the choir was better supplied. The author adds, "This boy, having attained to the dignity of the priesthood, is still an inmate of the same monastery, and is ever eloquent both in writing and discourse in praise of his abbot. This little boy I conceive to have been Bede himself," says Dr. Lingard. We think it cannot be doubted. No wonder Bede was ordained deacon at nineteen, when he could lead one side of the choir at thirteen! Notwithstanding the sadness of the topic, there is in the original an arch and pointed personality, which shows that the author was aware that in writing this passage he was putting the modesty of Ven. Bede to the blush. Bede is supposed to have had this passage under his eye when he wrote *his* Lives of the Abbots, but he takes no notice of it, but merely records the affliction of the abbot Bennet Biscop, on finding on his return from Rome that so many of his brethren (catervam non paucam) had been carried off by the pestilence.*

We mention this but as a sample of what may be done by an intelligent and conscientious critic. The time has come when, if ever, the memory of our great countryman should receive all the justice which the fragmentary records of his age will permit. Few of the available materials are now unknown. It only remains to collate, contract, and criticize. Let us hope that the example of activity which is set upon the continent—the revived labours of the Bollandists, the Benedictines, the Oratorian continuators of Baronius—will not be lost upon the countrymen of Bede;

* We are inclined to question the opinion of most of the editors that Ven. Bede had this anonymous composition before him when he wrote his "Lives of the Abbots." The words of the anonymous writer are:—"Excepto ipso abbate et uno puerulo, qui nunc usque in eodem monasterio presbyterii gradum tenens, jure actus ejus laudabiles cunctis scire volentibus *et scripto* commendat et datu." Here is an allusion to some work of Bede's, in which the acts of Wilfrid are eulogised, and we know of none to sustain the allusion but his own "Lives of the Abbots." The anonymous writer is also much more circumstantial in many respects as regards the life of Wilfrid.

and that the learned leisure and rich resources of our universities will be effectually employed in the illustration of one of the greatest names of our native literature.

ART. III.—1. *Oxford University Commission*. Report of her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford, together with the Evidence and an Appendix. 1852.

2. *The Oxford Reform Bill*. 1854.

PERHAPS there is no department of the Anglican Communion concerning which the majority of the Catholics of this great empire are more in the dark than the University of Oxford. Nor is this strange; for, while the sister University of Cambridge, in proportion to the greater distance at which she revolves round the orb of Catholic truth, * has imbibed—or rather, we should say, has traditionally preserved in her theory and her practice—scarcely any traces or shadows of the ancient faith which gave birth to the noble foundation of King's College, and the glorious pile of its chapel, which make the name of Henry VI. famous to the present hour;—still the more liberal and less exclusive system which she has pursued during the last three centuries has served to open her gates in some degree, though, it must be confessed, not always with the best results, to the Catholics of England and Ireland. But Oxford has always been so closely allied with the ecclesiastical system of a hostile establishment, and her policy has been so intimately mixed up with the cause of a party whose antipathy has ever been most deadly against

* “The Protestant Communions, I need hardly say, are respectively at a greater and a less distance from the Catholic Church, with more or less of Catholic doctrine and Catholic principle in them.”—Rev. Dr. Newman's Lectures on University Education, Introd. p. 11.

us,—we mean the Church and State Tories of the old school, whose hatred of Popery was only equalled by their hatred of Protestant dissenters—that to the great mass of people she has been, and still is, a *terra incognita*. Thus it is that the “Papist,” who is tolerated, and even respected at Cambridge, comes to be an object of suspicion and aversion in those more orthodox regions upon the banks of the Isis. A great wit of the present age is reported to have explained the intense dislike which the High Church party evince towards us, by the familiar illustration of two men crying along the Strand, “Come buy my native oysters,” the one at 8d., the other at 7d. a dozen,—a case in which he thought that the nearness of the prices of the article in question must enhance the mutual ill-will of their respective vendors. We imagine that the case is something similar between ourselves and Oxford. That University has bound up her lot from time to time with the cause of Charles I. and the Protestant episcopate, with the Stuarts on the throne as long as they were Protestant, and afterwards, when they were Catholics in exile; she has maintained the Tudor teaching of the divine right of kings, and stamped the doctrine of passive resistance with her fullest approbation; and nearly down to the times in which we live, while the master spirits of Cambridge were advocating the cause of civil freedom and of Catholic emancipation, the Oxford dons showed forth the true spirit which they had imbibed from the good old days “when George the Third was king,” by withdrawing their confidence from the late Sir R. Peel, expressly because he reluctantly conceded the emancipation of one-third of her Majesty’s subjects from the galling and insulting yoke of penal laws of three centuries’ duration.

But for our part we do not allude to the past in a harsh and unforgiving spirit. We are willing to “let by-gones be by-gones,” and to hope that, with more enlightened legislation, a brighter era has at length begun to dawn on Oxford. We only refer to past events in order to account for the singular ignorance of all the concerns of Oxford which prevails among us, and our consequent indifference to its present fortunes.

And yet we think that it should hardly be so. The traditions and associations of Oxford are peculiarly Catholic. The colleges were not merely founded by Catholics, but were especially ecclesiastical and monastic in their character.

The Reformation, which worked such havoc over this fair island of the saints, and levelled the parish churches, and altars, and chapels, and monasteries, and chantries in the dust, left Oxford comparatively untouched. Though from that time Catholic devotions were doubtless omitted, and ecclesiastical processions were dropped in practice, yet in theory they still remained at Oxford; and now it is known to the world through the pages of her Majesty's Blue Books, what previously was a secret known only to the members of the respective colleges and the literati of the University, that not only minute directions respecting these and similar devotions still remain written in the statute books of several colleges, but that for three hundred years a succession of educated men and clergymen has been accustomed to take a solemn oath, under heavy anathemas and in the name of God, that they will religiously observe these ceremonies. Add to this the fact that together with the rise of a new school of theology in Oxford during the last twenty years, has been developed a Christian reaction, such as England has not witnessed since the days of the Reformation; and that many who ten years since were the ornament and pride of that university, and the recognised leaders of religious opinion within it, are now earnest members and zealous priests of that Church, on the spoils of which they were reared as Protestants; and we have just grounds for considering that our Catholic body would not fail to take an interest in a somewhat detailed account of its internal economy.

But thus much by way of apology. In the present pages we purpose to give our readers a slight, though necessarily imperfect, sketch of the first origin of the University system; to show them what was its condition and its mode of action in the middle ages; and having traced the progress of the University from the Reformation downwards, to give as faithful and correct an account of the present condition of Oxford as it is possible to glean from the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners and our present knowledge of those who have been educated in that seat of learning.

The term "University" in the technical sense in which we are accustomed to use it now-a-days is by no means of equal antiquity with the system itself; the earliest document in which that designation is applied to the University of Paris being a Decretal of Pope Innocent III. in the early part of the thirteenth century. The origin of all

those seats and schools of learning which afterwards became so famous in the history of mediæval literature, is to be sought for, not in some one authoritative act of the founder calling them severally into being, and creating an University where there was none before; but in the voluntary aggregation of a certain number of youths as hearers and disciples of some one or two learned men, who had fixed themselves down in a favourable spot (generally in one of the larger cities), and had so attracted around them a crowd of willing and eager disciples. Thus the earliest documents which bear upon the history of the University of Bologna show that in its beginning it was a mere corporation of students, who had repaired together from distant lands, and had associated themselves together, in order to avail themselves of the instruction of a few celebrated teachers of civil law. The most ancient papers belonging to it are compacts entered into by the students themselves for mutual support and assistance; and the privileges and immunities granted to them by popes and emperors are of a subsequent date. The University of Paris, on the other hand, in its first days, was a corporation rather of graduates than of scholars; and it grew up, so to speak, under the very shadow of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. It is well known that to almost every cathedral and larger monastery there was always attached a school, where all youths who looked forward to the priesthood as their solemn vocation, and also such laymen as could afford the cost of a learned education, and who desired to improve themselves, were instructed in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. The poorer and smaller establishments, as we learn from the letters of Abelard, were in the habit of entrusting this work to one of their number, who bore the title of "Scholasticus;" while the wealthier employed a paid preceptor under the same title to instruct the junior pupils in grammar and philosophy.

In the middle of the twelfth century the concourse of students at Paris was so great, that they were obliged to divide themselves into two sections, one of which followed theology, and the other secular learning. The chief preceptor was called the rector; and all who had studied under him for a definite period were entitled to be raised to the grade of assistant teachers, first under the title of *magister* and *baccalaureus* (master and bachelor), and finally, to the rank of an independent "doctor." As soon as these three

grades were fairly developed, those who bore the above titles combined together under a rector chosen by themselves. Thus did the *University* system gradually expand itself at Paris. The *Collegiate* element was distinct, and of a somewhat later date. In consequence of the celebrity of the University, and the ability of its preceptors, the advantages of a residence there became more palpable to the Community at large. Hence at an early period of the University's existence, colleges were founded within the limits of the University by private families or religious orders. Originally they were intended exclusively for poor scholars, who were to live in them subject to certain rules of discipline; and by degrees, as more able teachers were employed to superintend the youths who resided in the various colleges, those students who did not reside within their walls came to be regarded as exceptions; so that in the fifteenth century the colleges had absorbed the existence of the University in their own.

To those who are acquainted with its early history, it is almost superfluous to observe that the University of Paris is the type upon which that of Oxford was founded and moulded. In Oxford we have the same spontaneous flocking of students to famous professors, the same voluntary combination of professors into a learned corporation. We have also the same grades or degrees, though following in a slightly different order; the same aftergrowth of the collegiate element upon the ancient system, and finally the same absorption of the latter in the former.

We extract the following statement from the Report itself, pp. 7, 8.

“The University (of Oxford), like all the older Universities of Western Europe, appears to have been at first an association of teachers, united only by mutual interest. Every association requires a legislative body and executive officers; but in all voluntary associations these essential elements exist, originally at least, in their simplest form. The houses in which the students lived, under a master in arts, or doctor in one of the faculties, who was their tutor, were called *Aulæ* or *Halls*. Their code of discipline and their system of study was that of the University. It is said, and it seems probable, that the legislature of the University in early times consisted of one house only, in which all the masters or teachers had a seat, called the *Congregation*. Being engaged in the daily business of the schools, the masters were always at hand, and could be convened at any moment except in the holidays.....In the course

of time it would seem that an increasing body of persons arose who sought the license to teach as an honour rather than as a profession ; of these, many continued to live in the place, and retained an interest in the University. It is probable that from this cause, and with a view of leaving to the actual Teachers the management of those matters which peculiarly belonged to them, the expedient was adopted of forming a second House with legislative powers, to be composed of all who had attained a certain academical rank, whether they were or were not Teachers. This body, which was called the 'great Congregation,' met only at intervals, and also bore the name of 'Convocation,' as requiring a regular summons by bedells. The House of Convocation naturally became the more important of the two, as comprehending both the Members of Congregation and the ever-increasing number of those who were not actual Teachers, and also as determining the questions which were of interest to the whole academical community."

The chief ruler of the scholars belonging to the University bore the name, first of Rector, and afterwards of Chancellor. This officer was elected by the Masters, and was generally an ecclesiastic ; and he was assisted by two other delegates of the Masters, named proctors, one for each of "the two nations,"—in reference to the great divisions of England north and south of the Trent.

Such was, some five or six centuries ago, the primitive legislature of the literary republic of Oxford. But the House of Convocation, having absorbed the earlier and smaller body into itself, continued down to a comparatively late period of history to exercise the supreme legislative power in the University ; and energy, and not stagnation being the order of the day, so widely was the fame of Oxford spread in those "dark" days, that we read of a time when, according to the annals of Anthony à Wood, in the reign of Edward I. there were no less than three hundred Inns or Hostels in Oxford. But about the time of the Reformation, in the confusion which ensued upon the violent change of the existing system, this body, which, at all events, was popular in its constitution, and admitted some freedom of thought and debate, was superseded by one of the most unhappy and imbecile oligarchies that have ever swayed the destinies of a learned and important academic body. "The heads of Houses," says the Report, (p. 8.) "had as such no statutable power in the University, before the middle of the sixteenth century." The collegiate system having absorbed the University, the influence

thus acquired by the heads of these colleges as a body could not fail of making itself felt, and naturally brought about the present state of things. In 1569, Dudley, earl of Leicester, who was at that time Chancellor of the University, imposed upon it a statute, enjoining that all measures relating to the University should be previously discussed before they were submitted to Convocation, not as hitherto by Convocation itself, but in a meeting composed of the vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Houses, and the two Proctors. In 1631, this body was formally recognized, and received the name of the Hebdomadal Board. "By this ordinance," (says the Report,) "which in 1636 was inserted into the Laudian Code, the Board was invested with the rights and entrusted with the duties which have ever since belonged to it." They are empowered to "deliberate, as occasions may arise, on the defence of the privileges and franchises of the University, and to advise, inquire, and take counsel for the observance of its statutes and customs. Also if they, or the greater part of them, think any proposition necessary for the good government, academical proficiency, repute, or common weal and use of the University, they are empowered to discuss it," in order that it may, after such deliberation, be laid before the two assemblies of Masters of Arts, of which we shall speak presently. And in another Statute it is decreed, that this Hebdomadal Board shall draw up all new measures before they are submitted to Convocation.

These two Statutes give to the Hebdomadal Board the sole initiative power in the legislation of the University, and the chief share in its administration. "By this change the Constitution of the University of Oxford," says the Report, "is essentially distinguished, not only from its own ancient form, and from the Constitution of all Scottish and Foreign Universities, but also from that of the sister University of Cambridge."

The consequences of this change have been very disastrous to Oxford. It vested the whole legislative and executive functions of the University in a narrow oligarchy of some five-and-twenty persons, generally of no very high order of ability, and of that age of life at which men usually become careless and indifferent to progress and reform, and steady conservators of all existing abuses. Nor is this all. The Doctors have since ceased to teach; the name of Regent has become a mere title. The College Tutors, on

whom the instruction of the University now mainly depends, have no place in this oligarchic body. "The present House of Congregation meets only for the purpose of hearing measures which it cannot discuss, of conferring degrees to which candidates are already entitled, and of granting dispensations which are never refused." Even Convocation itself has no power of amending what is laid before it by the oligarchs; it can only accept or reject it without amendment.

Accordingly we are not surprised at finding, since the attention of thoughtful men, both within and without the University, has been drawn to the subject, that the complaints against the Hebdomadal Board are loud, and the dissatisfaction general, and the evidence against it, which has been laid before Her Majesty's Commissioners, most copious, explicit, and conclusive. But for a full appreciation of the feeling which actually prevails in the University against the present constitution and powers of the Board, we must refer our readers to the body of evidence appended to the Report, from which, however, we will extract the following remarks of Professor Vaughan, in which the subject is briefly and temperately discussed. He says:

"Whatever may be the merits and efficiency of this part of our present Constitution, it is not a fundamental and aboriginal system. And I cannot but think that it is somewhat more exclusive in its character than can be necessary or beneficial. The Heads of Colleges are elected by their respective societies, and owe their promotion to the confidence which these bodies repose in them. This confidence may arise from a sense of past services, or the acknowledgment of qualities adapted to manage the details of finance, property, and discipline; or from social merits calculated to govern and harmonize the society. But the Heads of Houses do not necessarily, or even very generally, follow literary and scientific pursuits. Nor are they directly and closely connected with the instruction of the place. They simply appoint the Tutors, and preside with more or less activity at the terminal examinations in College. They live generally with their families, and do not immediately imbibe the spirit or learn the wishes of those who more directly carry forward the instruction. They constitute a most valuable element for legislation as well as administration; but I think that it would be advantageous, if, in addition to this, other influences were admitted to give their aid in suggesting and framing the laws of the University."

Once a week this Board has met since the days of

Charles I. and of Laud; and truly we may say that such a century-and-a-half of intellectual stagnation, as was seen in Oxford from those days down to the commencement of the present century, is almost without a parallel. And yet the legislation of Laud was not without its merits. For a century before his own time, the University had been rent asunder by the opposing parties of Calvinistic Puritans, and of the High Church faction, of whom we may take Laud himself as the most perfect type. From the time of the Reformation, intellect had thrown off the pleasant yoke of religion, and, having freed itself from the authority of an infallible guide, in the person of the ancient Catholic Church, had reaped the bitter fruit of strife and contentions. It had sown to the whirlwind and the storm; it was weary of the course which it had so fruitlessly pursued, and sunk into religious and intellectual apathy. But Laud, instead of seeking to renew the ancient ties which had bound his University to the Papacy, strove to infuse new blood into the ancient system by propounding the code of statutes, which has borne his name. The Laudian Code was confirmed by royal license; in it he restored some few ancient practices, such as Public Lectures, Disputations, and Examinations; two, at least, of which, under other circumstances, had been followed with success. The course of study which he prescribed is even more comprehensive than any which the University has ever attempted to enforce on students in general, as a condition for obtaining a degree; and it extended over seven years, a period just double, we believe, to its average length under the present system.* The lectures were delivered by

* The following is a brief outline of the seven years' course prescribed by the Laudian Code. The Student in the first year was to attend Lectures on Grammar. The Lecturer was to expound its rules from Priscian, Linaere, or some other approved writer, or to explain critically some passage of a Greek or Roman author. The Student was also to attend Lectures on Rhetoric, founded on the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Hermogenes, or Quintillian. The Ethics, Politics, and Economics of Aristotle, and Logic, were to be the subjects of the second year. Logic, Moral Philosophy, Geometry, and the Greek Language, under the Professor of Greek, of the third and fourth. The Degree of Bachelor of Arts, which then, as now, could be taken at the end of the fourth year, was only a stage in the academical course, not as now its termination.

Three more years were to be devoted to the study of Geometry,

University Professors, not by College Tutors; and not to undergraduates only, but to B. A.'s and M. A.'s also, if they wished to proceed to a Doctor's degree; and all resident M. A.'s of a certain standing were obliged by the same Code to enter upon one of the "lines" or faculties of Theology, Law, or Medicine. As to the Disputations, each student was required to "oppose" once, and to "respond" once in the Public Schools; but the Disputations have passed away, and the very phraseology of their system is now unintelligible. Public Examinations had been instituted in the reign of Elizabeth, but they became at once a dead letter. They were revived by Laud, who seems to have looked forward to them with great hope as the means of regenerating Oxford. "Suffer not," (he writes in 1640,) "that exercise which will bring so much present honour to the University, and so much future benefit to the Church, either to fail or to be abused by any collusion."* Nor would this seem to be merely the partial estimate formed of his own work by the author himself. Anthony à Wood calls it a "happy innovation," and a great and beneficial measure.† Its introduction gave a fresh impetus to study, and is said to have caused so great apprehension among the idler class of students, that one of them committed suicide the day before he was to undergo examination. What the nature of the Public Examination was somewhat more than two centuries ago may be gathered from the following passage, which we prefer to extract from the Report, rather than to give the substance in our own words:—

"The Public Examination instituted in 1636 was as follows. For the Degree of Bachelor of Arts it consisted of an inquiry into the Student's proficiency in those Arts and Sciences in which he had been bound previously to hear Lectures, namely, Grammar, Rhe-

Astronomy, Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy, Ancient History, Greek, and Hebrew, in order to attain the Degree of Master of Arts. Here the general education of the University ended. Those, however, who received their professional education at the University, remained there several additional years studying in the Faculties of Theology, Law, or Medicine.—(Stat. Univ. Tit. iv. Sec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12)

* Laud's Chancellorship, p. 211. Edited by Wharton.

† Annals, vol. ii. p. 417, Anno. 1638.

toric, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Geometry, and Greek.* To these ancient subjects Philology was to be added; and particular stress was laid on the familiar use of the Latin tongue. There was no provision for ascertaining whether Candidates for the two first Degrees were acquainted with the Rudiments of Religion. Divinity was reserved for those who professedly entered themselves in the Theological Faculty.

“For a Master’s Degree there was also an Examination like that for the Bachelor’s Degree, but extending to the Arts and Sciences, in which the candidate was bound to hear Lectures in the interval between the two Degrees, namely, Astronomy, Geometry, Metaphysics, History, Greek, Hebrew, Natural Philosophy.† At this point the Examinations ceased. The candidates for the higher Degrees were required only to attend certain lectures, to perform certain exercises, and to read a certain number of lectures.....As regards the subjects of these Examinations no great improvement was made on the preceding state of things. They are much the same as those specified in the Statutes of King Edward VI. The Laudian Statutes require, indeed, the addition of Philology to ‘the narrow learning of a former age.’‡ But the narrow learning was still retained, and the Students of Oxford were made to study Natural Philosophy in an age subsequent to that of Copernicus and Bacon, from ‘the Physics of Aristotle or his books concerning the Heavens and the World, or concerning Meteoric Phenomena, or his *Parva Naturalia*, or the books concerning the Soul, and also those concerning Generation and Corruption.’§ All disputants were bound to defend the ancient writers on Grammar ‘with all their power,’ and in Rhetoric, Politics, and Moral Philosophy, to maintain ‘the whole doctrine of the Peripatetics.’ The authority of Aristotle was to be paramount; and all modern writers were ‘utterly rejected.’”||

We should be tempted here to make a remark on the absurdity of a portion of the above outline, had not the Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty saved us the trouble. The Laudian system, doubtless,—as the Hebdomadal Board in their plenitude of wisdom remarked so lately as in 1850,—was “a system of study admirably arranged, at a time when not only the nature and faculties of the human mind were exactly what they are still, and must of course remain,” though we cannot admit of

* Stat. Univ. Tit. ix. Sec. 2, § 1.

† Stat. Univ. Tit. ix. Sec. 2, § 1.

‡ Stat. Univ., Tit. ix. Sec. 2, § 1.

§ Tit. vi. Sec. 2, § 9.

|| Tit. ix. Sec. 2, § 1.

the Laudian era, that it was an age in which “the principles of sound and enlarged culture were far from being imperfectly understood.” “We presume,” remark the Commissioners with much appropriateness and with no little sarcasm;—“we presume that the Hebdomadal Board did not extend its approbation to the enactments quoted above as to the text-books and authorities which were to be paramount in the Schools.” We cannot help also remarking with some surprise that even the “Rudiments of Religion” were not required from, and therefore, we presume, were not taught to, students under the degree of M. A. If such was really the state of things in Oxford two hundred years ago, and if a student, after obtaining his M. A. degree, had to commence the A B C of religion, no wonder that (as we learn from p. 57 of the Report) the theological course lasted seven years. And yet, on the other hand, upon this supposition, it is difficult to discover or divine what possible system of theology the Anglican divines had to teach that could occupy so long a period. The Thirty-nine Articles, as is well known, are the sole test and standard of orthodoxy at Oxford, and they form the sole body of dogmatic religion that is enjoined by the Laudian code to be taught in its schools; and we can hardly conceive how any Professor, however deeply learned in their lore, could spread a series of lectures upon them over so long a period as seven years. This verily would be *nugari de lanâ caprinâ*.

But after all, though the Laudian code has remained, Laud's system was a failure, and if we may judge from the facts of history, no common one. It awarded no honours; and man in general, unless aided by grace, and Protestants in particular, will not labour for the sake of so unprofitable a thing as self-culture and self-improvement. They will not make an investment, which will bring them no return. Glory and honour are the ruling motives at Oxford; as the Commissioners admit when they attribute the failure of Laud to the fact that he awarded no honours or substantial rewards,—a failure which they parallel by adducing the recent failure of similar attempts, within the last few years, to promote the studies of Theology and Mathematics at Oxford by a barren examination, without honours or substantial advantages.*

* The Report observes that in the former of those two studies the

Not being supported, then, by the solid rewards of Classical Honours and Fellowships, the Laudian system fell into abeyance within a very few years, and so it continued down to the end of the last century. How utterly ridiculous a farce the examinations had become towards the middle and close of the last century, may be judged from the following anecdotes, as related by two of the most distinguished men that Oxford sent forth in that benighted era.

“Mr. John Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon) took his Bachelor’s Degree in Hilary Term, on the 20th February, 1770. ‘An examination for a Degree at Oxford,’ he used to say, ‘was a farce in my time. I was examined in Hebrew and in History.’ ‘What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?’ I replied, ‘Golgotha.’ ‘Who founded University College?’ I stated (though, by the way, the point is sometimes doubted) ‘that King Alfred founded it.’ ‘Very well, Sir,’ said the Examiner, ‘you are competent for your Degree.’”
—Life of Lord Eldon, by Horace Twiss, vol. i. p. 57.

“Every Candidate is obliged to be examined in the whole circle of the sciences by three Masters of Arts, of his own choice. The examination is to be holden in one of the public schools, and to continue from nine o’clock till eleven. The Masters take a most solemn oath that they will examine properly and impartially. Dreadful as all this appears, there is always found to be more of appearance in it than reality, for the greatest dunce usually gets his *testimonium* signed with as much ease and credit as the finest genius. The manner of proceeding is as follows: The poor young man to be examined in the sciences often knows no more of them than his bed-maker, and the Masters who examine are sometimes equally unacquainted with such mysteries. But *schemes*, as they are called, or little books, containing forty or fifty questions in each science, are handed down from age to age, from one to another.

attempt to encourage the study of Theology for its own sake “resulted in the annual appointment of three Examiners, but has produced little more than *three Candidates* in the ten years which have passed away since its establishment. Three candidates only in an University which is “one of the principal avenues to the Ministry of the Established Church,” (Report, p. 3,) which educates between 1200 and 1300 students within its walls, and whose candidates for *Classical Honours*, over and above those who seek a mere degree, average some 180 a year! No wonder Her Majesty’s Commissioners report that “learned Theologians are very rare in the University,” and admits that “Theological Studies languish” there.—(Report, p. 71.)

The Candidate to be examined employs three or four days in learning these by heart, and the Examiners, having done the same before him when they were examined, know what questions to ask, and so all goes on smoothly. When the candidate has displayed his universal knowledge of the sciences, he is to display his skill in Philology. One of the Masters, therefore, desires him to construe a passage in some Greek or Latin classic, which he does with no interruption, just as he pleases, and as well as he can. The Statutes next require that he should translate familiar English phrases into Latin. And now is the time when the Masters show their wit and jocularly. Droll questions are put on any subject, and the puzzled Candidate furnishes diversion in his awkward embarrassment. I have known the questions on this occasion to consist of an inquiry into the pedigree of a race-horse.”—Works of Dr. Vicesimus Knox, vol. i. pp. 377—380. No. 77, of *Essays, Moral and Literary*. 8vo. London. 1824.*

“It might have been added (observes the Report, p. 59) that at this time the Examiners were chosen by the Candidate himself from among his friends, and that he was expected to provide a dinner for them after the Examination was over.”

From this state of intellectual stagnation and debasement the University was rescued, strange to say, by one who was Head of a House and a Member of the Hebdomadal Board. Oriel College has for many years been the chief home of original thought, and for the boldness of the religious opinions of its members. At the commencement of the present century, its late Head, Dr. Eveleigh, aided by one of the tutors, Coplestone, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, procured the passing of a Statute, based upon that of Laud, enjoining that every candidate for a degree should pass a public Examination in Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and the elements of Mathematics and Physics, and laying especial stress on a knowledge of the Greek and Latin classical authors; to which was

* Yet, even in the middle of the last century Dr. Johnson thus expatiated on the advantages of Oxford for learning:—“There is here, Sir,” said he, “such a progressive emulation. The Students are so anxious to appear well to their tutors: the tutors are anxious to have their pupils appear well in the Colleges; the Colleges are anxious to have their Students appear well in the University, and there are excellent rules of discipline in every College. That the rules are sometimes ill observed, may be true; but is nothing against the system. The members of a University may, for a season, be unmindful of their duty. I am arguing for the excellency of the Institution.”—*Boswell’s Life of Johnson*.

added, by way of an elegant appendage, “a knowledge of the elements of religion and the Thirty-nine Articles.” The twelve candidates who distinguished themselves most highly in the Examination, were to be classed by themselves in order of merit: thus was laid the foundation of the present Class List, which is now divided into four several classes, according to the relative degrees of merit in the candidates, and to which Mathematical Honours in four corresponding classes were subsequently joined in 1807. In 1808 a previous Examination was prescribed, technically termed Responsions, though more generally known by the name of “Little-Go,” for the purpose of testing the industry and proficiency of students during the earlier part of their residence. In 1850 a further improvement in the Examination was effected by the addition of two more schools, the one of Law and Modern History, the other of Natural Science; and the honours distributed in these four “schools” have now become, in the words of the Report, “the chief instruments, not only for testing the proficiency of the students, but also for stimulating and directing the studies of the place.”

Subsidiary to these are the still more substantial rewards of College Fellowships. A large proportion of these are open to some amount of competition, and are *usually* given with reference to the class which the candidates have obtained in the Classical Examination, although this principle is not always followed; poverty, character, and the probability that a man will prove a useful College Tutor, influencing the election in some colleges; while originality of intellect, irrespective of Classical Honours, or gentlemanly birth and connexions, determine the choice in others. A further stimulus to classical studies, and especially to that of Composition, is afforded by the University Prizes given annually by the Chancellor, for Latin and English Essays, and in Latin Verse respectively. These prizes are open to public competition, and are very eagerly contested. It is singular to observe how large a proportion of the most distinguished names in the political, literary, and religious world during the last seventy years, appear in the list of University Prize Men. Lords Eldon and Stowell, the Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Derby, Lord Carlisle, George Canning, Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, Dr. Pusey, Mr. Justice Coleridge, Sir D. Sandford, Professor Wilson of Edinburgh, the late Dr. Arnold, Dr. Whately, of Dublin, and Dr.

Hampden, of Hereford, are names which intellectually would do honour to any University; and we remark that each of these individuals gained one, at least, of the Prizes given by the Chancellor. For these the competition is great, because they add to a young man's name a *prestige* which is sure, sooner or later, to help him on towards a college fellowship; while the Report informs us that the number of competitors is comparatively small for the three Theological prizes which are annually bestowed. So utterly, indeed, does Anglican Theology languish by the side of classical attainments, in that University which is emphatically pronounced the "main avenue" to the preferments of the Anglican Church, that in some years two prizes only have been given for Theology, because either the Essays sent in were not of sufficient merit, or because no competitors at all appeared to contest them.

Such, then, is Oxford intellectually; now follows the more important question: "What is its morality?" *A priori*, indeed, considering that the University numbers some 1200 youths, most of whom are from eighteen to twenty-two years of age, untrained to the habitual use of the Sacraments of the Church, and therefore precluded from the chiefest avenues of grace, and, at the same time, left pretty much to follow their own likings, we should not expect to find that the morality of Oxford stands at a high figure. Nor is this expectation diminished when we read in the Report how scanty are the means of discipline exercised by the conjoined forces of the University and the Colleges. The former, in respect of discipline, is represented by the two proctors, who are magistrates of the adjoining counties of Oxford and Berkshire during their year of office, and who, by ancient statute enjoy the irresponsible right of entering into and searching every house within the limits of the University: and the Commissioners complain that the discipline of the place varies very much from year to year according to the vigilance or laxity of the proctors themselves, (p. 20.) The University statutes prescribe that every Student shall sleep within the gates of his College or Hall; but, in practice, a great relaxation of this restriction is allowed. So great is the demand for accommodation in most Colleges, that they make it a practice to make their Undergraduates of three years residence, take lodgings in the town, and sometimes "freshmen," as they are termed, are obliged to lodge out

of College during their first term of residence until rooms are vacant. And though the University and College statutes contemplate the hour of 9 P.M., when the curfew is regularly rung, as the time at which every student shall be within the walls of his College, still, according to the present practice, (while no Undergraduate is allowed to go out of College after that hour,) all are at liberty to remain out until 11, or in some Colleges till 12 P.M., the exact time of their entrance being punctually taken down by the porter, (who receives a small fee for so doing,) and reported next morning to the authorities of the College, who demand explanations when they think them necessary. In the morning, the College lectures extending from about 9 o'clock A.M., to 2 P.M., act as some restraint upon the Undergraduates in general; so does also the dinner in hall, at four or five o'clock, a frequent absence from which would be in every College a ground of enquiry. With this exception, to use the words of the Report, (p. 21.)

“The whole time, from two in the afternoon till midnight, is every day left at the disposal of the Undergraduate; and he often has two whole days in the week unoccupied by College duties beyond attendance once in the day at Chapel. Many Students, as we have seen, live in the town in lodgings of their own selection, to which they may return as late as they please; and they may even pass the night away from their lodgings, with little risk of detection.”

It remains only to say a word upon the punishments with which the above restrictions are enforced. We will do so in the very words of the Report.

“On the part of the University these are: 1. Literary impositions. 2. Fines. 3. Confinement to the walls of the College. 4. Rustication. 5. Expulsion. The two first of these are usually inflicted for some breach of discipline, in cases which imply no breach of morality, as, for instance, appearing without the academical dress on public occasions or at night, or for infringing the Statute *de vehiculis*; the third and fourth for gambling, or being found in circumstances implying vice; the fifth, which is very rare, for aggravated cases of immorality, and for such breaches of faith as would endanger a system of discipline which is necessarily dependant on the integrity and honourable conduct of the younger members of the University in dealing with their superiors.

“On the part of the Colleges, the punishments are much of the same kind: the first and second being used for trivial offences;

the third and fourth for the same class of offences as those just indicated in the case of the University, and also sometimes for inveterate idleness; the fifth being very rare, and involving expulsion from the University, as well as from the College.”—p. 21.

The remarks of the Commissioners upon this state of things, are true, and sensible enough:

“It is obvious,” they say, “that, from the mode of life engendered in a society such as the Collegiate system implies, some of the chief characteristics of the education of the University must proceed. The Student is enabled to enjoy a considerable amount of independence, limited though it be by such restraints as are imposed by living in common with his equals, and by the control, more or less strict, of his superiors. Opportunities are afforded for social intercourse of a more intimate and genial character than would be found in a system of solitary study.....

“On the other hand it must not be overlooked, especially in comparing the present Collegiate system with other modes of supervision to which we shall presently advert, that these advantages cannot be secured without counterbalancing evils. The amount of individual freedom which we have described, necessarily opens great facilities for idleness, extravagance, and dissipation. The easy intercourse of College life is apt to degenerate into lounging and indolent habits, and from these the transition is sometimes rapid to gambling and vice.”—p. 22.

And again,—

“It is satisfactory to find, when we compare the discipline, the order, and the morals of the University with what they are reported to have been even within the memory of living men, that a decided reform has taken place. The venerable Mr. Philip Duncan says, ‘I have resided within the walls of New College for above sixty years, and have had great satisfaction in witnessing many admirable improvements in discipline, morals, and education in the University.’ In the account of Oxford, given by Dr. Vicesimus Knox, towards the close of the last century, the Proctors are accused of attending chiefly to ‘vexatious formalities,’ and ‘passing unnoticed,’ or but slightly correcting, for the sake of appearance, ‘drunkenness and debauchery;’ the Deans of Colleges are said ‘seldom to choose to incur the odium of being disciplinarians, and of inspecting, with any peculiar vigilance, the conduct of the juniors;’ of being ‘often very attentive to court the favour of the young men who are to succeed to Fellowships, and who may afterwards reward the negligence of the Dean.’.....For some of the gravest charges formerly brought against both the authorities and the Students of the University there appears now to be little or no ground.”

As to the actual state of morality in detail, it will be necessary again to adopt the language of the Report, and to substantiate its statements in one or two points. The following is the confession of Her Majesty's Commissioners with respect to the character of Oxford Undergraduate life.

“Of existing evils the most obvious are sensual vice, gambling in its various forms, and extravagant expenditure.

“Little can be done by direct enactments to restrain the two first of these evils. External decency, on the whole, is well preserved in the town of Oxford. The amount of temptation to the unwary, however, is such as might, by increased vigilance on the part of the Proctors, be still considerably reduced. But in the villages round Oxford, and in places still more remote from the Proctors' jurisdiction, the opportunities to vice are too abundant. The Metropolis itself is not beyond the reach of ill-disposed or weak young men, who, as we have shown, may often have the whole day at their command.

“Gambling is carried on in the University, as elsewhere, in such a manner as to make it extremely difficult of detection. When discovered it is always severely punished. At times, within the last twenty years, it has reached a great height. It is usually introduced into a College by one or two individuals, who bring the practice from without. A fashion thus springs up in the circle of their immediate acquaintance, which, indeed, often dies out when that one generation of Students has passed away, but which is very fatal in the meantime, since, from the nature of the case, it can be discovered only by accident. A system of espionage would be wholly uncongenial to the spirit of the place.

“The habit of extravagant expenditure is more widely extended than either of the evils just mentioned. But flagrant instances of misconduct in this respect, such as come before the courts, and raise the indignation of the public, are less frequent than formerly; and a large number of Undergraduates are disposed to practise as strict an economy as their position admits.”

Our readers will forgive us for inserting here a long quotation from Mr. Jelf's evidence, because, after reading very carefully through the whole report and evidence, we find no passage which goes so practically and fully into the question of morality as the following extract; and it would be unfair towards our readers to suppress it.

“The points in which the well-being of the Undergraduates requires to be protected by a stricter discipline than at present seem to be, are the houses of ill-fame, tandem-driving, intoxication, horse-racing, steeple-chases, &c.

“With regard to the first, the evils need not be specified. The first prayer of every Christian parent must be that his child may be preserved from them; and it seems to me that the University owes it to herself as a place of Christian education, and those whom she receives into her bosom professedly to educate as Christians, that those entrusted to her care shall be protected as far as her utmost power extends. It is true that the utmost strictness or watchfulness of discipline cannot alter natures or stifle passions; that those who have no powers of self-control, or are habituated to vice, will find the means of indulgence somewhere: but it is in the power as it is surely the duty of the University and her officers to diminish the temptations and remove the opportunities as far as possible; especially out of the way of those who may be overcome by temporary excitement or sudden temptation, which might by God’s blessing pass away, if the opportunity of gratifying it were out of their reach. The abodes, or the agents of vice, should not be tolerated within the precincts where extraordinary powers are given her for the very purpose of suppressing them. The Commissioners will see that I do not agree with those who look upon bad houses as a necessary evil, or with those who hold that purity is increased by the presence of temptation.

“Intoxication, banished from civilized society in the larger world, still exists, though much diminished, yet to a considerable extent, in the very last place where it ought to be tolerated. It would, of course, be very much lessened if the occasions which experience tells us lead to it were suppressed. Supper parties in or out of College, public dinners, such as the Eton, the Irish, &c., at which more or less of intoxication invariably during the years I knew Oxford took place, might be stopped. And, above all, care might be taken to guard against the introduction or toleration of clubs for cricket, archery, &c., to which a dinner is attached; for, however regular and quiet may be the founders of such a club, and however moderate their expenses at first, each succeeding generation of members departs more and more from the original intentions, and no rules can prevent their doing so. The ‘Isis’ Archery Club is a remarkable instance of this. Its original founders were steady students of Christ Church; the expenses of each dinner were specially limited in the rules to a moderate sum; what it became before it was finally put down, many will remember with regret. There were formerly three clubs of this description; two of them, the ‘Quintain’ and the ‘Isis,’ were composed almost exclusively of Christ Church men, and were put down by the Christ Church authorities about seven years ago; the other, the ‘Bullington’ Cricket Club, still exists, and unless it be very much changed from what it was when I used to hear of its proceedings, the scenes which take place, and the songs which are sung at its dinners, held, I think, once a week, are a curse and a disgrace to a place of Christian education. Nor are these clubs

and supper parties evils merely as being occasions of intoxication and obscenity to men already depraved, but they are violations of a principle which to my mind ought always to be kept in view by University and College authorities, viz., to keep the atmosphere as clear as possible from whatever may lead astray those entering on their academical life. It is this which, in my opinion, justifies and even calls for the removal of a man whose example or persuasion is misleading others to evil; and I am convinced that there is no more powerful instrument of evil than supper parties, &c. Take the case of a young man coming up from home with good intentions of living regularly and working hard, looking back with regret to school follies and idleness (and I firmly believe most men do come up with such feelings); looking to the University as a place where by God's grace he may carry out the solemn promises of making progress in religious and useful learning and training, with which he gladdened his father's heart as he left home: he is invited by an old schoolfellow to meet a few friends at supper; he goes in ignorance of what a supper party really is; the result is, that if not made drunk himself, he sees others drunk, he hears conversation and songs which no one can hear without pollution; he forms an impression of University life, and University habits very different from what he expected, and unless he is of more than ordinary firmness, he becomes entangled in the vortex, and then in his turn entangles others. I do not know how the Bullingdon Club is managed now, but I know that shortly before I left Christ Church, schoolboys who came up to matriculate were taken up there and made drunk, and this always seemed to me to be sufficient to settle the question of its being allowed to exist any longer. I believe I may appeal to the recollection of former Christ Church men in proof of the evils which result from supper parties; to the present state of Christ Church in this respect, in proof of the benefits which result from their suppression, which has been gradually but, I trust, finally carried out in that College."—Evidence, p. 82.

The evidence of Mr. W. Jelf, formerly Proctor of the University and Censor of Christ Church, and of Mr. M. Pattison,* Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College,

* "The habits and manners, which gave the conventual system its good effects being changed, we must not think any virtue resides in its mere forms. If little or nothing of moral influence is obtained by intramural residence, neither is the College gate any mechanical security against dissolute habits. The three great temptations of the place I suppose to be fornication, wine, and cards and betting. Without exaggerating the turpitude of the first-named vice, yet every one who is aware of the amount of

would seem alone to establish, by direct evidence, the fact which we assume as *à priori* probable: yet, still, the further question may very fairly be raised, as to whether those gentlemen mean their testimony to refer to the University in general, or to a part of its Students only; and if to a part, then to how large a proportion of them. Our readers are aware that this point has been sharply debated of late in the public papers; and that, in answer to a very sweeping condemnation of Oxford Society, one convert gentleman, formerly an Anglican clergyman, and a member of Balliol College, publicly declared that during the three years which he passed within the walls of the University, he "could scarcely recall a word uttered in the precincts of his own College which he should blush to hear uttered before a mother, a wife or a sister;" (Catholic Standard, Jan. 14, 1854,) and that his assertion was supported by a former member of Christ Church, who bore a similar testimony to the respect outwardly paid to religion in the very largest of all the Oxford Col-

moral and intellectual prostration traceable to it here, must wish that every protection against temptation should be afforded to the weak and unsteady. It may be left to any one to estimate what amount of such protection is given by the necessity of being within doors by midnight."—Evidence, p. 43.

"I would not sanction," remarks Mr. Hayward Cox, "the practice of lodging in private houses.....my experience leading me to believe that, while the collegiate system is defective as regards the moral superintendence even of those Students who reside within the walls, opportunities amounting to absolute licence are afforded to those who lodge beyond the College walls, aggravating these defects by facilitating indulgence in extravagance and dissipated habits, beyond the power of the collegiate authorities to remedy or even to check. I speak very decidedly on this point, from intimate knowledge of the mischief which constantly arises from the practice in its present limited form. In the case of freshmen, it would be absolutely ruinous. I know it to have been so in cases where young men, recently from school, have been placed in lodgings during the day, though they slept within the precincts of the College of which they were members.".....Evidence, p. 94. On this same plan Mr. Temple remarks that if it were adopted, it "would have a most pernicious effect on the morality of the University. The openings to vice," he adds, "are at present the bane of the system. It is frightful to think of the large proportion of the Undergraduates who are tainting their minds, not unfrequently for life, with the effects of an impure youth."—Evidence, p. 126.

leges, and the one in which wealthy idlers collect in the largest numbers. "Not one word," says Mr. Scratton, "did I ever hear contrary to purity or morality in the society in which I lived; not only would such language have been considered contrary to religion, but also inconsistent with the character of a gentleman. I believe that every man with whom I had any acquaintance was in the habit of saying his prayers morning and evening, while many led lives of severe self-mortification and austerity."

But on this subject, it is fortunately in our power to quote not only the opinion of individuals, but the deliberate and recorded sentiments of Her Majesty's Commissioners themselves, who have considered and weighed the evidence laid before them most minutely and attentively: and it is obvious to remark that driving, riding, and hunting, pigeon-shooting, smoking, and dining at hotels, which no Catholics would say are pursuits in themselves immoral or unlawful in a layman, come in to swell the catalogue of immoralities against Oxford.

"Those who are studious," they say, "at present are, for the most part, moral and frugal. But a large proportion of Students are now unemployed, and require additional incentives to study. Without this, there is no effectual security against vice. The University, therefore, applied what we trust will be found a great and real remedy, when, in a recent Statute, it determined that more frequent proofs of diligence should be required from the young men. Extravagance, like other vicious habits, springs from idleness. 'To correct these evils,' writes Professor Wall, 'we must make study and not amusement the law of the University.'" "The most effective mode of preventing idleness," says Sir Charles Lyell, "and thereby promoting good conduct, is to interest the great body of the Undergraduates in the Studies of the Universities."—p. 27.

And again, they say, in allusion to the worst kinds of sin:—

"We intimated an opinion that *the young men who flagrantly transgress the bounds of moral rectitude in this respect, are but a small minority, and that many are even frugal and self-denying. This applies, in a great degree, to the general conduct of the Students. Sprung from the most virtuous classes of society, and often coming from clerical homes, they are to a considerable extent under the influence of the principles in which they have been reared. Many may be deterred from vicious practices, mainly by fear of detection and its consequences; yet, we are convinced, that even if all*

restraints were removed, a large proportion of the Students would live virtuously." And further still, after adverting to the opinion of those who think that "great and general immorality exists in Oxford in despite of College discipline," they declare unhesitatingly, their own belief that "the majority of young men at present live honestly and soberly, though they have abundant opportunities and time for the practice of vice."—pp. 51-2.

As Catholics, we must, of course, remark on the singular idea of the Commissioners (who are mostly clergymen of high standing in the Anglican Church) that vicious and dissipated habits are to be remedied by intellectual excitement rather than by God's grace; by "interesting the Undergraduates in the studies of the University," rather than by leading them diligently to seek the means of grace provided by God as remedies against sin. Employment of time, we all know, is one of the secondary means of avoiding sin, which confessors recommend, especially to the young: but we are not aware of any book or treatise in which it is urged as the one panacea against sins of the flesh.

It is quite clear, we think, from the Oxford Report that like any other picture, Oxford life has two sides, and that neither of these sides, viewed exclusively, can be said fairly to represent the whole. There is the model man of Her Majesty's Commissioners, the intellectual hard-reading student, who lives only for "the Schools" and the "Class List," who looks to these as the final cause of his existence; who thinks, talks, and dreams about nothing else but of future "Honours" and "Classes" during his three years undergraduateship. On the other hand there is the "fast" man, who seems equally to consider that the final cause for which he has been sent to Oxford, nay, for which he lives, is to hunt, drive, play cards, and smoke cigars. But, as we have said above, neither of these are fair specimens of the genus Oxonian. And as much mishapprehension would seem to be abroad upon the subject, and since such an angry controversy has been raised in the papers on the subject, we will endeavour to lay before our readers what we conceive to be an average account of the career of an undergraduate in one of the better Colleges at Oxford. In order to do this fairly, we must analyze one or two different specimens of the species before us.

Within a few months before or after the completion of his nineteenth year, the first of our model fresh-men

“comes up into residence” at Oxford. He knows nothing of the place or its ways, except what he has learned from the letters of his cousin at Christ Church, the reports brought down to his old public school by former school-fellows, and the experience gleaned in the course of a week’s visit to Oxford in the previous year, when he came up to “stand” for a scholarship at Trinity or Balliol, and having duly passed his examination for Matriculation, assumed a white tie, and subscribed “the true and full meaning” of the Thirty-nine Articles in the awful presence of the Vice Chancellor of the University. Some ten or a dozen years ago he would have been safely deposited by the “Rival” or “Tally ho,” or by the slow “Pluck coach” that used to run regularly between Oxford and Cambridge, at the door of the “Star” or the “Mitre” hotel; and in the latter case, perhaps, pleasing visions of a fellowship and fame, a fat living, a deanery, and an Episcopal mitre, would have flitted before his eyes. But now he is deposited at his college gate by the more homely and prosaic omnibus. He enters; he asks for and discovers his rooms: they are up three pair of stairs, in the back quadrangle: they are well furnished, though dingy and small, and especially the bed-room, with its sloping roof, which is scarcely as big as the housemaid’s closet at his father’s park in —shire. His College “Scout” appears at his call, reads him through at a glance, ascertains his future disposition, and mentally classes him as one of the quiet and gentlemanly set. He finds himself rather lonely, but relieves his solitude by unpacking, and sleeps soundly from the weariness and excitement of the previous day. Next morning he is betimes in the College Chapel, together with some six or eight other fresh-men, who look as forlorn and miserable as himself, and seem heartily afraid of each other. His first day is spent in ascertaining and paying the valuation of his furniture, amounting to some forty or fifty pounds, and in negotiating from his scout at the cost of four or five pounds more, the purchase of the remains of the tea-service belonging to the previous occupant of the rooms,—a transfer, which, as it usually happens once every twelvemonth, and as each scout has on an average eight sets of rooms to look after, and consequently eight masters, and views the crockery of each as his perquisite,—must bring into the latter’s pocket a pretty decent yearly addition to his maintenance. After a solitary

breakfast, our freshman wanders to the College Hall, where the list of "Lectures" for the ensuing term is put up for public inspection. He finds himself in for three lectures a week in the Book of Genesis or Deuteronomy, and two more on the Thirty-nine Articles; three in a Greek Play of Euripides, three Herodotus or Livy lectures, together with a few more in Arithmetic, Algebra, and Euclid, or in the Logic of Aldrich. He has not as yet exactly made up his mind whether he intends actually to read for a class, or whether he will content himself with an ordinary "pass" degree: but he sets steadily and quietly to work: begins to "get up" his lectures, attends chapel every morning; breakfasts with some fellow freshman on alternate mornings; attends college lectures from ten till two; devotes his afternoon to a walk up Headington or Bagley hill; or rides to Woodstock, or "pulls" leisurely down the river as far as Iffley; dines in Hall at five p.m., some six days out of seven, and "wines" in the rooms of some old schoolfellow, or perhaps with a fellow freshman of his own standing, now that the icy reserve of the first few days of freshmanhood has begun to wear away on both sides. The evening, perhaps, he devotes to preparing his lectures for the following morning, or attends a debate at the "Union." Such, we believe, is the ordinary life of a majority of those students who, without cherishing any high ambition of the brilliant honours after the Class List, the Chancellor's prize, and the University Scholarship, without "deep interest in the studies of the place," still strive to keep "the even tenor of their way," and to live as gentlemen at Oxford. And from a general study of the Report and Evidence, we think that there is good reason to believe that, owing to a variety of concurring circumstances, this class is predominant in the University. Of course in a collection of some one thousand two hundred young men, living together in a large town, under very slight and scarcely perceptible control, without the full grace of the sacraments and the wholesome and necessary discipline of the confessional, it is impossible for a Catholic not to believe that much of sin must be found; but then he also knows and thanks God, that even where the heart is unchanged, and grace is not predominant, there are a thousand lesser things which act as outward checks upon the evil tendencies of even regenerate human nature; and therefore he finds no difficulty in believing,—in spite of

such portions of the "Evidence" as bear witness to the existence of much wickedness in certain sets of men at Oxford,—that, upon the whole, morality and decency are outwardly well observed, and that the tone of society, except in one or two small and inferior colleges, may be highly moral and even religious in a certain superficial sense.

The above sketch is, of course, merely negative; it does not dwell on the side of positive religion: of that commodity we do not expect to find any large stock in Oxford, albeit the University Sermons on Sundays and Saints' Days are said to be tolerably attended by young men, who though statutorily compelled to be present, are practically free to attend or stay away as they please. In most colleges also, with the exception of Christ Church, the students in residence are compelled to present themselves in chapel once a term for the purpose of receiving the Holy Communion. This practice, we fear, is a sad snare to the young men themselves, and productive of the very worst consequences, by prejudicing the minds of many men against the influence of religion in after-life: and we are glad to see that it has met with the severe reprobation of Her Majesty's Commissioners. The daily attendance at prayers in the College Chapel, the weekly University Sermon, and the Terminal Communion, may, then, be said to embrace the whole extent of the religious training afforded by the University and College System; though many religious young men, to the above requirements add the practice of habitual confession to Dr. Pusey and other resident clergy, and seek every month, fortnight or week, in the Parish Churches of the city, "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," which, as its reception is enforced upon *all* collegians once, is also denied to the most pious more than *once* in every term.

But we are wandering from our subject. In the next set of rooms to our model freshman lives another undergraduate of a different stamp. He, too, has come up to Oxford from a public school: he was captain of it last year, and carried off half its prizes; in Greek Iambics, in Latin Prose and Verse, he has fairly distanced all his competitors. To his great satisfaction, he has added the further distinction of an open scholarship to his former laurels. He is one of a large family, and his father's country vicarage brings him in an income exactly in inverse ratio to his family: but

the Rev. gentleman has strained his narrow means to the uttermost to send the most promising of his sons to the University. The young man's rooms are garrets, like those of his fellow freshman; they are less handsomely furnished; the pictures are of a quieter and humbler character than those of his neighbour; a glance round his room, in which nothing shines except the gilded backs of his row of school prizes, will tell you that he is a *reading man*. His views are towards the Ireland and Hertford scholarships, the Latin Verse Prize, a First Class and a Fellowship. He is up early and late, and while he is in his rooms, he is always working towards his favourite end. He is regular at Chapel and Lectures, spare in his diet, somewhat shy and reserved in his intercourse with his fellow students; every afternoon from two to four you may see him regularly out walking round the Parks or along the Headington or Seven-bridge Road; he never rides, and rarely does he launch his "*fragilis phaselus*" on the Isis. His evenings are spent in mastering Niebuhr's view of the early books of Livy, or the latest German commentator on the Agamemnon of Æschylus. His whole conversation smacks of his favourite subject; some twelve or fifteen works of ancient writers are the very atmosphere in which he lives and breathes. Though not a religious man in the strictest sense of the word, he ever respects the outward observances of religion and morality. Thus he is careful to guard against all needless expenditure, as he knows that it must come out of the future fortunes of his brothers and sisters hereafter. He eschews breakfast parties, as entirely a needless waste of time; though after dinner in Hall is over, no one more heartily enjoys a friendly glass of wine in the rooms of some literary and intellectual acquaintance. He speaks, perhaps, once or twice at the Union, if a subject familiar to him arises: if not, he is very shy of gratifying a taste which does not contribute in any way to his success in the schools.

In perfect contrast to the above stands a third student, who occupies a more expensive set of rooms on a lower floor. He has come up to Oxford in order to spend a few months agreeably, before obtaining his long-expected commission in the Army. He has brought up with him a hunter from his father's stables; his rooms are decorated with the brushes of foxes, stag's horns, and an array of silver mounted riding whips, and other professional appa-

tus. His bookcase contains a few Classics, but in small proportion to the Racing Calendars and volumes by "Nimrod" and Col. Hawker. He lays in a stock of Champagne and Claret; he never attends chapel except on the mornings when the hounds meet: and this he does through a laudable fear of being sent for by his College Tutor at an awkward hour when he ought to be far on his way to cover along the Bicester or Witney Road. He seldom troubles the College Lectures, and defends himself from all possible censure on part of the College authorities by putting on an "æger" in the buttery: he sometimes dines in Hall, but more frequently at an Hotel with some jolly companions; and in the evening he smokes his cigars in his rooms or in High-street, or, more probably still, in the billiard rooms.* He is a thorough specimen of a fast man, and lives at Oxford exactly the random life which he would lead at his father's hunting box in —shire, except, perhaps, that he attends a lecture or two (which he has never prepared) on the days of the week on which lord Redesdale's or the Heythrop do not meet; and in the summer term when the hunting season is over, he is constant in his attendance at the Bullingdon Cricket Club, and does justice to its convivial dinner once or twice a week.

If his father happens to be a wealthy squire, the debts which the son has of necessity incurred in Oxford, are duly paid when the latter gets his commission: if poor, they are taken in hand by some generous maiden aunt, or are left to be liquidated by instalments which hang round his neck, like a dead weight, for the first ten or fifteen years after his entry upon life; or, perhaps, if his credit is very low, and creditors are more than ordinarily pressing, he comes before the public in the Insolvency Court, and has his youthful follies exposed to the gaze of the world in the columns of the *Times*. The unlimited credit which Oxford tradesmen not only give, but insist on giving, the "touting" for custom which pursues men even to their college rooms; the absence of all such a system as that of ready money payments,—for such a thing is unknown in Oxford—and the foolish desire which young men

* The latter, as might be expected, are numerous in Oxford. They are, however, under the surveillance of the Proctors, and are not allowed to be open (we believe) before two o'clock, nor after nine o'clock p.m.

indulge of keeping up a show of equality with their richer neighbours, together with the carelessness of pecuniary affairs which marks their period of life, and (what in our opinion is by far the worst point) the egregious folly of parents themselves, all thus combine to ruin a young man even before he has once made a fair start in the race of life. In support of our opinion on this head, we venture to lay before our readers the following extracts:—

“Besides the small class which is guilty of disgraceful extravagance, and the larger body which is prudent, there is still a considerable number of young men who spend far more than they have any right to spend.

“Two or three specific forms of extravagance may be mentioned, some of them petty indeed in themselves, but which all help to swell a young man’s aggregate expenditure.

“One such point is alluded to by Professor Browne. ‘The debts,’ he observes, ‘into which Undergraduates are led, by the growing taste for furniture and decorations, totally unsuitable, are ruinous.’ This language is strong, but the evil to which it points is very serious. We cannot forbear from alluding also to the excessive habit of smoking, which is now prevalent. ‘Tobacconists’ bills have, and that not in solitary instances, amounted to 40*l.* a-year. A third cause of expense is the practice of dining at inns, taverns, and clubs, in or about Oxford, a practice which may be checked, as has been proved, under the administration of active Proctors. The Evidence of Mr. Jelf shows at considerable length the great evils hence arising, and the mode in which the practice may be, and has at times been, effectually repressed.”—Report, p. 24.

“Driving, riding, and hunting, are also causes of great expense.

“But it must be remembered in speaking of the tone now too prevalent amongst the Students, that in the matter of extravagance at least, no light portion of the blame lies on parents, or perhaps (it might be more justly said) on the state of public feeling. ‘The real causes of extravagance,’ says Professor Walker, ‘are, the state of society in general, and the weakness of parents, who wish their sons to be like other young men.’ ‘A different tone of social morality,’ says Mr. Congreve, ‘on the two points of extravagant expense and idleness must prevail both at Oxford and in the country generally, before there can be any effectual check to these evils. Among the higher classes of English society public opinion on these points is very lax. To spend more of their income, to waste their time, and to be moderately disorderly in conduct, have been and still are so usual in ordinary English education of the upper classes, that they are tolerated by a very indulgent treatment in society, treated as privileges of the rich and easy classes, and only

complained of by the great majority of such classes when they lead to too marked a failure, or to too heavy bills.'

"Some parents who are rich but not distinguished by rank, are too often glad to place their sons on a par, as regards expenditure at least, with those of higher birth, or even to give them a larger allowance. Some even of those who are not rich prefer an expensive College, and do not greatly repine at follies committed in aristocratic company."—Report p. 28.

How to remedy this bane of general extravagance, is a matter which has fairly puzzled even Her Majesty's Commissioners. It is not to be expected that parents, however foolish in their conduct towards their sons, and sons of nineteen and twenty, however encouraged in their foolish extravagance by greedy tradesmen, as well as by paternal and maternal softness, can on this account be brought within the range of the law. Awkwardly enough, too, the young man, though he be an undergraduate at Oxford, may be at the same time a country squire and a magistrate, and even a member of Parliament; and it is difficult to see how the Legislature can step in and control his expenditure. Then, again, unless he is driven to the very last hope, and, like a wounded stag, has been fairly brought to bay by his creditors, an Oxford man has too much honour* to plead his infancy in bar to a suit brought against him for articles supplied to him when "in statu pupillari,"

* "There is a great concurrence of Evidence to support the opinion that direct interference, whether by the Imperial Legislature or by University Statute, will, after all, be of little avail. As the case stands, only a small portion of the debts which extravagant young men incur can even now be recovered by process of law. The creditor knows this; yet he trusts to the honour of the youth, and he is not often a loser. So it will be in the face of all Acts of Parliament. Besides, it must be remembered that the most ruinous debts are not due to fair tradesmen. An infamous race has arisen, whose business it is to advance money to young men at ruinous rates of discount, and who try to evade danger by expedients which recal some of the most ludicrous scenes of a great French dramatist. It is within the knowledge of one of our own body, that a young man accepted bills to the amount of 425*l.*, and received only 20*l.* in cash. This sum of 20*l.* was the alleged proceeds of the sale of beds, pigs of iron, and other goods, to one confederate, which same articles the unhappy youth had purchased for the sum of 425*l.* from the other confederate. Against such persons no law will avail."—Report, p. 25.

or to declare that the things supplied to his order were unnecessary. The only suggestion that the Commissioners offer as to *direct* means of counteracting the present system of extravagance is to the effect that the law might provide that no debt shall be recoverable which has been contracted by a minor *in statu pupillari*, unless the bill shall have been sent in to the young man in the course of the same term in which the articles were supplied, and unless, in case of non-payment, a second bill shall have been sent to the tutor of his college within a given time after the delivery of the first. For our own part, we cannot see why, at the beginning of every term, every bill of the previous term which is not paid, should not be sent in to the student, his tutor, and his parent or guardian as well; or even why the commencement of a fresh term should be waited for. As it is, long credit forces the Oxford tradesmen to lay on a heavy price; and it is a proverb in the place that each young man is but paying the debts of his predecessor, in the shape of heavy and accumulated interest.* The influence of University and College authorities, to which Her Majesty's Commissioners look with so much hope, we fear, is but a slender reed to lean upon, in the great work of reforming this state of things; and the general feeling of parents (who surely ought to have an interest in the matter, as being part sufferers) may be gathered from the evidence of Professor Wall, who gives it as the result of his own experience, that if a tutor ventures to communicate to a parent any suspicion of his son's society, expenses, or habits, "he is pretty sure to be told that the parent has questioned the son, and feels perfect confidence in his explanation." The further means recommended, namely, the expulsion of notoriously extravagant men, is summary enough, and may be a cure in one instance, though it is no sort of preservative in others, and (as Sir Edmund Head remarks,) is very likely to defeat its own object. The whole subject is very ably and judiciously discussed in the *Times* of May the 8th, in speaking of the clause proposed by Mr. Phinn, making every bill incurred by a minor, whether in London or in Oxford, irrecoverable. "Nothing in

* Nothing is more common among Undergraduates at Oxford, than the remark,—“we are paying for the debts which our fathers contracted;” and there is a good deal of truth in the observation.

reality," says the writer, "can ever extinguish the evil, but the prevalence of wiser and more manly views in undergraduate society. As long as these young men can persuade themselves that there is anything gentlemanly or spirited or honourable in living beyond their means, making a false show of wealth, and contracting obligations to be discharged only by painful sacrifices, or never discharged at all, so long will ways of perpetrating this folly be infallibly discoverable. Sumptuary laws are always failures, and they must be so at college as well as elsewhere. If young men are determined to spend money or incur debt, it is utterly beyond the power of any college officer to prevent them. If the college kitchens and butteries are closed against them, they will go into the town: if the town tradesmen cannot be overawed into proper dealings, there are the tradesmen of the metropolis. A young man entering college acquires, for the first time, probably, in his life, a species of independence which is believed to give to University training a great part of its value. To suppose that under such circumstances the local authorities can effectually regulate the expenditure of a student is simply absurd. What they can do is, to take care that the necessary and regular expenses of college life shall be brought within the smallest limits; that no remarkable temptation shall be permitted to exist, and that as far as possible the means of indulgence shall be circumscribed." And then, after pointing out that the college expenses of a student, strictly speaking, including his board, lodging, and tuition, are far from exorbitant, the writer adds, "The real fault lies in those usages of University manners which induce a student to live up to a standard calculated (there is no use in denying) above the average of means. This is the fault to be corrected; nor do we think that the correction will now long be wanting." This is the crying sin and bane of Oxford.

It will be necessary here to add a few extracts from the body of evidence, showing what is the average amount of a young man's *necessary* college expenses during his three years of residence:—

"The amount paid to the University as distinct from the College to which the Student belongs is not great. It varies with the rank of the party, as may be seen by referring to the section of our Report, in which we speak of the Revenues of the University. The ordinary Fees paid at Matriculation, at the several Examina-

tions on taking the Degree of B.A., and in annual payments for University purposes, amount to about 18*l.*”

“The College Fees at entrance usually amount to a sum between 3*l.* and 4*l.* Besides these, a deposit called ‘caution money’ is required, amounting commonly to 30*l.* It may be regarded as a payment in advance, to secure the College against loss from bad debts.” There are also annual dues, which vary in different Colleges, and which we have no means of ascertaining. The Fees to the College at the first Degree usually amount to a sum between 5*l.* and 7*l.* In some Colleges fees are paid at entrance and at graduation to the servants.”

“For Tuition, about 64*l.* is paid during the University course of sixteen terms; an amount which in some Colleges is distributed over three, in others over four years. At Christ Church the amount paid by Commoners is only twelve guineas annually for four years, or 50*l.* 8*s.* for the whole course; but Gentlemen-commoners pay thirty guineas per annum, and noblemen forty-five guineas. At Balliol, and probably in some other Societies, the tuition money of a commoner is 67*l.* 4*s.*, paid in three years. In St. Edmund Hall the charge during the four years is 50*l.* 8*s.* In those Halls which receive Students from other societies the rate is, we believe, higher, and the dues are levied as long as the party continues to be an Undergraduate, that is, in many cases for a period considerably beyond the fourth year of standing.*

* The College Tutors, as we have already remarked above, p. 319, have usurped the posts occupied by the Ancient University Professors, whose chairs were for the most part endowed. But, owing to the great competition for high places in the classical and mathematical class lists, and the consequent unhealthy demand for “crammed knowledge” beyond what is offered by the public College Lectures, most young men who aspire to any distinction, classical or mathematical, are obliged at a heavy additional expense, to have recourse to a Private Tutor, or “Coach,” at whose lips to seek knowledge of the more mysterious parts of Aristotle’s *Ethics*, and the more corrupt passages of the *Agamemnon* of *Æschylus*. It should be added, that among these private tutors are far the most able men, and many of the leading spirits of the University. “Private tutors,” says the Report, usually charge 10*l.* a term, or 30*l.* a-year, for three hours a-week, 17*l.* 10*s.* a term, or 50*l.* a-year, for six hours a-week. Private tutors of high standing expect 20*l.* a term: 30*l.* is usually paid by young men who join a reading party during the long vacation.” Thus, a private tutor, who is well known and sought after in ‘scholarship,’ or ‘science,’ if he gets anything like a good connection, can easily make some 500*l.* a-year, besides his College fellowship, which enables him to reside in Oxford free of cost. We should add that almost every young man who obtains a first class, immediately turns himself to this source of emolument.

“Assuming twenty-six weeks as the ordinary length of an academic year, and eighty-four weeks as the whole necessary time of residence during the four years which pass between Matriculation and the first Degree, the following calculations, based on the Evidence, will convey a general notion of the expenses incurred by College Students :

“In Pembroke College we find that the average College battels, including tuition, washing, coals, and entertainments, besides the ordinary expenses of food, room rent, &c., amount to 271*l.* for the eighty-four weeks. We add a moderate allowance for other expenses, including University and College fees, servants, books, groceries, and lights, with loss on furniture, and estimate the whole sum at about 370*l.*, as what ought to be the average cost of a Degree at Pembroke College.

“Mr. Temple has given us an account of the expenses of an economical Undergraduate at Balliol; from which we calculate that, with great frugality, a young man at that College may take his Degree for about 370*l.* This includes the items mentioned in the case of Pembroke, though not to the same extent as regards entertainments. The evidence of the Bursars of Balliol shows that the average expenses of that College are much higher than those stated by Mr. Temple.

“A calculation, based on the evidence of Mr. Conybeare, and including the same items, gives about 360*l.* as a fair estimate of the expenses required from a young man during his academical course at Christ Church.

“In University College, taking the average amount of the Battels, and making the same calculation for other necessary items as in Pembroke, Balliol, and Christ Church, we estimate the average expenses of graduation to be about 430*l.*

“It is to be observed that none of these calculations include caution money, travelling, clothes, wine, desserts, or amusements.

“Mr. Eaton, one of the tutors of Merton College, states the sum of 150*l.* to be the lowest yearly sum for which he has known an Undergraduate to live in that Society. We understand Mr. Eaton to include in this sum expenses of every kind, such as are excluded in the former calculation. His statement of the average Battels leads us to infer that this is much below the usual cost of living in that College.

“At St. Edmund Hall, Mr. Hill, the Vice-Principal, informs us that one or two members who have recently graduated, have not exceeded 240*l.* in the amount of their College Bills, during the four years of their residence, inclusive of caution-money, admission fees, furniture of rooms, the fees on taking the Degree. Several have defrayed the whole of their academic expenses from matriculation to graduation, comprehending both College bills and private expenses, with the exception of clothes and journeys, for 380*l.*”

The above, however, as we believe, is scarcely an adequate account of all the "necessary" expenses of the Student. For example, he is expected, as a matter of course, to subscribe to the College Boat, and to the College Cricket Club, even though he may personally have no predilection for either amusement; and it would be vulgar and ungentlemanlike for his name not to appear on the subscription list for the same amount as his richer friends and fellows. Again, in every College, to say nothing of breakfast parties,—for the most part more luxurious than those which one sees on a country gentleman's table—"wine parties" with desserts are common; so common that it is morally impossible for any Student to abstain from them entirely. They are called *Wine parties* by a sort of synecdoche, a figure of speech, which, as grammarians say, puts the whole for the part or the part for the whole: and we have the assurance of several recent members of the University, that the amount of wine usually consumed at them is very trifling, except among the Noblemen and Gentlemen Commoners of Christ Church, and in one or two very expensive "sets" in inferior Colleges. Still, every tolerably plain dessert costs something, and two or three glasses of wine and some fruit cost something more, if daily repeated; and College servants swell the amount by allowing nothing that is taken off the table to appear a second time. The roast chicken which is *superstes integer* from yesterday's breakfast, may not, in conformity with College traditions, appear again cold to-day. It is the perquisite of the College scout, and goes to feed his wife and family who live outside the College walls, to whom nothing comes amiss, and whose appetites are as accommodating as the limbs of Master Squeers. We say little of the ordinary amusements of the place. Of these boating, and the fives-court, are the cheapest; pigeon-shooting, cricketing, driving, and riding, the most expensive, except hunting, which, according to the Oxford Report, cannot be accomplished under four guineas a-day. So that there is little doubt that the real estimate is immensely understated when the Commissioners express their belief that "a parent, who, after supplying his son with clothes, and supporting him at home during the vacations, has paid for him during his University course not more than 600*l.*, and is not called upon to discharge the debts at its close, has reason to congratulate himself."—Report, p. 33.

Such, too, will be the belief of our readers, when we lay before them the statement of a gentleman, who is now at the head of one of the best grammar schools in the West of England, we mean the Rev. J. D. Collis, Head Master of Bromsgrove School. He states

“That his expenses began in June, 1834, when he was matriculated, and ended in October, 1838, when he took his Degree. The sum total, including entertainments, Private Tutor, travelling, and all other expenses, amounts to 725*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* ‘This,’ he says, ‘is a low sum for Oxford; I should say the usual cost of a Degree is 800*l.* at least; to very many it is as much as 1000*l.*’”.....

“At Oxford,” he adds, “there is an apparent injustice (which is a constant topic of remark among Undergraduates) in charging University fees, room rent, and tuition for four years, whereas only three years’ residence is insisted on. The large sum required on first commencing residence at Oxford, often swallows up the whole of a man’s ready money, and almost necessitates the credit system. This, added to the utter inexperience of many in the value and responsibility of money (a point in education too often wholly neglected by parents) will account for many an unfortunate man’s ruin.”—Evidence, p. 23.

The expensive habits of Oxford life are the greatest barrier against all the efforts which have been made at recent times in the way of extending the education of the University to a poorer class of Students. We have neither time nor space to devote to a full account of the various plans which have been proposed from time to time; but we must add a few remarks upon this movement.

The Laudian system having stereotyped the University, or rather absorbed it in the Colleges, whose number has been scarcely increased since his day, and which, (owing to a change of habits) accommodate within their walls a less number than were then resident, it is no wonder that the University has been unable to model and adapt itself in such a way as to meet the educational wants of the age, in proportion to the rapid increase which has been made in population and civilization, and the addition of the colonies to our former territory. Nay, so far is this from having been the case, that she has even failed to answer the purpose for which her noble foundations were given. Even taking the Anglican theology, as represented by the Thirty-nine Articles, as the theoretic standard of perfection, Oxford has failed to give even a meagre theolo-

gical training to Anglican Candidates for such orders as their Church has to bestow. Not a bishop's, or archdeacon's charge for the last twenty years, but has dwelt upon the defects of clerical education in the Establishment. Hence, the necessity of founding ecclesiastical seminaries as at Wells and Chichester, Lampeter, Cuddesdon, St. Bees, and Birkenhead; all of which were founded in order to enable young men to study Anglican theology; free from the distractions which arise in a place so warmly devoted to secular literature, and from the luxurious and expensive habits, and the tyranny of old-established customs which are so adverse to the formation of the clerical character.

(To be continued.)

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- ART. IV.—1. *Pastoral Letter.* By HENRY, LORD BISHOP OF EXETER. Murray. 1846.
2. *Charge by the Archbishop of Canterbury.* Hatchard and Son, 1853.
3. *Memorial of the Churchwarden of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, to the Lord Bishop, with His Lordship's decision upon it.* C. Westerton. 1854.
4. *The Achill Herald.* Dublin. 1853-4.
5. *Theological Essays.* By PROFESSOR MAURICE. J. W. Parker. 1853.
6. *Cautions for the Times.* J. W. Parker. 1853.
7. *Archdeacon Wilberforce's Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, shown to be inconsistent alike with Reason, with Scripture, and with the Church, and his unsound views of the Holy Trinity exposed.* By THEOPHILUS SECUNDUS. Longman and Co. 1854.
8. *The Fate of Christendom.* By HENRY DRUMMOND. T. Bosworth. 1854.
9. *The Revival of the French Emperors, anticipated from the necessity of Prophecy.* By the late Rev. GEORGE STANLEY FABER. T. Bosworth. 1854.
10. *Remains of the late Edward Copplestone.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. J. W. Parker. 1854.

BABEL! Babel! Babel! The books of which we have prefixed the titles to this article are a few of the bricks designed for the last new storey of the Babylonian tower, but which the workmen, disputing among themselves, threw, each at his neighbour's head. We have been curious enough to pick them up, desirous to ascertain into what species of building they could have been intended to fit. Our impression is that each of them is made of two different substances which no art could ever have forced to coalesce; that no two of them could have lain side by side for an hour, so strong are their mutual repulsions, without an explosion; that the building for which they were intended must have been some metropolitan, or ecumenical temple of civil war, such as a large portion of the sons of men have ever been building, but which neither the laws of nature nor the decree of God will ever permit to rise beyond a very moderate, though cloud-encircled height. Against the ability of these and such like books we have nothing to say. To hold what they hold seems to us to need much more cleverness than to hold the truth. Indeed, we are more convinced every day that one of the chief obstacles to the diffusion of Truth, in an age of restless intellectuality, is that it is so simple—looks so like a truism—that ingenious people prefer something more complex and refined. To *discover* that truth must be *one*, there would be something in that! but to go on merely *acknowledging* what every one knows, surely that is tiresome. It is also so generous and so large-minded to believe contradictions, no one compelling you to do so! Were we to criticise each of these books in detail we should find in them something to admire and not a little to sympathise with, as well as very much to deplore. There is no need to answer the attacks on Holy Church, or Revealed Truth, to be found in such a collection; for they effectually answer each other. We should be better disposed to extract from them the many attestations to Catholic doctrine which they also contain. Their most interesting aspect to us, however, is that which they present, taken in globo, and as exhibiting the wonderful confusion of mind that afflicts this nation, in the natural sphere so strong and so wise, respecting matters supernatural. On this subject we shall offer some remarks, considering it rather with reference to its philosophical causes and social effects, than from a theological point of view.

In a country, the institutions of which work efficiently together so much on the principle of balance, as in England, many anomalies are to be expected; but of all the anomalies which affect her, those belonging to matters theological are surely the most singular. "What! more theology! are we never, then, to have rest? Who will expel from our coasts the demon of speculation?" Such are the greetings with which each new essay on theology is commonly met by those portions of the community devoted to political or to practical, to scientific or to literary avocations;—excitable only when religious truth, by them nicknamed controversy, or speculation, intrudes itself into the region of more manageable topics, and then "perplexed in the extreme!" Such salutations are not encouraging. On the present occasion, however, they supply us with a theme, which, at least, for the haters of theology, ought to have an interest. It is this—how comes it that England can neither get on with nor without controversy? If it insists on discussing theology, in spite of the lovers of broad views, business, practical piety, and all the other adherents of the peace societies in matters religious;—why can it not reach results? If it despairs of results, why cannot it keep clear of controversy? Why can the haters of discussion avail only so far as to add one "view" more to the views for which people are every day contending, offensively or defensively?

With the lovers of peace we have, as such, no quarrel. It would be unfair to speak of them as lovers of their own ease merely; or as men, who, eager about trifles, maintain, from apathy alone, a stoical indifference respecting questions the most ennobling with which an inhabitant of this world can deal, even when they are considered exclusively in their political, social, and moral relations. The supremacy of the Holy See is not merely, in an ecclesiastical sense, a question of moment;—in a social point of view the dogma is hardly one of a less profound interest: and little, indeed, of philosophy can belong to that statesman, historian, or ethical teacher who has never thought it worth his while to meditate seriously on the question, whether the largest of human societies, one with which the various civil and national societies of the world are at all times so strangely linked, be itself a monarchy or a republic. Again, is there, or is there not, in the world a body not of this world, a body, no matter what

its constitution, at least in some sense organic, and charged to witness to revealed truth, to maintain and diffuse the Gospel? Is such a body the guest of every Christian nation? If so, it must have rights of some sort; duties also; rules for the adjustment of its allegiance to Cæsar with its allegiance to God:—and consequently to ignore it, or to reduce it to servitude, must be, at least, as grave an error as any violation of international law. So much few will deny. Again, a foreign allegiance must ever be a contradiction and a snare. What, then, it is natural to ask, does a foreign allegiance in ecclesiastical matters mean? Is it a canonical allegiance, revering the whole ecclesiastical body, and paid to the head of the ecclesiastical order? or is it an allegiance virtually unlimited, but not unremunerated, paid by the spiritual to the civil power in each country? Again, parliaments have claimed and exercised a dispensing power, practically releasing subjects from their oaths, when sovereigns have, in their judgment, proved tyrannical. Have they also a power of absolving bishops from their oath to “drive away all strange doctrine,” if it should be proved that such an oath involves persecution in at least as strong a sense as that in which the oath of a cardinal involves it? Again, the Anglican prelate claims a spiritual, though not legal, authority over all English subjects in his diocese, just as the pope claims a spiritual authority over all baptized persons in the world;—if, then, the distinction between claims in “*foro externo*,” and in “*foro conscientiæ*” be but a subtlety, does not the Anglican claim amount to a pretty considerable “aggression” on the Dissenter? Again, the “traditions of men” are confessedly a false rule of faith in divine things. Whether, then, are we to designate by that name the traditional and quasi-authoritative teaching of separated bodies, modern, local, and without even a claim to infallibility, or the perpetual faith of that body which alone professes to witness to the “truth as it is in Jesus” through the unerring aid of that Spirit Who spake by the prophets, and Whom our Lord, on His departure, sent to His Apostles that He might lead them into all truth, and recal all things to their mind? Again, is religion a matter of Certainty, or of Opinion as in the time that preceded the Christian revelation? Is there any such thing as Truth, or is Truth relative only, like sensation? How far has our knowledge respecting that foundation of all knowledge advanced since

the time that Pilate enquired, "What is truth?"—asking of Him, the Living Truth, who stood at that moment before the enquirer, and who was by him condemned? If there be a Revealed Truth, does the well-being of individuals and of nations stand related to it in any special manner, or is it a thing apart? Is it a duty to believe Revelation and to love God; and is the Will, or is it not, responsible for convictions, and for affections, as well as for acts?

These are questions neither less important, nor more hard of solution than many of those with which the haters of theology concern themselves. There are countless questions besides in which they could not fail, if free from panic and prejudice, to take a deep interest. Was the Papal supremacy, considered as a historical question, the "master-piece of Satan" from the beginning? or was it, for centuries, as the most enlightened recent Protestant historians have incautiously admitted, the great protector of Europe from feudal barbarism, nay, from the Mahometan yoke, and the nurse of all our liberties and civilization? Four centuries ago the great danger that assailed the civilization and freedom of Europe, the establishment of the Turks at Constantinople was, as every reader of Gibbon knows, the result of the Greek schism, the eastern empire having been by it so cut off from the sympathies of the west that, in its isolation, it was unable to resist the onset of the Ottomans. The great danger which, in our day, assails the civilization and freedom of Europe, proceeds from Russia, whose power, if once established at Constantinople, can hardly fail to domineer over the world. But what constitutes the real difficulty of the case? Is it not found in the circumstance that the sympathies of the Christians of European Turkey, three-fourths of the total population, gravitate toward the Czar, the real head of their Church? If they were Catholics, and if their sympathies found a centre in Rome, not in St. Petersburg, would not much of the difficulty be removed? Here, again, the Greek schism is the root of the evil; and a philosophic Protestant statesman might well enquire, if studying the mutual relations of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, whether a Christian caliphate may not be a far more dangerous thing than a papacy, and whether the very safest form of ecclesiastical government may not be one which finds its centre in a power essentially spiritual, and, only in an accidental sense, temporal? Once more, is monas-

ticism an unnatural institute, or have one thousand five hundred years proved that in it is upheld the standard of a supernatural life, possible to grace?—are convents the strongholds of tyranny and corruption? or have we owed to them the preservation of knowledge, as well as the illustration of those Evangelical Counsels, in which Christian morals culminate, and through which the first commandment retains, in the estimate of Christendom, that place of supremacy which it refuses to share even with our duty to our neighbour? But it is needless to proceed. A very little reflection suffices to show us that on human as well as divine grounds, and with reference to every species of intellectual interest, philosophical, ethical, historical, and æsthetical, the problems really most worthy of attention, on the part of a reasoning being, a moral agent, and a large-hearted humanist, who can with truth say, “*Nihil humanum a me alienum puto,*” are no other than those which ultimately resolve themselves into that theology which was at one time entitled the “*Mater Scientiarum,*” and which is at present secretly regarded by too many as the greatest of pests.

To be without convictions on such subjects is simply to renounce all part in what is gravest in human things, whether belonging to the contemplative or to the practical order;—or else is to engage in them empirically only. How then are we to account for an indifference with respect to these subjects which changes only to become animosity; and that on the part of men—neither Epicureans nor, in the Protestant sense, unbelievers? In all countries, Catholic or Protestant, are to be found men who seek no objects but those of pleasure or ambition. With such, however, it is seldom worth while to reason. The question is, how is it that in this country the supreme of questions is just that one which, in countless cases, the studious will not study, the very name of which incenses and disorders especially the considerate and sedate, and from the face of which the robust and self-confident fly panic-stricken with more than the terror of children? If dogma be an evil, how comes it that these men, notwithstanding, insist on creeds and “fundamental truths?” If we are to take our stand on the distinction between fundamental truths and theological subtleties, how comes it that there is no enquiry from which they shrink more than from one respecting the mode in which we may discriminate between the class

they think essential, and that one which they denounce as mischievous? They are often grave, and, as far as their position in this matter permits, consistent men: and there is much that is touching and edifying in the fidelity with which they practise such duties as they have become acquainted with. How then do they fail to see that the very first of duties, compliance with which can alone attach religious value to their virtues in other respects, must be to ascertain, at any cost, what is the *authentic version* of God's Revelation to man, if they believe that He has given us a Revelation? We are not individually capable of such enquiry, and will only, they say, be lured by it into an interminable labyrinth. Indeed! Then the Reformation must have followed a Will-o'-the-Wisp in asserting the principle of private judgment, and committed itself to an utterly false method of theologizing. Why not then consider the claims of an opposite system, which kept Christianity together for so many centuries, and which diffused it over so many lands before "private judgment" was thought of? But, it will be answered, the principle of authority means slavery in religious matters. Indeed! Then nothing remains but the principle of private judgment. Why not exercise it then, if our belief is that enquiry will lead to truth? Why not exercise it on this very question, the Rule of Faith, the determination of which may possibly render innumerable further enquiries needless; and ascertain whether, if in scientific matters our liberty of thought is in no respect interfered with by the impossibility of contesting primary axioms, and could receive no vindication from our throwing off the yoke of the multiplication-table, the sphere of Supernatural Truth may not include a provision through which we can exercise religious faith, and attain to certain knowledge, not only without abdicating our faculties, but as the only means of really using them? As there are acts which we can only do individually, so there are others which we can only do collectively, and in our national capacity. May there not be truths also, which we can discover separately, and yet, again, other realms of truth which the human race can only conquer and retain through that collective unity which is called the Church? Surely we are bound at least not to assert contradictories. The real opinion of many of those to whom we have referred, is nothing so vague as the doc-

trine of private judgment, or so absurd as a private judgment which claims to investigate everything, and yet will not allow its own claims to be investigated. On the contrary, they believe practically that a man should continue to hold what he has been taught in the body in which he was brought up. But let them be consistent. Is he to hold such a form of doctrine by believing it, or by professing it only? If by believing it, must he not believe also in the authority of the body, which has been his teacher? If, then, authority be, indeed, after all, the principle by which he goes, is he not called on to decide, at least, between contending claims to authority? Is it possible for him to believe that a hundred sects which differ in the most important matters, and agree in declaring that they are all alike human and fallible bodies, can, notwithstanding, be teachers of Divine Truth, each of whom is authoritative in his place? Is it a duty to believe transubstantiation in Spain, and to deny it in Prussia? Who does not see that this is to substitute profession for belief, and to believe nothing except that Truth either does not exist, or is not attainable by man, and, at the same time, that to acknowledge even thus much of belief (though to oneself only) is highly disagreeable and dangerous? Contradictories will not coalesce merely because we have not time for speculation; and to act upon principles the opposite of those which, whether as Catholics, or as Protestants, we profess, is inconsistent with probity and self-respect. In short, the recognition of a Revelation, like that of a Moral Sense, or of Theism, involves, whether or not they prove embarrassing, corresponding obligations and conclusions; among others, certain conclusions relative to Truth, and man's duties respecting Truth, which are directly at variance with the position of those who hate Theology, and would despise it if they could.

To a certain extent, however, a Catholic must sympathise with those persons, not in what they say, but in what they mean. As he sympathises with the Puritan so far as Puritanism recognizes the Supernatural Order of Grace, the Dogmatic character of Christianity, the dignity and worth of Truth, so he can sympathize with Latitudinarians, both of the business class and speculative class, for he too believes that Latitudinarianism is practically the comment which time passes on the experiment of private judgment,

and make a just confession that, on the basis established by the revolt of the sixteenth century, truth is incapable of being attained with certainty, and that, in the absence of certainty, it is not worth contending for. Many of our anti-theological friends would, if from curiosity alone, strive earnestly to find religious truth if they thought that anything more was to be gained by such labours than the fertilization of the field in which the treasure was supposed to lie. Others, though incurious as to abstract knowledge, and in spiritual things, little habituated to observe the close connection between the rays of light and heat, would yet make great and generous sacrifices to avert those public evils which necessarily follow from religious divisions. The same obstacles have beset them again and again in all their honourable efforts to promote the wellbeing of the nation. Whether they endeavour to establish a vast system of education, or to improve prison discipline, the same difficulty, a persecuting Proteus, flies up in their face. Now Scripture extracts are not to be tolerated, and now an imperfect appreciation of their merits is intolerable. Now a Godless scheme of education scandalizes the public; and now a Godly scheme directed by the High-Church party of England, the Puritan party of Ireland, or the Catholics, terrifies it yet more. Irish soldiers ask why they have no chaplains, and English officers demand whether it be not enough that they should have to attend Mass, without being exposed to overbearing or insidious sermons from Popish priests, who deny that, in sacred matters the most sanguine State has a right to "expect every man to do his duty," in her sense of the word. Our anti-theological friends see, if they choose to see it, that, however desirable it may be to keep religion and politics apart, or, to divide between religious sentiment and religious conviction, the attempt is as vain as would be the endeavour to separate between those easily distinguishable things, the mathematical, and the physical attributes of bodies. They find that the imponderable agents of the social world are often the most powerful, and that the world in which we have our political home is encompassed by a spiritual sphere, as by a firmament, in which abide day and night, the sunshine that cherishes, the afflicting but salutary storm, and the retributive plague. They find that, whether they will or not, Rituals imply priestly power, and that Articles ask exposition. They find that though statesmen may

civilly assure the Church that, "of all men who can read and write, the clergy are the most ignorant, and the most mischievous," human affairs notwithstanding need their aid unless society is to fall asunder, and communism, a "universal wolf," be allowed to propound the doctrine of Christian brotherhood and universal equality according to the version of its own un-mysterious Theology. They find, also, that devotions by statute grow cold; that parliamentary religion demands more faith than is extant in the nineteenth century; that definitions which may mean everything are suspected of meaning nothing; that when creeds become incredible the church is in danger; and the State reaps no "quid pro quo" for its protectorate of religion. They find that Dissent is the natural re-action from the coldness of Establishmentarianism, and that to repress it is both a vain and an unjust attempt;—but they find, also, that schisms are wounds through which the life blood, both of religion and social peace, escapes; and that the separated bodies lose their first fervour even more rapidly than the larger body did, or can only keep it up by the exercise of fighting. Wearied and perplexed, they are sometimes tempted to echo the cry of the Pagan, "quanta Religio potuit suadere malorum." They turn for aid to every ally except Truth. Not being partizans, they can face facts sufficiently to know that if Truth be the secret of Unity, neither can be gained by means of private judgment. They have read the history of three hundred years, and see no reason for acting over again, upon an ensanguined stage, the ghastly tragic-comedy of the "Variations." We have said that we sympathise with them to a certain extent. In their wish for peace we go along with them: from their cry of "peace, peace, where there is no peace," we are bound to dissent. That religious truth is either relative (that is non-existent) or else undiscoverable, on the assumption that private judgment...whether simple, or backed up by any amount of merely human authority...is the rule of faith, we, with them, as logicians, believe. That truth, on the other hand, exists externally to, and independently of, man; has been actually communicated to him, may be known with certainty by him, and when known becomes the food of all devout affections, and life-spring of all manly faith, and righteous actions: this also, as Christians, we believe. Can the individual find out theological truth for himself, even if he discards all duties besides, for the

sake of the search? Certainly not...except by finding the Teacher sent to instruct him. So far, we agree with our anti-theologian friend. On the other hand, were we discussing theology, we would point out that, Christian devotion cannot exist without Christian theology, and that man cannot continue to worship and love Christ as God irrespectively of those conclusions, inextricably interwoven, in which Holy Church, during the fourth and fifth centuries vindicated and set forth the great dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Will the Latitudinarian tell us, at least, what the Latitude is, and what are the limits within which, according to its standard, fundamental verities keep their unostentatious court, moderate orthodoxy exercises a constitutional sway, "reigning, not ruling," and relative Truth flings open its liberty-hall? If he would do this, and yet keep clear of theology, aye, and of its thorniest regions, he must offer a higher reward than has yet been offered for finding the latitude.

If he cannot tell us what latitude amounts to in the concrete, will he tell us what it is essentially, and in the abstract? It is comprehensiveness! But what makes a system comprehensive? The number of doctrines it defines and harmonizes? Then the Catholic must be the most, and the latitudinarian is the least comprehensive of systems. Or, the number of religionists united by the exclusion of disputed points? How happens it, then, that the latitudinarians, whatever their accomplishments and attainments, have commonly proved the smallest of sects, rather, like the anti-theological Sadducees of old, a clique than a sect, a clique averse to mysticism, dogmatism, tradition, and sacerdotal influence...fond of freedom...fond of thought...accused by their opponents of free-thinking; but assuredly not successful either in carrying thought to conclusive results, or in imparting to the enquirer the glorious liberty of truth? In one sense, indeed, the great bulk of society is too often latitudinarian; that is, in the sense of "caring for none of these things," living for ends which no one accuses of mystery, identifying reality with the senses, and recognizing religion only as a qualifying power, enlightening self-love, and making worldliness respectable. In this case we know in which direction the "broad way" leads. Is the "broad school" but the booking office of the "broad way?" We hope not. In Germany we hear of a large class whose specu-

lative views are "large" too, who worship "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord," whose religion is æsthetical, and whose faith is in the progress of the species. It would be a grave injustice, however, to the anti-theologians of whom we have spoken to confound them either with the multitude of the worldly or of the infidel. Confining our attention, then, to those theologians of the "broad school," who really accept, or intend to accept revelation, and who desire the spiritual good of man, may we not ask whether the circumstance that they have ever been a small number compared with their opponents of all schools, does not suggest, at least, the thought, that religious systems are comprehensive, (relatively to the number of adherents they include), not in proportion to the number of litigated questions they eliminate, but in proportion to their consistency, reality, and to the number of human wants for which they make a divine provision? Truths are among those wants; for truths are Truth developed according to the development and needs of man. Accordingly, the religion which propounds the greatest number of defined truths, and establishes them upon the adamantine foundation of that faith which uses, at once, and directs, reason, is also the one which reckons fourfold more adherents than all Protestant bodies conjointly.

The "Broad School," then, is as unlikely as any other to discover the secret of unity. Can it find a substitute for it? Can the plague of controversy be stayed by suggesting to controversialists that, if they agree in nothing else, at least they can agree to differ? The state of England is the answer. Is there on the face of the earth a country, we do not say so much divided in religious opinion, for America is as much divided, but so mercilessly lacerated by controversy? The sects themselves seem the portion of the community most able to indulge in snatches of rest. Within the establishment there are as many rival opinions as there exist without it; and the narrower ring seems only to make the struggle the fiercer. The advocates of the sacramental system stigmatize their opponents, including three of the archbishops, as heretics, and several of the other prelates as Sabellian, Neologian, or Rationalistic. In turn they are greeted by their evangelical brethren as the propagators of "soul-destroying errors," and by the Broad School as white Jacobins, disguised Papists, narrow-minded bigots, the foes of all that is manly, liberal, and progressive,

men who have renounced their allegiance to truth itself. These accusations and recriminations are very sad; and the contests which they enkindle rage in every class of society. One cannot avoid them by becoming a philosopher, a fine lady, or even a Prime Minister. A short time ago Belgravian ball dresses sympathised with lawn, and could not surrender themselves to the waltz, unagitated by the "pleasing gale" of "High Church." The breeze shifted. Ministers wrote threatening notices in the shape of letters to bishops; theological mobs besieged churches; theological butlers broke through painted windows; theological and sympathetic magistrates bade them go free. In remote villages clergymen have been hooted in church for wearing the surplice by crowds who professed to regard the presence or absence of externals as matters of equal indifference; and in large towns the bishop of the diocese has been hooted for deciding that clergymen may absolve penitents in auricular confession...provided they do not make a habit of doing so. Episcopal authorities have pronounced it perjury not to observe the rubrics, and contumacious as well as insane to observe them. Several thousand clergymen have signed documents, denouncing the Gorham decision as heretical; and about the same number have signed documents re-affirming it. The law courts cannot escape the turmoil; the litigated question at one moment being a stone altar; at another, prayers for the dead; at a third, the orthodoxy of a bishop; at a fourth, the Sacrament of Baptism. Fly to the colonies, and the fight assumes the more regular character of synodical action. Go to Madeira in search of health, and the question is, "Are the English chaplains to be appointed by the Bishop of London or by the Foreign Secretary?" Go, in search of peace, to Ireland, and a hundred missionary ministers, who boast that they have sunk minor differences, invite you to a hundred different religions; while thousands of Scripture-Readers, invested with great power of countenance, admonish the starving population, whom the spoliation of past times continues to keep ignorant as well as poor, to forsake popery and the black potatoes for evangelical simplicity, the Royal Supremacy, and the soupers' pot. Take refuge finally at Jerusalem itself, and you find a bishop, half Lutheran and half Anglican, who insists on converting people, both from the Catholic Church and from the oriental Communion.

As time goes by the controversies rather increase than diminish in violence, and are always ready to break out again even after they seem to have subsided. The Jerusalem bishopric was one of the earlier contests, and the wound seemed to have skinned over; yet it has again burst out among us with more than its former fury. A protest against the conduct of the Anglo-Prussian bishop has been signed by between one and two thousand of the clergy, in the form of an address to the Patriarchs of the Eastern Communion. This protest has been met by a counter-protest on the part of the four archbishops of the "United Church of England and Ireland," supporting their brother at the "Holy Places," and suggesting that the correspondence of the remonstrance-party with foreign powers is something very like treason to their own Church. Their suspicions on this point were probably sharpened by the circumstance that some two or three years ago a document, still more numerous signed, was circulated by the same party, in which certain views were laid down relative to the Royal Supremacy, which, in the judgment of the opposite party, amounted to a practical repudiation of it. The strife has already borne fruit. The warden of St. Columba, in Ireland, having been one of those who signed the address to the Eastern Patriarchs, the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh has withdrawn his support from that institution, the most aspiring, interesting, and, in its way, creditable institution connected with the Irish establishment. The Bishop of Winchester has also been censured by some of the High Church unions, on the ground, if we understand it aright, of his having in some sense fraternized with the Presbyterians of Geneva at the opening of a church there, or rather for having shown respect to that portion of the Genevan body which is established, but not Trinitarian, to the disparagement of that part which is Trinitarian, but not established. Those who are anxious to know whether the Establishment in this country be Catholic or Protestant, have thus very recently had some additional light thrown on that question both from Jerusalem and Geneva, in addition to that, which, not long since, they derived from the statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, utterly denying the cardinal article of High Church Theology, viz., the Necessity of the Apostolic Succession. Then there has been a contest on the Real Presence. Mr. Denison, resigned his post as examining chaplain to the late

Bishop of Bath and Wells on account of some heresy in that matter, and invited the prelate to a tournament in the law-courts on the subject—an invitation which his lordship very prudently declined. The contests respecting Convocation, National Education, Confession, Rubrical Observance, Stone Altars, Prayers for the Dead, Eternal Punishment, Baptism, and Conventual Institutions, such as have been established by that most remarkable woman, Miss Sellon, have become chronic, and special reference to their symptoms is needless.

It would be endless work if we were to touch upon the recent developments of the other theological and anti-theological schools in the Established Church alone, to speak of no other bodies. We must leave the evangelical party to harmonize, as well as they can, the principles of an "Evangelical Alliance," including pretty nearly all Protestant denominations, with the narrower platform of an orthodoxy, guarded by thirty-nine articles, and a definite number of canons. If they follow up their present plans, it can only be by imitating the Rev. Mr. Gladstone in his secession and setting up a free "Episcopal Church" with or without Bishops. Let us pass on. The condition of the other sects may be inferred from the fact that the kirk of Scotland long since, we believe, nearly equalled in number by the Scotch dissenters, has divided into two sections, about as evenly balanced as are the two sections of Protestantism in Ireland, the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian, or the two sections into which the Irish Presbyterians are divided, viz., the Arians and the Trinitarians. The dispute is not directly doctrinal, and may very possibly add to the religious animation of what has been described by Anglicans as "the nation that kneels not." With this, however, we have no concern, our subject being simply the perpetual recurrence of religious divisions, and their great inconvenience. The slighter the causes that produce them, the feebler must be that bond of union which ought to have prevented them; and consequently the stronger does our argument become. The inconvenience was felt, and great efforts were made to prevent the schism from the schism by Parliament, and especially by the earl of Aberdeen, a nobleman of known ability, moderation, and patriotism, but far too much a man of the world to recommend his fellowcountrymen to take refuge from narrow views in the Broad School. The Scotch were in earnest,

and acted. They knew that when Erastianism strikes, the smaller the point of her weapon the sharper is its edge. It was with them no question of meetings, and speeches, and signatures ranged in battalion. They gave up their livings; subscribed more than a million sterling to build new churches;—they support a double class of clergy;—and, in so doing, have entitled themselves, in these money-loving days, if not to the honours of martyrdom, at least to those of confessorship. The Methodists, who had already divided into six or seven bodies, are again, we believe, in what the French call a “crisis;” and a new exfoliation will, probably be ere long an accomplished fact—that is, a fact to be thought no more about, but not, therefore, to be without results. The Protestant sects have gone on “dividing and dividing still;” and the land has lately put forth two new bodies not Protestant, and the last apparently not Christian. The former is a religion which disclaims a name, and to which we shall not, therefore, be presumptuous enough to attach any. It is called, by the profane, Irvingism: and is known to include a large number of intellectual, devout, and eccentric persons, who are accused by some of being the greatest theological plagiarists in existence, and by others of being only too original. Their earnestness is evinced by their paying bona-fide tithes, building one or two of the noblest churches of recent times in this land, and, last, not least, by their going to church at six in the morning. Their prayer-book is High-Church, beyond even the aspirations of Puseyism, including a liturgy which, if they had a priesthood, would be the Mass; the reservation of what is deemed the Blessed Sacrament; the seven Sacraments; auricular, but not “compulsory” confession, Extreme Unction, &c. &c. As Theologians they are Catholic in principle, and Latitudinarian in position. Their ideas are often noble, elevated, and deep; but their facts have the misfortune of being fables. Private judgment has been wittily described as meaning “every man his own Pope;”—so their theology might be described as Popery without a Pope. Their system is, of course, one of the pale reflections which the orb of Catholic Faith casts down into the troubled and turbid tides of public opinion. It is a High-Churchism aerial, not earthly; free to roam, but unable to stand;—a Puseyism which has slipped its chains, but has also cut itself off from national traditions and social

conventions. Like the naked child, at the end of Christabel, who, "beauteous in a wilderness," moves about in a climate where "night is more beloved than day," the gentle genius of the religion that knows no name, wanders vaguely, gathering every now and then a new fruit from phantasmal branches or visionary hands, and shyly contemplating a range of spiritual scenery which

"Hangeth like a picture fair
In the rich and shadowy air."

The second new religion to which we have alluded belongs rather to the genus gnome than to the genus sylph. It is called Mormonism, and bids fair to prove an effeminate Western Mahometanism. It has its prophet, its new book, its polygamy, and doubtless will, in good time, have its sword. It is not of English origin, though from England it is said to gain its most numerous recruits. It appeared first in America, and is an omen of the religious portents and monsters bred suddenly in the fruitful slime of utter irreligion, and in the full sunshine of a corrupting enlightenment. We can proceed no further in our analysis. Whoever would trace the progress of new religions will find a compendious account of them in the census of 1851. From that census it was ingeniously inferred by some of the newspapers that the number of Catholics in Great Britain was less than their real number in London alone. The census, however, is more trustworthy than the deductions made from it by those journals. From its tables it appears that rapidly as the places of worship belonging to the establishment have increased of late years, those of Dissenting bodies have increased twice as fast; and that, so far as an inference can be formed from the number of sittings in both classes of churches, and from the number of persons who occupied those sittings on the census Sunday, the Dissenters of England and Wales, and the Establishment, divide the population about equally between them. We have thus, in Scotland, an exclusive establishment for less than one-third of the population, in Ireland for a seventh, in Wales for a tenth, in England for one half. Reckon England and Ireland together, as many persons insist on doing, as the existing law, and the very name of the "United Church of England and Ireland" require:—what is the result? An exclusive establishment for a population not much exceeding one-third of the United kingdom, even

if we include in it the great mass of those unhappy persons in England commonly described as heathens, and in favour of whom such honourable efforts have been recently made by Lord Shaftesbury, the Marquis of Blandford, and others. We are not now considering this state of things theologically. We only ask, "Does it promise peace for the future, or a controversial war limited to 'Abstractions?' How is this state of things to be accounted for in a practical nation, averse to speculation? Does it suggest nothing to the statesman and the philosopher, though haters of Theology?"

It is hardly necessary to point out the close connection between religious and political feuds. In the last three centuries, that subject has received ample illustration. The strife is not over. The communists and socialists, who carry fearlessly out the principles which reject the historical and hierarchical elements in society, and who...true political Protestants...resolve every thing either into *Individualism*, or into such combination as is based exclusively on *human will*, have discovered who is indeed the enemy whom they have to fear; what power is that which gives majesty to sceptres, sanction to law, bounds to caprice, order to society; which favours the progress of civilization alike when it pushes its triumphal chariot up-hill, and when it acts as a salutary drag; which harmonizes the lower world by voices from a higher sphere, and exorcizes seductive political ideals by a sure hope, founded on a certain knowledge, of that future world in which the imperfections of our transitional state are redressed. The new philosophers despise the warfare with religious shadows, and turn the assassin's steel against what they know to have substance. They have sworn to exterminate the Church, and that See which is its unity, its glory, and its strength. The Kings and States, have also, in part, learned from experience; and, like the tyrant who, when the waves rose around his boat, ordered the chains to be removed from the heroic man alone capable of steering it, have, without solicitation, shewn themselves as anxious to set the Church free as they once were to enslave her. For many sequent centuries, even revolutions themselves meant little more than a dynastic change, the result of disputed successions and family quarrels, and thus were in one sense, political counterparts of those ecclesiastical catastrophes, the Eastern and the West-

ern Schisms, each of which, deplorable as it was, proceeded on principles the opposite of those adopted by Protestantism. The revolutions of the last two centuries have been of a kind as different from that of the mediæval revolutions as earthquake is from storm. They have been social revolutions; and each has approximated more closely than the last to that great democratic anarchy which, if reserved for the world, will be the greatest scourge that has ever afflicted it, and the most memorable confutation of human pride. Is it wonderful that many of the most thoughtful among European statesmen and philosophers are asking themselves what was the origin of a chain of convulsions that threatens to have no end; and whether there may not be a connection between the peril which at present undermines Europe, and that Spirit which, in the revolt of the sixteenth century, flung aside like a dream that world-wide polity which had been the basis of every institution, and which had nursed the infancy of the predecessors of the oldest monarchies? Is it wonderful that they should ask whether the Spirit which tempted that adventure be not in the world still; whether the convulsions that repeat themselves be not echoes of that one which heralded his uprising; whether the omens which the unthinking alone disregard be not the trembling of a world shaken by the steps of that Spirit as he rushes, pursued by the Orestean Furies, the avengers of sacrilege and matricide, down precipice after precipice, and into the gulf prepared for him?

We are well aware of the arguments or evasions by which the remarks we have made are usually met. They are not without a plausibility, especially when illustrated by the political convulsions from which neither the Catholic nor the Protestant countries of the Continent were exempted during a recent crisis; and they must ever have weight with those who are credulous to believe in Crystal Palaces, social respectabilities, and the whited outside of national prosperities as godless even as that of America. We have not space to discuss them here; and our present object is one which involves no profound and protracted investigations. We wish but to point out to the liberal and anti-theological statesman, that, whatever our wishes may be, as a matter of fact, religious must ever engender social confusion. Let us confine our attention to our own country. What proportion of the imperial legislation of

the last half century has been spent in discussing the burthens of the Dissenters? Well! Have their relations to the nation at large arrived yet at a satisfactory settlement? Do we hear of no questions respecting Church Rates, and such matters? If those questions were disposed of, might not Dissenters feel a little curious to know, especially as they increase in landed property and self respect, why they are, beside supporting their own clergy, building their own chapels, schools, &c., to pay tithes for the support of a Church which they regard as erroneous in its teaching, unjust in its claims, and worse than all, a half-way-house to Popery? It is easy to answer, "Tithe is a charge subject to which you buy your land:" but not less easy is the rejoinder: "It is a charge which was intended to provide for the religious wants of those possessing and living on the land. My neighbour pays as I do for his land, it is true: but he gets it plus his religious ministrations, whereas, I get mine minus my needs in such matters." It would, of course, be objected that such a change would be a premium on Dissent;—whereas, the present system is obviously a premium on Establishmen-tarianism. It would be easy also so to arrange matters that in becoming a dissenter a man could gain nothing, in a pecuniary sense, except the privilege of paying his money to the teacher in whose services he has confidence. Interesting results might follow from a change which would distinguish between Religion and Convention, and suggest the desirability of having the best article since you must pay for it. To assert that such a change would subvert the establishment is surely to imply that it rests on a very sordid foundation. If the anti-Episcopalianism of England should judge themselves unworthy of an exemption so small compared with the privileges which the anti-Episcopalianism of Scotland won for themselves long since, they are doubtless the best judges. We are neither called on to commiserate the unequal position of Sects which are so little disposed to accord to us the religious liberty claimed by themselves, nor to quarrel with the wealth of an Establishment which proves itself the chief feeder of the Church, and whose universities so largely supply our deficiencies in the way of Ecclesiastical Seminaries. The philosophic statesman, notwithstanding, will hardly count on the perpetual forbearance of the Dissenters: and there are two suppositions,

upon either of which he may expect a greater activity on their part. The first is the continuance of Church Rates, an impost extremely odious because it is not confined to those who possess land, and belong to the religion of the rich:—the second is the removal of Church Rates...a measure by which a principle would be established, and the end of the wedge introduced.

And the Catholic horizon...is that free from all ominous signs? Let a Protestant speak for us. Sir Robert Peel, no controversialist, and no idealist, but a man capable of facing facts, which few are, gave his country a salutary warning. He concluded his speech when introducing an increased and permanent Maynooth Grant, by a significant statement. After recapitulating the manifold sources of British prosperity, and the reasons for hope as to its continuance, he ended in words such as these. "There is another side. I see a cloud, no larger than a man's hand on the horizon; but it widens as it approaches us. It is that of religious strife. Make peace in time. Great trials may lie before you in the shock of nations: but all trials can be met by a free, an enlightened, and a united people." No one had a better right to warn. A man of known courage, and therefore not afraid of the imputation of fear, he twice made great sacrifices to avert strife in the chief forms in which it threatened Great Britain. He carried Catholic Emancipation, and repealed the Corn-Laws. The latter measure probably saved England from convulsion in the year 1848; and the feud between those opposite camps, town and country, may possibly be near its close...especially if the admirable principle embodied in Mr. James Garth Marshall's Pamphlet be adopted, and a representation be given to minorities. But the religious disunion...has that, too, diminished? Not even in the year 1829, nor at the time of the Gordon riots, had it reached an extent comparable to that which has been witnessed since the death of the lamented Statesman already referred to. No sooner had the Gorham Case ceased to beat the tocsin than the word "Hierarchy" was heard, and immediately the nation swarmed. Meetings of every imaginable sort were held in all parts of the kingdom...meetings of parishes, of dioceses, of rural deaneries, of corporations. Noblemen of liberal principles convened their counties, and made speeches against the "Cultus Sanctorum;" admirals in the navy quaked about the Scarlet Woman; the Uni-

versities went up to the Queen...in short, one of the wisest nations in the world went mad, and stood for months together gesticulating furiously, a spectacle to an astonished world. Parliament met, and one whole session was given, almost exclusively, to theology. Why? Because a nation violently anti-theological could not see the distinction between claims, existing, or professing to exist, only in the court of conscience, and claims which, like those of a civil or political character, are, either *de jure* or *de facto*, of a co-active character. It was in vain that the Bishop of Exeter explained this distinction in a letter to the Queen; a distinction without which it would have been easy to show that every Anglican Bishop was an embodied and perpetual aggression against all the dissenters in his diocese. It was in vain that every Catholic penny catechism shewed that the Papal Supremacy has ever been, and must ever be, a universal claim, but that it is a spiritual one also, and therefore is no more co-active "in foro externo" than the universal claims of the Apostles were. It was in vain to point out that the Papal Supremacy being a universal claim or nothing, whatever ecclesiastical mission, and jurisdiction rest on it must be, in precisely the same sense, a repudiation of the Royal Supremacy, whether they be embodied in a national hierarchy, in Vicars Apostolic, in priests or in deacons. All was in vain. The ploughman is aware that his hand is not fine enough to manage the threads which the factory children can manage: but an anti-theological nation would not believe that any one in the world could understand better than itself the common-places of theology. The consequence was, a session spent in theological declamation and legislation. To "govern counties," and to govern them "as ordinary thereof," meant the same thing! The Pope's right to set aside local recommendations to a vacant see, a right surely as intelligible as the royal veto on parliamentary measures, was a novelty and invasion, though the parties supposed to be aggrieved, had never observed the grievance! Previous ministerial statements in Parliament that, if the law gave no status to Catholic bishops, it had no right to interfere in the appointment, or the non-appointment of them, meant the same as a statement that the Queen's Catholic subjects, alone of all religious bodies, were not entitled to the normal organization of their Church! A law that Catholic bishops were

not, in England or Ireland, to take such diocesan titles as were already appropriated by the Prelates of the Anglo-Irish Establishment, meant that they were not to take any diocesan titles at all, appropriated or unappropriated, in England, Ireland, and Scotland! The obtuseness shewn in not perceiving distinctions, was only equal to the ability shewn in seeing them where they did not exist. In Scotland, the Protestant Episcopate was not to be considered as aggressive, though Presbyterianism was there the established religion. High Churchmen in England, might exercise whatever influence their station gave them in favour of their own views respecting education. The Low-Church clergy of Ireland might do the same; and so might the no-Churchmen of the Manchester school: but the Catholic bishops of Ireland must have no opinion, and must exercise no authority in this matter, except so far as they concurred with a government which could not forbear from insulting them while invoking their aid, which compelled the most aged and trusting of them to exclaim, "in the bitterness of his heart," that he had been deceived and betrayed, which courted them in easy times, "danced in the wind" when the storm rose, and legislated against their very existence! To set up a rival college, and that in these days of free trade and frank competition, is but a disguised form of treason! Who is equal to these things? Who can contend with incensed multitudes, inebriated with their own breath, which can see what they like, and which cannot see what is plain? To debate was vain. If we saw distinctions, we were Jesuits; if we saw them not, it was because our conscience was seared. Accordingly we sat down, declaring, by way of sum total, that if the Bill passed it should be a dead letter, and that we should hold Synods and retain our hierarchy in spite of it. The Bill passed, and from the first day has proved a dead letter. We have held our Synods, and retained our hierarchy in spite of it.

We have since made small progress towards peace. We have had election rows in Ireland, and riots without the excuse of election license in England; a few Catholic churches have been attacked, and multitudes of Catholic servants have been thrown out of employment. The English Catholic members who, if brought up to a fair proportionate number according to a standard determined by population and wealth, must have been doubled or tripled in number, have

been reduced from six to one. On the other side, inflammatory speeches have been made, such as can be regretted by none more than by a good Catholic. In England, the electioneering influence of the Protestant clergy is great; and it is often put forth with an energy assuredly not *proportionately* less than that of the Irish Catholic clergy, considering that the former class receives a solid support from both the great political parties, while the latter, whichever party happens to be in office, is reduced to contend occasionally "pro aris et focis." Those who are most incensed at what they deem the excessive interference of the Irish clergy at the late elections will not, if candid, forget the provocation, both from recent injury, and the threat of greater injuries to come. The party long renowned for liberal principles, and which had a hundred times proclaimed that a great debt was due to Ireland, and had not yet been paid, had visited on Ireland its indignation at a supposed aggression in which Ireland had confessedly had no part. So far as law could do it, a church which had existed in Ireland for fourteen hundred years (two centuries longer than the Anglo-Saxon race had been Christian), was all at once reduced to the condition of an Apostolic mission in Japan or China. The Minister who had done this, had also declared that he was prepared to do more if the Catholics did not submit with a good grace to what he had done already: and after a law had been passed to "give robustness" to an obsolete statute five centuries old, it did not seem impossible that new provisions might be made, in order to impart vitality to a penal measure which had been passed but a few months and seemed to be already dead. To remain quiet under the hand of the distinguished operator the Irish deemed neither their duty nor yet expedient. It was therefore desirable not to be taken by surprise. Under the auspices of a Protectionist and Protestant Government the landlord interest was up and stirring; and other leaders than their clergy, the people, in most cases, had none. The Stockport riots had preceded the Irish election rows. Maynooth was threatened; the Convents were threatened; the National Education system was threatened. The temper of the masses had been indicated by orgies throughout the land in which the Pope, the Bishops, and one more sacred than these, had been burnt in effigy. The justice of the Law-Courts had been tested by trials and verdicts,

the last of which, delivered before an European audience, was a shade too strong even for the *Times* newspaper. There is not one of the threats to which we have referred that is not hurled against us still. Considering the history of Maynooth, it would be no ordinary act of perfidy as well as of injustice and folly to tamper with that Institution;—yet, can even our friends assure us that it is safe? The largest and most corrupt system of propagandism ever known has been organized against us, and walks in the foot-prints left black by pestilence and famine. It boasts that its income for the last year was £39,000, and that it is ever on the increase. Of three possible governments two have been proved to be our foes. The third is neutral, and can be no more: and its duration is uncertain. Whoever, under these circumstances, would bid us trust without reserve to those who tell us in every tense and mood that they distrust, despise, or detest us, must be very simple, or think us very simple. We lament our failures; but we do not profess to be a body made up of Saints and sages, and we cannot promise to escape the ordinary errors of party until our trials cease to be extraordinary. Not even a general war can mitigate the attacks made on us by our enemies. Not even their blandest expressions can induce us to treat them as friends.

The problem, then, on the solution of which, as the most sagacious of recent statesmen perceived, so much depended, has not been solved. The cloud has advanced, and is advancing. The Sphinx propounds her riddle again and again; and will, sooner or later, enforce the penalty. Unless the Catholics can be induced to take themselves wholly off;—unless the entire race which will not change its Faith should be compelled to change its residence;—the same difficulty must meet the statesman at home; and, even were such a thing as a national migration possible, it would meet him in the colonies. Nothing could avert this difficulty unless the emigrating race should suffer some marvellous “sea-change,” become transmuted into the corals of the deep, or transelemented into some nobler race capable of dissolving so much poison without injury...or should attain to a yet loftier apotheosis in regions sidereal. In the meantime, as has been remarked, the ordinary sources of religious strife have been each year more abundant than the last; and additional doctrines are yearly committed to the limbo of “open

questions." Is there any limit to the field of controversy which thus lies "open" before us? So desperate is the case that it is no longer to any religious influence, but to some outward accident that men look for relief. Perhaps the Russian War may bring us the "Truce of God" in matters of faith and charity! Such hopes are vain. Interruptions have taken place before now in the fight; but the fire has ever burst up again more fiercely than ever through the obstacles that suppressed it for a moment. Puritanism met many checks: but it was not subdued by the orthodox Caliphate of Henry, the craftier despotism of Elizabeth, the invincible pedantry of James the First, the courtly Pontificate of Charles the First, the licentiousness and persecutions of Charles the Second, nor even by the measureless secularity of the Georgian Era. Equally retentive of life has the High-Church system proved. The Protector Somerset might pull down churches to build his own palace, while obsequious prelates were preparing a castigato edition of a Prayer Book which they themselves, together with both Houses of Parliament, had a few months before, attributed to the Holy Ghost:—still, the High-Church could bide its time. Elizabeth might cashier, with one exception, a whole bench of bishops:—a few years later a devout and learned recluse would search the whole armoury of Holy Church for weapons in defence of Episcopacy, and wish for life only that he might finish his "eight books of Ecclesiastical Polity." A Baxter might write the ethics of Rebellion; a Bunyan might invest the dry bones of Puritanism with the purple trappings of a mythic romance; a Milton might vindicate polygamy, regicide, and Arianism, with the same domineering eloquence and sun-clad splendour of illustration with which he had formerly inveighed against Babylon and Anti-Christ: a Cromwell might use the "wholesome and preventive shears" to dock, now the mitres of bishops, and now the phylacteries of "old priest-writ large:" a William might inherit the sacred Hebrew Monarchy of the Stuarts, and bequeath in return an established Presbyterianism in Scotland, and an endowed Presbyterianism in Ireland. A Hoadley, a Clarke, and a Watson, might be as heretical on the Trinity as Cramner and Luther had been on the Church: an age might succeed in which religion was more like a "revealed and established Deism" than Christianity:—still, the High-Church School lived on,

and has never risen up with more vigour than in its latest resuscitation. It has been said that at one time an English government endeavoured to get rid of religious animosities by hiring authors to write down religion itself; and that the same State policy which suppressed convocation had no trivial relations with that formidable school of Infidelity which rose up in England, and was ere long transplanted into France. If so, the desperate remedy indicated, at least, the incurable nature of the disease. Such remedies, however, (and private judgment admits of no other) have this defect, which statesmen have learned not to disregard, that they engender a disease more fatal still, and one that comes more rapidly to its crisis.

From a consideration of the malady itself, and of its deplorable consequences, it is natural to proceed to another question. Why is it that the country which dislikes theology most should be the one most afflicted with theological controversy? The answer is to be found in the peculiar character of the Established Church, which leads to two results—the first being, that discussion can never, in it, arrive at any result; the second being, that circumstances render exclusiveness essential to the theological position of the contending parties, and consequently, that the right to differ can only be acknowledged as an abstraction. If in the Catholic Church disputes arise respecting matters hitherto undefined, the method by which, in the Divine Science, investigations are to be carried on, and conclusions reached, is as well known as the method for prosecuting enquiry in any department of natural science. The ingenuity of self-will may prolong the struggle; and even when error has been formally condemned by the Church, equivocators may for a time rejoin that the condemned propositions are, of course, false, but that the books to which they are ascribed do not really contain them. Such arts, however, cannot long avail. They fail as they failed in the case of Jansenism. Men of good will and common sense have had the guidance which man needs, and have used it; and the contumacious may make a schism *from* the Church, but cannot long maintain one *in* it. The Catholic councils, and the decisions of the Holy See have ever constituted a plain and practical mode by which the allegations of heretics could be tested; and the result has been that, new de-

nials having produced new definitions, the strongest efforts made by the enemies of Truth have tended only to place it before men in a clearer light. That the contest has often been protracted through the perverseness of individuals, no one denies. Such evils have been accidental and transient: they have arisen from abnormal circumstances; they have been, obviously, not illustrations of the Church's ordinary working, but irregularities and exceptions. A caviller may, if he pleases, fix his regard on them alone: but in so doing he resembles one who can see in the sun nothing but its spots, in the orbits of the planets nothing but their perturbations, in science nothing but its destructive applications, in art nothing but its sensualities, in monarchy nothing but its disputed successions, in law nothing but the transgressions that "come by the law." "But," it will be said, "compare England, not with Catholic, but with Protestant countries. Why should she suffer more than Denmark, Sweden, and Norway...nay, than Germany, the birth-place of the Reformation, a land singularly addicted to speculation, and even to theology; but in which the same ground is not gone over every year; in which theology means something besides controversy, and controversy itself can be carried on without social fermentation?"

The answer to this question is to be found in the fact that in Germany there exists, if little of orthodoxy, at least much of plain dealing in theology. The principle of authority being discarded, that of private judgment rules in its place. Erastianism has often, indeed, interfered with it; and to the present day a theological sovereign of a fiercely constructive character, may amuse himself, when not better employed in building on the old foundations at Cologne, with piecing together two half Churches, and rearing one complete "Church of the Future." It is, however, a thing well understood that systems which do not even pretend to ecclesiastical sanction can have no weight in *foro conscientiæ*; and a subscription merely external and negative has not reality enough about it to excite any profound feeling. Private judgment, then, rules in Protestant Germany, and has ruled long enough to carry out its principles with consistency. Now, a private judgment which may deal as it likes with the meaning of the Bible, is, of course, entitled to deal equally freely with its text. Theology must therefore become, in the main, a question of biblical criticism...a matter into which science, like au-

thority, can hardly enter, and disputes relative to which are as deficient in dignity as the learned Billingsgate of the classical commentators. Again, private judgment, when actually realized, must claim to decide not merely as to the meaning and the text of sacred Scripture, but likewise as to its inspiration, and consequently as to the degree in which it is authoritative. Those who retain most of that orthodoxy which exists even in Protestant countries in consequence of a derided, but of an inevitable, and most merciful *Tradition*, endeavour to stem the current. They strive in vain. Logic, which laughs at the reclamations of logic-haters, as theology does at that of anti-theologians, will have its way. To its iron sceptre a wide region has been committed in the world of thought, and a still larger one in that of action. Individuals may prove outlaws; but among races its laws are carried out with a certainty proportioned to the slowness of the process. It has proved so in this instance. If the individual has to form a creed for himself on the assumption that the Bible is his guide, he must have an equal right to examine the truth of that assumption, and to compare that guide with others which also offer themselves to him. If this doctrine or that doctrine, this or that portion of Holy Scripture is to be rejected because it does not "*find*" the student "at the depths of his being," it will soon appear that there are many whose unenlightened moral sense not only is not "found" by the primary doctrines of Christianity, but revolts from them, and to whom the books of prophets and apostles seem quite as apocryphal as the Deutero-canonical books. If the individual is to be the judge in these matters, the faculty in the individual which sits in the ultimate court of appeal, must be some natural faculty...the endowment or supposed endowment of the race...which has an insight into spiritual things, a commission to test revelation by innate intuitions, and authority to accept as much or as little of that revelation as it pleases, and thus to reproduce philosophy under the specious name of religion. In other words, Transcendentalism, or the philosophy of the pure Reason, must ever eventually substitute its Rational inspiration for the Supernatural inspiration of the Puritan, and must become the "*dernière analyse*" of private judgment. But Transcendentalism is of too aerial, as biblical criticism is of too dusty a character, to enkindle any very prolonged con-

tests, except those of the most abstruse and scholastic sort. Where taste is practically the court of judgment, and caprice the arbiter, controversy finds rest in the adage, "de gustibus non est disputandum." Where private judgment is really, as well as nominally, the rule, the field becomes too large to allow controversialists to grapple with each other. They have no common principles, standards, or even ideas; and their "views" become as incapable of being mutually compared as sounds and colours are. Neither is there any reason why agreement should be sought for. Opinion has set up as a chartered libertine; and heresy and schism are things as impossible as violations of property are among the races without the rudiments of civilization.

Very different are the circumstances of England. The Reformation which, on the Continent, was a popular revolt, in England took its rise in tyranny and state-craft. Abroad, the infection began with the masses, and ascended to the higher classes. In England it began with a monarch, monstrous for lusts and blood, and descended through a scale of bribed and sacrilegious nobles to a bewildered and deluded people. In England the schism was perfected before the heresy had begun. Before the slightest pretence had been made to investigate antiquity in search of a lost religion, the supreme article of the organic unity of the Church had already been practically judged and condemned; and a national Church the slave of a despot, himself the slave of his passions, had isolated itself and integrated itself in defiance of Christendom. The ancient Church and State of England found representatives in Cardinal Fisher, and the noble-hearted Chancellor, More; through them protested, and with them died. The Church, or rather Caliphate of Henry pretended to orthodoxy; and in a convocation presided over by Cranmer, as solemn a one, assuredly, as any subsequently held, it re-affirmed the chief articles of the Catholic faith, and denounced the doctrines of the Protestants. In Edward's time Puritanism entered into it; in Elizabeth's time a quasi-orthodoxy returned; and ever since the two spirits have wrestled in the same body. This is the reason for the state of things which we witness and have witnessed. Anglican theology has been a succession of whirlpools, not an advancing or receding tide. It has neither, like the Catholic teaching, flowed up higher and higher by the walls of the city of God; nor like the

German neology dropped down with a "facilis descensus" to the sea of unbelief. In the Anglican Church a creed and a set of articles are not, as in most Protestant communions, either historic accidents or merely ornamental appendages: they are things which must, in theory at least, *be believed*; for that Church is a traditional and quasi-authoritative body; and they constitute its traditional teaching. As a polity that Church aspired to be a miniature Rome; as an Academy its chairs were occupied by Protestants; in both relations it remains dogmatic, and its dogmas refuse to coalesce. Its map is covered over with lines of demarcation as close as those that divide our fields and farms; and in each case to trifle with them is to transgress the holy bounds of property, and to provoke the wrath of a legal God terminus. It is easy to recommend liberality, and declaim against punctilio: but no one will surrender a gate (though without a lock) which is identical with a right, or a pathway which commands the sole access to a mill.

Private judgment in some form, disguised or undisguised, must ever, of course, be the alternative where the opposite rule of faith is not unequivocally maintained; but, notwithstanding, the Anglican Church has never fully and frankly committed itself to that rule of Faith. The consequence is that disputes in her communion are not at once cut short, or rendered ridiculous by the obvious absurdity of forcing persons to think alike who, with the same Scriptures and the same rule of interpretation, insist on making different inferences from them. English clergymen are to teach exclusively what is in Holy Scripture; but they are also to teach only what has actually been found in Scripture by the ancient bishops and fathers! Very good; but who is to determine what doctrine the fathers and early bishops found in Scripture, and what they did not find? Again, The creeds are to be recognised as an authentic summary of divine truths, and as such are authoritative; but on the other hand, this eminence is only accorded to them because their statements can be proved by 'the sure warrant of Scripture!' Just so; but proved *in whose estimation*, since, of course, a different judgment has ever been pronounced by the heretics who reject those creeds? Who is competent to compare the creeds with Holy Scripture? The individual? Then private judgment sits in the last court of appeal, and

has an equal right to accept old creeds, or to construct new ones. The Anglican Church? But she admits that she is but part of the Church, and a part at variance with other parts, as well as with most Protestant bodies. Such a claim on her part, then, is at once to repudiate all special title to *divine* guidance, and yet to require on the part of Englishmen a submission to an authoritative teaching, which is confessedly no more than the traditions of *men*. It is not necessary to enquire here which of these alternatives is reconcilable with consistency, or conscientiousness. It is sufficient to point out that where a double rule of faith exists, a double faith must be the inevitable consequence; and that where the dogmatic principle is thus acknowledged, but acknowledged in opposite forms, a double faith must produce endless controversies.

The disputes of late years have proved, if nothing else, at least this, that the contending schools are disputing about views which, in the anomalous and unprecedented circumstances of Anglican theology, do not admit of being even compared, owing to the lack of any common measure. The question is not merely what is the true interpretation of the rubric, but whether the rubric be authoritative, or is not? The articles, again, have received many interpretations:—can any one determine which is the true one? If not, can any one discover a principle by which such a determination may at any time become possible? Even to this question there are opposite answers. Most persons perhaps maintain as a canon for the interpretation of the articles, that their true meaning is that which corresponds with the “intention of the Imponens.” But who is the Imponens? The bishop who ordained the theological enquirer? Then the articles must have at least twenty-seven different meanings, and the differences between them in the dioceses of Canterbury and Exeter must be very striking. Or the bishops who drew up the articles? But they have been altered many times; and it is not easy to find out the concurrent intention of men who lived three centuries ago, and amongst whom it is possible that even less similarity of opinion prevailed than exists among the bishops now living. Many of the reforming prelates changed their minds several times, backwards and forwards; and the most conspicuous of them, Cranmer, was, when secretly a Protestant, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury according to the Catholic Rite, and on the day

of his consecration made a secret statement that it was out of deference to the necessity of the time that he professed a faith and took oaths in opposition to his real belief. Between his trial and execution he recanted his Protestant Faith five or six times, and ended by recanting his recantations. Several others of the reforming bishops were alternately Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans of the Genevan Platform:—so that, at this distance of time, not only does it seem a hard thing to ascertain what was that body of doctrine which they held collectively, but what doctrines, respecting the numerous subjects defined in the Thirty-nine Articles were entertained by any one of them at a given time. Some have said that the true “Imponens” is the convocation. But which convocation? The last that sat, or the first which confirmed the articles as they now stand? If the first, what power had it to bind subsequent convocations? If the last that sat, were not its diversities of opinion so great as to cause the suppression of convocation? Is the Sovereign the “Imponens?” But what if the Sovereign be a child, a woman, or an anti-theological person, who has neither gone through study, nor arrived at conclusions? Is Parliament the “Imponens?” But Parliament has ceased to be a Church of England assembly:—it is a perpetually changing body; and it has not yet taken to theologising in a direct form. Its “intention” would therefore be an obscure subject for investigation. The most “probable opinion” that could be formed on this subject would be that Parliament intends the articles to be as comprehensive as possible;—an intention which of course favours the use, by all schools equally of the “non-natural” method of interpretation.

The Gorham decision practically establishes this view: and this circumstance will perhaps be found eventually a yet more important consequence of it than others which excited more interest at the time. If a man may use the Baptismal service, with its “seeing that this child is regenerate,” &c., and yet deny the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration, it is plain that he can only use it in a non-natural sense. If he uses the Athanasian Creed, and yet denies the doctrine of Eternal Punishment, or subscribes the Thirty-nine Articles, and yet declaims about Christianity not being dogmatic, or places his hand on the head of a candidate for Holy Orders, with

the words "Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office of Priest;—whosoever's sins thou remittest they are remitted," &c., and yet denies the doctrine of the Priesthood:—in all these cases alike the non-natural interpretation is practically the one used. If Evangelicals, or disciples of the Broad School use it without acknowledging that they do so, this circumstance only proves that they have not the sincerity of Puseyites, who use it and acknowledge it. But the Gorham judgment affirmed a principle wider still. It based itself on the wonderful statement that the whole English Prayer Book, except so far as it is ratified by the articles, is to be considered as a standard of devotion, but not of doctrine! Now, as every one knows, the High Church School from the beginning based its theology on the Prayer-Book, as the Puritans based theirs on the articles, and rested on the ancient and well-known principle, "*Legem credendi statuat lex supplicandi.*" The decision, therefore, of the court of ultimate appeal has in this matter had two remarkable and opposite effects. It not only concedes, but greatly extends, the Puseyite principle of non-natural interpretation—a principle the practical benefits of which must of course be accorded to High-Churchmen as well as to Mr. Gorham. It, at the same time, eviscerates of obligatory doctrine that Prayer-Book which is their theological armoury. So far as it has authority it at once demolishes their theological position, and effectually underprops their actual standing ground within the establishment, so long as they choose to occupy it. Of course it remains another question, whether that court be authoritative or not. If it be, then, on all Church principles the Anglican Church has contradicted the Nicene creed. If it be not, no bishop has any power of repressing any heresy that his clergy may preach; and the Anglican Church has therefore no power of witnessing against falsehood and for truth. Into this, however, it is not necessary to enter. It is sufficient to have shown that while the Church of England is at once dogmatic and non-representative; while she at once enforces subscription, and maintains unintelligible formularies; while she denounces "Heresy and Schism," and binds her prelates by oath to "drive away all false doctrine;" and yet adopts no real canon for the elucidation, whether of the Bible, of antiquity, or of her own definitions; so long does she provoke contests which she can never appease, cover the field of faith

with stones of offence, and ensnare her children in controversies, which, in the absence of any guiding principle, do not admit even of a possible or approximate solution.

The foregoing remarks have been made for the purpose of explaining a special characteristic of the Anglican Church, not with any desire to pronounce upon her general claims compared with those of other Protestant communities. It is to facts that we have referred. Those facts have by some been considered as highly creditable to the Establishment. We do not discuss that matter. Our object has been to show that from certain facts connected with the structure and history of the Established Church, whether creditable or the contrary, there arise certain consequences affecting social peace. It does not follow from this that the Church in question is inferior to other Protestant bodies, considered in larger relations. On the contrary, their comparative exemption from such troubles may proceed from their organization being of a lower, though of a less heterogeneous order. Acephalous animals can never suffer from headache; but this exemption does not place them above animals which have heads. So likewise communities which have practically repudiated all traditional or scientific principles in theology may advance, without much bitterness of controversy, along that way which ends in the subversion of all belief; but no one can infer that such an exemption from trouble is necessarily a thing to be proud of. From what we have said it would indeed follow that of all systems the Anglican is the least consistent; but inconsistency may result from having retained, amid many errors, some exalted truths, rejected by more consistent heresy...truths which refuse to make peace with error. In every system except that of the Church there is a fatal inconsistency somewhere or other. No matter how little be admitted of revelation, that little is inconsistent with what is denied; and it matters little whether the link that has a flaw in it be found high up or low down in the chain. Let the Church of England work out her destinies uninterrupted; thus only can the lesson of history be complete. We are not taking her measure considered as a whole. Throw in a great nation as pedestal to the statue, and her stature is imposing. She has many attractions; nor do we wish to bring against her any railing accusation.

We must protest, however, against the opposite habit in

which some of her children indulge...that of deluding themselves with an ideal image of her. From this ideal everything is excluded that affronts the Idol of Nationalism. Her inconsistencies? Each is to be accounted for by a separate piece of special pleading! Parliaments? They but made spoil of the "liberties" they affected to vindicate. Heretical bishops? These were not her reformers, but her scourges! A Liturgy never at rest? It was almost always changing for the better! A history made up of scandals? Providence brought her through all! Her isolation? She never separated from the Catholic body; or, she separated from most excellent reasons! Her diversities of doctrine? They but prove her charity! Her subjection to the State? It shows her patience! Her lack of influence with the poor? It is that her clergy are all gentlemen and scholars! Her spiritual unfruitfulness? It is a proof that her most eminent gifts and graces are yet to come!

Those who thus shut their eyes to the painful part of the picture deal equally delusively with the portion on which they fix their eyes. They explore the history of the last three centuries, collect together everything that is beautiful, striking, or picturesque; and out of the spoils of scattered years compose a whole, which to their fancy is ever present. Hooker is always their type of the recluse pastor. Their bishop is always kneeling in his oratory, and bedewing Greek devotions with the tears of Andrews. An ever present Wilson is in prison for reviving the discipline of his diocese; and an expected Laud is ever waiting for the martyr's crown. If they seldom think of the priests who for centuries together said mass in holes and corners, on rainy moors, or behind the sliding panels of old manor-houses, they never forget the Anglican clergy, who, during the brief storm of Puritan ascendancy, were faithful to the Book of Common Prayer:—for them each hamlet is skirted by a "golden grove," in which a Taylor responds to St. Francis de Sales, or echoes his song;—for them the whole Anglican Church is scented by the carnations and musk-roses that grew in the garden of Herbert. Against a view on both sides alike so partial, we must protest, because it is a delusion, and because in religion, which is the Kingdom of Truth, delusions, if self-willed, are fatal, and never more fatal than when a loyalty that errs from its right object converts itself into an illicit

affection and a perpetual bondage. To surrender freedom of thought without gaining a guidance that can be, or claims to be divine is as stupid a blunder as if a man, proud of domesticity, were to go up to a room at the top of his house, lock the door, and throw the key out of the window. Such is the effect of reasoning with the affections or imagination, and thus serving a human master in sacred things.

To realize the special characteristics in the Church of England, to which we have referred for the purpose of accounting for the two remarkable facts that she has always been an arena of theological controversy, and that theology in her never advances to results, it is necessary but to look back on her history. That history is a chronicle of great intellectual efforts without progress, and of moral strivings, which have ended in beating the air. Genuine history is ever a development in time of that which from the first existed in principle. In Anglican theology the names of great principles have been retained, and have served as watchwords in battle; but those principles have either not existed in that purity which is their life, or have been so confused by contradictory principles, that to work them out has ever been the old story of Penelope's web. First one school runs a-head; as a necessary consequence a reaction takes place, and the opposite school has the advantage. Exhausted, they lie down to sleep side by side: and when they waken, the same battle re-commences with the same results. "How is it," theological students ask, "that the Church of England, with all its learned men, never produces a systematic body of divinity?" Because, it must be answered, the longer it thinks, the more impossible does it find it to ascertain what it holds and what it does not hold. It is full of forces; but forces without law make chaos. The greater its energies the greater its confusions; for there is in it no planetary power to modulate its movements. Gravitation enters not into its sphere; and it can find rest only through its "*vis inertię*," or from that superincumbent weight of the State which is really endured only because it is needed. We cannot more completely evince our desire to avoid all that savours of unfairness or harshness in this enquiry than by illustrating the above remarks not by reference to the first or the last post-reformation century, but to the far-famed seventeenth. The sixteenth century was the period of scandals, when doc-

trines, no two years the same, received their only significant comment from the falling roofs of abbeys and the violated shrines of Cathedrals. Let it pass. The eighteenth century was the torpidity of death, and the peace of the grave. Let it too be forgotten. But the seventeenth century was something better. The period of convulsion had passed; the conservative tendencies so deeply rooted in England, had had time to re-assert themselves; and the period of restoration had begun. There was peace again in the Universities; and old halls, and libraries, and chapels were forced into the service of the new learning. The court was in part religious, and wholly High Church. Every effort was made to give the experiment fair play; and men in far lands waited to see whether a paper Church could work like one of flesh and blood. What did it produce? A Literature. What did it bequeath? A Revolution. The Restoration took place. The wheel had gone round. Conscientious Puritans gave up their livings, and conscientious Episcopalians reaped the just reward of tried fidelity. Men of virtue again occupied the pulpits, and men of learning the chairs of the universities and the episcopal thrones. The learning of the time was nothing narrow, technical, or professional; the clergy were patriots and men of honour, as well as devout men; the nation was tired of its recent madness, and disposed to accept with gratitude any credible creed that could be proposed to it. What was the end? Corruption of morals, Latitudinarianism, and infidelity. Very able books had been written, and that was all. The best English eloquence took its rise in the form of sermons; the best English philosophy appeared in the volumes of Cudworth, More, and the Platonic divines; beautiful religious poetry accompanied it. All the adjuncts and ornaments of theology were there in abundance. Theology alone was absent. Its substance had been annihilated; the species alone remained. And why? Because the substance of theology is truth; and truth cannot maintain itself except in its fulness and its purity; and these cannot exist apart from principles at once scientific and simple, a consistent *method* of reasoning, and a sure basis for faith. From the Church of the seventeenth century England inherits theological libraries, but not a theology. It is in the humbler walks of divinity, and in meaner times that she has produced the works of most permanent value.

The value of her temperate and careful labours in some departments of biblical criticism, as well as of her works on Evidences, is acknowledged by foreigners. Not one of her own children, if we ascend to the higher walks of theology, can tell us whether a true exponent of English orthodoxy is to be found in Jewel, the episcopal Puritan, or Laud, the Anglican Pope; in the non-conformists, who would not accept a fragment of Rome as their national Church; or in those of the non-jurors, who preferred to separate even from their non-juring brethren, rather than lend their countenance to a Church which had renounced antiquity, and would not mix water with the Eucharistic cup.

It can hardly indeed have escaped the observation of the most vehement admirers of the Anglican Divines of the seventeenth century that they had a weak side as well as a strong side. They were strong against Dissenters, at least against the later Dissenters...strong, not when they met them on Ecclesiastical grounds, (for not having the true doctrine of the unity of the Church, they lacked the key-stone of the Ecclesiastical Argument,) but when they assailed their splenetic denials with authorities taken from antiquity. They were strong in moral declamation; expert in controversial fence; and in their devotional works there is occasionally a depth and tenderness which bear to the writings of the Saints an analogy like that of an engraving to a picture, and which profoundly impress all who know not how deeply they are indebted for their writings on such subjects to the stores of that Church which they so bitterly reviled. In the meantime the weak side of the more learned Anglican Divines was their controversy with Rome. On that field the "giants" suddenly became pigmies, and scholars degenerated into railers. They made up, each for himself, a Lawyer's plea in defence of the Anglican Isolation: but no one agreed with his neighbour's "view" on this momentous subject. In proportion as the pleader was learned and aspired after orthodoxy, his statements on the subject of the Church were such as, in the estimate of the more Protestant part of the community, let in the edge of the Roman wedge, and admitted premises, the conclusions legitimately drawn from which must prove as fatal to Reformers who discarded, at least, the whole Western Church of the sixteenth century, as to Dissenters who abandoned the Anglican State-Church of the seventeenth century. Witness as

strongly as they might against the Mother of Souls, yet the "witnesses agreed not in their testimony." One boldly affirmed that they had left the Western Church because, for "eight hundred years and more," it had been "drowned in Idolatry, the sin of all others most hateful to God,"...a charge which of course extended itself equally to the Eastern Christianity. A second shrank from such a statement, as implying that God had forsaken his Church during far the longer period of its existence, and as leading necessarily to the conclusion that if the whole Church had been allowed to remain in error for eight hundred years, so a separated and minute portion of it might also, while endeavouring to reform itself, fall into error and remain in blindness. His statement was a more moderate one, asserting that the "Anglican Church" had left that of Rome because the Papal Pretensions were wholly an imposture, substituting a human for a divine Head of the Church. A third maintained that "we had never separated"...God forbid, but had simply been excommunicated and cast out, because, though we did not dispute the Primacy of St. Peter's See, we could not submit to the exaggerated claims of later Popes, and the exactions of the "*Court of Rome.*" A fourth was in favour of the absolute authority inherent in each distinct National Church; and therefore branded dissenters as schismatics, while the State persecuted them as such: but he could find no reason why the Church in France or Spain did not possess an equal privilege. A fifth believed in authority; but in an authority which, far from being a check on Private Judgment, hopelessly extended its sphere. Do not bind yourself, he said, by the definitions of any living Church; for, as many Churches have fallen, so each in turn may fall; and since even "a General Council may err," much more may the articles of a special community. Go then to the Fathers, and interpret Holy Scripture by the unanimous voice of antiquity as your safest guide. But the misfortune was that antiquity refused to present its verdict in this compendious form; that Rome, the Greek Communities, and every Protestant body, claimed "the earliest and purest antiquity" as on their side; and that it was more difficult for the ignorant to master a hundred books than one only. A sixth, and the most clear-sighted of all, threw himself on a principle which was at least intelligible and consistent, and said, "I affirm Private

Judgment pure and simple, and the Bible the Religion of Protestants. In fundamental points it is plain enough, and every man of Good Will shall have the teaching of the Spirit." But it is not possible for man to force "a new constitution" on God who has already given us His Covenant with His Conditions. The most precious of books continued to be the obscurest in spite of bravura phrases and bold assumptions...and that even because it is the most precious. Those who were loudest about Fundamentals, could never decide what doctrines were and were not fundamental, or what was the true meaning of those admitted by all to be among the number. The most different opinions respecting matters affirmed to be "fundamental" were vehemently urged by men all praying for divine illumination, and believing themselves to be men of good will...one man rejecting the Papal Unity, another the Visible Church, a third five of the Sacraments, another all the seven, another the Trinity, and at last, in Germany, the Bible itself as an Inspired Document. In a word, it turned out that the facts would not accommodate themselves to the theory; that it was a questionable compliment to the Bible to affirm that it was so shallow a stream that every one could wade across it; that as little do we honour the Holy Spirit by saying that any one who chooses to isolate himself from the Communion of the Brethren has only to pray for grace and rise up a Prophet; that the Bible becomes intelligible only through that Spirit Who inspired it; that that Spirit is given as an illuminating power to the Church alone; and that to the Individual He communicates Himself as an influence in the heart only so long as the individual keeps the "Unity of the Spirit" by abiding in that "one Body" which is the Temple of the Spirit, and which we are therefore commanded to "hear."

Not only did the writers of the seventeenth century differ from each other on all those cardinal points, the moment they engaged in the Catholic Controversy, but each differed as much from himself as from his neighbour: and almost all the opinions to which reference has been made can be justified by citations from different works of the same author. Let us take but a single instance. Dr. Barrow's celebrated work on the Pope's Supremacy may be regarded as a summary of all that had preceded it on that subject, being also the ablest of all. What does it

consist of? Hundreds of legal *points*, cleverly, but captiously put against the Catholic Theory of the Church...each of them inconsistent with its neighbour. Now, the argument is, that St. Peter had no superiority over his brother Apostles, St. Paul even reproving him to his face; now, that his primacy was special to him, and was not inherited by his successors in the Roman See; now, that the Headship of the Church is Christ's only; now, that the Popes might be borne with but for their exorbitances; now that St. Peter never was in Rome. We have heard of an aged litigant who being prosecuted by a neighbour, desired her lawyer to put in on her behalf the following triple plea...first, that the holes were in the borrowed kettle before she had borrowed it; secondly, that the kettle had never been borrowed; thirdly, that at the time she returned it there was not a single hole to be seen in it! Surely this controversialist must have been a student of Dr. Barrow's "Pope's Supremacy." Let us leave, however, these peccadilloes of detail. How does Dr. Barrow *map out* the question, and reply to the Catholic argument? First, he assumes, as the authentic delineation of the Church, her character and her claims, the statements on those subjects made by one of her schools, the Ultramontane, instead of seeking it in her authoritative definitions...thus constituting a sophism and misrepresentation the very groundwork of his whole argument. Next he separates each citation from the Fathers bearing on these subjects from the rest; ignoring the cumulative force of all taken collectively; reducing the meaning of each to the least meaning that it may possibly bear; and then flinging each aside as irrelevant, because the *whole* of the Papal Theory cannot be established by each separate *part* of the evidence adduced in its support. Lastly, he gleams in the wide field of Catholic history for scandals which necessarily exasperate the prejudices of Protestants, and which might legitimately intensify their opinions also, were those opinions already fairly formed; but which, in the meanwhile (those opinions being themselves the matters under examination) can have no place in the discussion, except a rhetorical one; those scandals, whether true or false, relating to individuals only, for whom the Catholic Theory claims, as such, no infallibility, much less the slightest approach to impeccability. And in the meantime what is the theory of the Church and its divine organ-

ization which this great writer puts forward in opposition to the Catholic? No one can discover it. He has no theory because he has a hundred. Whatever argument came to hand was good enough as a point in a legal pleading. The very same circumstance made it impossible for his work to have any value as a consistent theological, or even philosophical statement. As an armoury against Rome, it is resorted to equally by Tractarians, high and dry writers, Establishmentarians, Evangelicals, Latitudinarians, Dissenters, and even Infidels. This is the consequence of writing a book bristling with points, and abounding in talent, but wholly destitute, not only of a definite system, but even of a fundamental Idea.

Some ingenious reasoners have tried to twist a defect of the gravest order into a merit, and have said, "The old English divines were no system-mongers; their views were too large for that." "System" in their mouth means the "doctrine" of their adversaries; and "doctrine" means their own "system." Not to know what the Church is, and to assert at random, or as the needs of a changing position require, a number of contradictory statements respecting it—making it visible or invisible, as it suits us, and affirming its unity to be moral only when defending ourselves against Rome, and to be organic and sacramental also, when assailing dissenters—is simply to hold *no doctrine* on the subject, and yet to pretend that we hold a certain article of the Creed, when we have no faith respecting the meaning of that article. If such an adhesion to that article be sufficient, must not an analogous mode of holding the article on "one Baptism" be sufficient also;—and what right can men have to brand as insincere, Evangelicals, Latitudinarians, or Gorhamites, who accept that article, and only claim exemption from that particular interpretation of it which they stigmatize as the "system" of narrow-minded Tractarians and deluded Romanists? Anglicans require orthodoxy on "Baptism," and Latitudinarianism on "the Church." So it has been from the beginning of that religious Revolution, called in the language of the Protestant tradition, the "Reformation." What was the systematic doctrine of the "great divines of the seventeenth century" on the Church? *Simply they had none.* It was impossible for them to have any, because their unhappy task was to reconcile principles, many of them Catholic, with a standing-ground and history exclusively

Protestant. To have decided in favour of the "Invisible Church" would have rendered all obedience impossible, and accelerated the process of dissolution and separation. To have defined the matter theologically in favour of national Churches would have justified every Church in Europe, and none in Asia. To have asserted, as modern High Churchmen do, the *necessity* of Episcopacy and the Succession, would have unchurched almost all Protestant communities except the English. What, then, was their theory? It was a bundle of compromises, conditions, exceptions, and conclusions turned back against their premises. It was everything and it was nothing.

Was their theology, then, *Latitudinarian*? By no means. Latitudinarianism, though a superficial and hollow, is comparatively a consistent thing. But then a Latitudinarian theory can be accepted only by Latitudinarians; and the Anglican Church was obliged to include equally Latitudinarians, Puritans, and half-Catholics. Its system, therefore, could only be that of Latitudinarianism, with the semblance of exclusiveness. There is an infinite difference between *Comprehensiveness* and *Equivocation*. The former endeavours to include many individuals within the same community by means of reducing to a minimum the number of doctrines assent to which is required. The latter effects the same object by means of an interpretation at once *ambiguous* and *exclusive*. The former is Latitudinarianism; the latter is Mystification. The former gains its object by having few *definitions*, the latter by allowing a loop-hole for countless *interpretations*. The ambiguity to which we have referred, as characterizing the Anglican Rule of Faith, developed, as Anglican Theology was forced into form, into a system of Equivocation disguised as Comprehensiveness. Puritans are exclusive; Popery, according to them, is idolatry, and the sacramental system is Popery in disguise. High-Church doctrine is exclusive; it counts the sacraments among the things essential; and it stigmatizes as heresy a departure from primitive definitions, and as schism a departure from the Church. Now, these exclusive systems are mutually opposed; and neither could find its place in a system that professed to be latitudinarian, and left disputed points undefined. How, then, were the two parties held together in the seventeenth century? By means of equivocal formularies, made double, like doors so

constructed that they may be pushed open either to right or left, while, the moment one has entered, they fall back of themselves and close again in one. The whole system, the result of compromises made from day to day, bore the same character. It had its "verily and indeed present" for the High Churchman, and its "feed on Him by faith" for the Puritan, whose theory would not suffer him to admit anything more than a subjective presence to the believer. Yet each party asserted, and was forced by its principles to assert, not that its view was *one of several views all alike permitted, and none exclusively sanctioned*; but that its view was *the doctrine of the Anglican Church as well as of the Bible*; that no other was sanctioned by either; and that its adversary held his place, not by the liberality of the Church (for it never can be true charity to palter with essential truths) but through his own insincerity or perverseness, through relaxation of discipline, or through some unhappy accident of the time, to be mended as soon as possible. The same system of equivocation applied to countless doctrines, but especially to that which relates to the Church. Opposites were to be comprehended; but no one was to admit the principle of latitude. Private judgment was to be asserted by one, and Church authority by another; and as these contradictories can meet in no middle term (since a man must either be guided by the judgment of his Church, or sit in judgment over her, whatever relation he may claim with antiquity,) each was to be allowed to assert that the other was a heretic in disguise; and all was well so long as both remained practically and passively obedient to a Church of which no two gave the same account, and of which no individual could form a coherent idea. Submission was the thing necessary; not a recognition of the duty of submission: acquiescence was required, not faith. A statement was included for every taste, and an escape was provided for every scruple. Necessity, let us hope, rather than conscious insincerity, was the cause of this tortuous method of proceeding; but the consequences were not therefore modified. The bond of the whole was *evasion*, not charity; the essence of the whole was equivocation, not toleration; the result of the whole was confusion, not congruity...promiscuousness, not the household union of the Church.

As time goes by the difficulty is the same, and is met

in the same way, viz., by *evasion*. The need for evasion becomes greater and greater as succeeding years throw more and more light on a system so arbitrary that it only looks well on paper, though it was only adapted for work of the coarsest order. Two centuries ago the Puritans might still exist on hope. The Reformation had lived but for a century or so, and it had done work. It had re-discovered the Gospel, broken to pieces the idols, cast off the yoke of popery and prelacy, and decapitated superstitious or malignant kings. It was still in the fervour of youth. Its very excesses were but the "sowing of its wild oats:"—it had done much, promised more, and had met with no theological confutation which it was not able to confute in turn with buff jerkin and a steel more trenchant than that which had lined the walls of the star-chamber with the ears of Dissenters. It waited, knowing that that "two-handed axe" waited also. It "placed its trust in providence, and kept its powder dry." And the High Church Party also could afford to wait, and to hope. Learning had again begun to re-assert itself; and the homeliness of Latymer, and the scurrilities of Bale, and the inconsistencies of Cranmer, and the devastations of the first Cromwell and his master...all these things were beginning "to take a sober colouring" from the weather-stains of time, and to look more picturesque than scandalous when contemplated from a distance by the more learned schools and polished courts of Charles or James. No monarch who intended to "unfrock a proud prelate" would have mentioned the circumstance to him publicly at a chance rencontre on a bridge, or boasted aloud in court that "he tuned all the pulpits in England." Catholicism had not then recovered about half the territory she had lost at the first burst of the revolt: neither had she completed those vast conquests of the faith in new regions, which have since laid the foundation of spiritual kingdoms compared with which those she lost were small. In Germany the true character of the revolt had not had time to declare itself. The rejection of the ecclesiastical principle had not yet been followed by the rejection of the dogmatic: and the Bible had not been first torn to pieces by those who professed an exclusive reverence for it, and then thrown aside like a chalice from the hand of one who has drunk to intoxication. It was still just possible to fancy that if German Protestants "had not bishops, it was because they could not have them;" and

to hope that among them, too, there would be a reaction towards order. In England also the problem had not yet been worked out. The question, How do a few dioceses at the north of the channel constitute a distinct and complete Church, any more than an equal number of dioceses taken from both sides of the water?—where is the principle of unity?—and why may not any two or three English bishops dissent from the rest, just as they dissented from the great body of Christendom?—these troublesome questions were in a large measure forestalled, by a certain theory of monarchical power, and the divine right of kings, which enabled an ardent loyalty and an erring imagination to find in the kingly office a pseudo-centre for a miniature Church. The Hebrew monarchy was arbitrarily taken as a type of the Christian; and kings were regarded, less as nursing fathers, and at the same time obedient children of Holy Church, than as mystic authorities, invested with a divine commission, if not to feed the sheep, at least to coerce the shepherds, and, on occasion, to depose chief priests, and pound up brazen serpents into dust. This idea of monarchy gave unity to the Nation, and the Nation gave unity to the Church. The deficiencies in the ecclesiastical theory of government were thus made good by the excesses of the political; and by a support not its own the empty bag was for a time taught to stand.

But time, like fire, tries every man's work what it is, and God's judgment, like frost, searches out and splits up the strongest things, the strength of which is not divine. The fair and majestic disguise fell off by degrees, and a Church, endowed indeed with the wealth of the State, but covered no longer with the garment of a royalty not its own, was gradually reduced to make its cause good on ecclesiastical grounds, or not at all. Kings, like all forms of political government, are accidental; but the Church is essential, and its organization must therefore be such as to lean on no accident for its central support. Reality dispelled the dream. The Revolution of 1688 came; and the theory of the divine right of kings could maintain itself no more...at least in connection with the British monarchy. Episcopacy in Scotland was discarded by the State, and a Presbyterian Church was established:—from that moment the Anglican Church became, by the confession of State and Crown, not the Church of the nation, but of a part of the nation, and the *unity of a nation* no longer supplied

the place of ecclesiastical unity. The change went on. Convocation, the great council of the national Church, and its sole organ for corporate and free action, was abolished, and has remained in abeyance for nearly a century and a half. It could then no longer be maintained that the King was head of the Church, not simply as being head of the State, but as being the head of the nation, and as governing it alike in its civil and spiritual relations—in the one relation ruling through Parliament, in the other through convocation. It became evident that it was as head of the State that he ruled; and therefore that the Church was subject to the State. Gradually the royal function itself changed, and the king became, not the head of the State, but a part of it merely, viz., its executive power. Yet so far from the Church rising, as the monarchy declined, it sank lower and lower; and those great appointments which the kings had once given away with the advice of the bishops, became a portion of ministerial patronage. The change advanced. The minister, who had been partly the choice of the king, partly that of both houses of Parliament, became the nominee practically of the House of Commons, as that House began to engross all substantial power. At last the House of Commons changed also; and in place of consisting exclusively of professed members of the established Church, it included professed Dissenters of every sort; while yet its power over the Church became stronger and stronger. It appointed, virtually, ministers, who suppressed ten bishoprics in one day, and presented colonial bishops, in more cases than one, with patents *during the Sovereign's pleasure*, empowering them to ordain, confirm, &c. It constituted as the highest court of appeal for the decision of doctrine a tribunal consisting of laymen, one of them a Presbyterian. What further progress can be made in the downward course? None, unless Jews as well as Dissenters, are admitted into that House which endows Episcopacy in England, Presbyterianism in Scotland and Ulster, Brahminism in India, and Buddhism in Ceylon; which till lately bowed down the banner of England before the procession of Juggernaut; which still reverently guards that relic, the tooth of Buddh; but which can find no words to express its indignation when the same great See which twelve hundred years ago sent Augustine to found Anglo-Saxon Christianity, and fourteen hundred

years ago sent St. Patrick to convert the Irish, is guilty again of a similar aggression, and raises up a new Hierarchy in the island so long afflicted and struck down. In a word, the whole system of things had gradually changed. The Church of England could no longer borrow from the majesty of semi-divine kings the Unity and the Sanction which, to a Church, are things absolutely essential. It was forced to fare for itself, and to defend itself with its own weapons. Its difficulties became more and more apparent, as they were examined. What wonder if in the nineteenth century they are met, as we have seen that they were in the seventeenth, by evasion? It is a sad necessity; but even the most ingenuous must either abandon an equivocal position, or yield to its necessities.

The circumstances, then, of modern times have thrown such light on the character and position of the Established Church, that it is equally impossible to make out how it is one with itself, or one with the rest of what it admits to be the Christian Church. "Must it not then," it will be asked, "be simply impossible for a man who holds at once the principle that the Rule of Faith is the Church's interpretation of revealed truth, and again, that the Church is organically One, to find in England any teaching authority at all? And must not this fatal deficiency make an end, at least, of all the controversies connected with the 'High-Church theory?'" By no means. The cardinal difficulty is met, not by real theological argument, but by evasion; and that matter settled, controversies on matters of detail are carried on (as the experience of every day proves) with all the more acrimony because the battle has become a *melée*, and admits neither the dignity nor the discipline of genuine theological discussion. There is nothing new in this position. The Evangelical school has never been driven off the ground of controversy; yet its cardinal difficulty,—“How can you base a religious certainty on the Bible as an authentic book, if you deny wholly the authority of that church from which you receive it,” is met, not by argument, but by a string of evasions and assumptions. The difficulty of the “Broad School” is eluded in the same way; and the essential matter being thus taken for granted, room is opened for an interminable warfare on subordinate questions. Here, as before, we leave the inferior schools unexamined, and test the Anglican church on the ground where she

ought to be strongest, and by the conduct of that school which from its learning, its aspirations, and its self-devotion, is its most considerable, though not its largest, one. That school, more than any other one, boasts a history. In what has that history recently ended? In a guerilla warfare upon a hundred points of detail; the one essential point remaining undefended except by a hundred evasions. That point is, How do you authenticate your ecclesiastical position, and consequently your Teaching Authority?

At the beginning of the High-Church revival, twenty years ago, Authority had a substantive meaning. It meant the authority of the existing Church of England. That appeal has been practically answered, as far as a church without representation can answer it, by the fact, that the chief dignitaries of the church, the chief tribunal to which it is subject, and the enormous majority of the nation have declared themselves against the appellants. With circumstances, the meaning of the word authority has changed. It now means the authority of antiquity; that is...of antiquity as interpreted by the individual or by the School. The principle of "private judgment," thus, expelled from the front door, has but made its rounds and come in again by the back door. This is evasion the first.

Again. One of the most important principles of High-Church theology, as long as it remained a *theology*, was its bold appeal to external evidence. It turned in manly scorn from that feeble and effeminate habit of appealing to mere internal feelings, which belongs to dissenting bodies. The feelings, it said, are a fallacious test. They vary with fancy, taste, health, spirits: they are the same in no two individuals, nor in the same individual for two days together. The standard by which you measure truth and falsehood, like that by which you measure right and wrong, must be external to you and above you, as God is: otherwise, it is but your own reflection. Leave it to the Methodists to know that they are forgiven because they feel comfortable and assured. Leave it to the Puritans to keep up the temperature of their souls by intoxicating draughts of delusive confidence. Your standard must be external, objective, immutable,—the creeds of the church, the definitions of councils, the "Written Word," not the "inner word" only, the Written Word as interpreted by the consensus of ages and nations, not by the vagaries of individual fancy—the

Church as recognized by the notes and marks set upon her by her Maker, not by the accidents of place or time, the sanction of kings, the learning and piety of teachers, the experiences of individuals. Such were the principles of the High-Church Theology: but circumstances gradually arose, which made it impossible that such principles should witness in favour of the Church of England; and then, alas, they too were imperceptibly changed for their opposites. Judged by an external standard it became every day more and more difficult to show how the Anglican church possessed, in its completeness, any one of the "notes" which characterize the Church confessed in the Nicene Creed. What arguments, then, have been substituted for these in her defence?

The first of them is a purely subjective one, dependent on individual interpretation of passing and transient events;—that which is called the "signs of life." The candlestick cannot be removed because the Church of England still lives; and the tokens of this life are to be found in the spread of High-Church principles, the revival of confession and absolution, attempts more or less successful to restore the conventual system, an increased reverence for the evangelical counsels as distinguished from the mere precepts of the Gospel, the preaching of the Apostolic Succession, and the sacramental system, the translations of the Fathers, the study of antiquity, improvements in ecclesiastical architecture, the increase of the number of services, and the publication of devotional works deeper and more spiritual than the nation had been long contented with;—or, to say all in one word, the success of Puseyism. That success is, however, accounted for in a dozen different ways by the different schools, religious and irreligious, among us. The Puseyite, the Evangelical, the Philosopher, the Statesman, the Catholic...each has his view of it, and draws from it an inference very different from his neighbour's. Is it not obvious that that inference depends exclusively on the *point of view* from which the success is regarded, and the previous religious bias of those who muse on the phenomenon? What the success of Tractarianism proves to the Evangelicals is the power of the devil, who spreads among us a thick delusion;—the terrible strength of our carnal nature, ever rejoicing in fleshly bonds and the beggarly elements of ordinances which are an abomination to God;—the inadequacy of a

Reformation which did but half its work;—the might of Anti-Christ, and the subtlety of that Babylonian sorceress who when expelled from a house once more made pure, contrived, as Milton complained, to leave behind her, in rubric and ritual, tokens and memorials, gewgaws and love-gifts capable of stirring up the embers of old affection. And to the Latitudinarian what does the success of Tractarianism prove? That man can never rise above his littleness;—that he must needs cramp his mind, as Chinese women cramp their feet, lest it should make any real progress;—that some narrow system, Popish, Puritan, or Puseyite, must ever be the prison of one too ingenious, too superstitious, too bigoted, too cowardly, to be free. And to the infidel what does it prove? That, as long as men believe in revelation at all, an irresistible logic will ever bring them back to the superstitions they had left behind;—that those who insist on receiving the Bible as an inspired and infallible guide, must in consistency find, or fashion to themselves, a Church equally inspired and infallible in order to make their guide available;—that a half-freedom is as futile a thing as a half-faith is in the estimate of theology;—that man can only be free from superstition, dogmatism, and priestcraft, when he shakes off those old-world fancies or traditions about a covenant between God and man, as so much poetry gone astray;—that he should read the Bible as he reads the Iliad, discard the supernatural, recognize his own place in the infinite system of nature, do bravely his day's work in the day, and fling aside speculation as he flung aside his corals. And to the Erastian Statesman what does it prove? That the clergy will ever be the same when they can;—that they will always be embroiling the State with education disputes at home, or ecclesiastical aggression from abroad;—that if they get an inch they will take an ell;—that if indulged in so much as a surplice, they will try to turn it into an alb; if allowed a clerk's reading desk they will metamorphose it into a confessional;—that the pride of their order will ever make them revive old mummeries that work on the imagination;—that they want to have their whisper in every court, and their foot on every floor;—that out of the restless speculations of a busy idleness they will ever be spinning cobwebs to catch flies;—that out of enthusiasm and a homeless imagination they will ever be raising fabrics which, in the

language of the Gods, may be called retreats for the cultivation of supernatural virtue, but which, in that of men, will be known as the fortresses of superstition;—that the only chance of keeping the clergy human is to make them rich, and help them to wives; that learning is dangerous, and that the study of the Fathers tends but to put thoughts into young clergymen's heads; that if you would prevent bishops from becoming Pontiffs, you must keep them in the House of Lords and on the platforms, feed them to repletion with temporal gifts...such as “send leanness into the soul”...and give them so much to do as will leave no time for meditation. “The time had already learned its need,” the Erastian will say, “when Tractarianism came in, and substituted the green sickness of ecclesiastical aspirations for the zeal of men intent on religious works. You have corrupted the imagination of your country, bewildered its reason, and you will end by breaking up its institutions. If we expel you we shall have another schism; if we let you go on we shall have a series of exfoliations to Rome. Our chance is in the discreet use of patronage, and in the rising up of some new folly capable of superseding yours. That would be a sign of life;—as for your chaunts, mysticisms, and incantations, they are signs of death.”

And the Catholic...how will he interpret the success of Tractarianism? After a very old fashioned manner. He will say, “God taught you as he teaches all who will learn. Make the most of what you have, and what you lack shall be supplied to you. His mercy abated the work of destruction. The monasteries were pulled down; they harbour but the bird and the insect; they preach but of mutability and decay. But the cathedrals remained. Their old towers were asylums in which thoughts of nobler song than thrush or night-bird built their nests. They preached of permanence and of restoration. Your Prayer-Book contained good and holy things, like other books of extracts. As you pondered its deeper meaning, you sought a comment *in the context*; then the Missal and Breviary poured forth their abundant rivers into those narrower channels, and beckoned the world-weary to the ‘forest of their Carmel.’ Great but merciful judgments taught you to ‘put not your trust in princes.’ You learned your lesson. You lifted up your eyes to the hills, whence cometh salvation, and taught that the Apostolicity, not the sanction of the

State, is the basis of the Church. To him that had was given; and how many have already been led by the doctrine of the Apostolic succession to the Apostolic See... the golden clasp which holds the episcopal girdle together, and binds it round the Church! Creeds taught you that it was necessary to believe creeds in their true meaning. Your Church told you that she knew not that meaning; but you persevered. You had the major and the minor premiss:—you drew the conclusion; and how many have already, because they insisted on knowing and maintaining the true meaning of one article of the creed (that on Baptism) discovered in all the others a divine depth which before they never had suspected. How many, after their submission, have acknowledged in glad humility that till then they had never understood the Communion of Saints, the Incarnation, the Trinity... nay, that till they were Catholics, they knew but half what it is to be a Theist! You learned from your Liturgy that even God's children, and those most in His favour, may not only be taught by suffering, but '*justly punished*' for their offences. You learned, then, that sin, though forgiven, has a temporal penalty attached to it; you began to bring forth accordingly worthy fruits of penance; and to how many of you did not Purgatory ere long become intelligible! You called to mind the Saints as your ancestors in the Church; and they by their prayers won for you such grace that you learned to look on them as living presences, and as God's instruments to you for good; for God is not the God of the dead, but of the living. You began by believing that, as God is the Truth, so Christianity must be dogmatic: ere long you learned that all dogmas are but parts or manifestations of that one stupendous Verity which lives ever, through the Holy Spirit, in the heart of the Church; which is defined as man's need requires, and as God's Providence permits; and of which one must explicitly or implicitly possess the whole, or possess no part except in shadow. Your tradition about fundamental truths accordingly fell off from you, like a chrysalis; and you learned that all Revealed Truth is essential, and that each person must be in a condition to confess all parts of it with equal certainty, if challenged by the aggressions of error. You had the heart to believe in a supernatural life—you founded quasi-convents; and of your half-nuns, how many have given up playing with sanctity, and have gone and served there, where,

Obedience is a possibility! You rode on; and your right hand taught you. You were found faithful in little things, and how many have been made Lords, and (more blessed still) servants in great things!"

"Is it so wonderful," the Catholic will proceed, "that God should be with you, when he came to visit you, and search you? God is with you, and calls you, as on the Patriarch of old, to come forth. He is not therefore with your Communion as a Church, and he does not therefore bid you to abide. Is it not a fact that if the 'Catholic movement' came from God, many among the chief of those whom God raised up to head it have already declared, not in word only, but in act, that the great providential purpose of that movement was to lead men to Rome? Does not every single party in the State, and school in the Church, except your own, regard Tractarianism as the 'stepping stone to Popery?' Do not all men of the world, and indifferent persons think the same? and do not foreign nations corroborate their judgment? That there are signs of life in *you* is what we affirm, not deny. The Establishment doubtless has its life too, or it must have long since passed away: but it is the life of an Establishment, not of a Church...it is that restless life which generates schools like yours, and others in direct opposition to them...the life which is maintained on the alms of its neighbour and rival...the life which sustains the seeds blown into a colder soil from a happier climate;—the life that produces learning which disowns it, heroism which it fears, sanctity in which it cannot believe, gifts and graces which can find in it no home. Such things an Establishment may have; but those things only belong to her which abide in her."

And the indifferentist philosopher...what will be his "view" of the matter? He will say, "Man's mind is a pendulum, ever swinging backward and forward between extreme points. As methodism was a reaction from the sordid secularity of the preceding century, so Tractarianism was a reaction from State influence. Adversity makes a man acquainted with strange bed-fellows. A government which had suppressed ten Irish bishops made the Church party acquainted with its principles. They took up the battle where Laud left it off; but they had no longer either a mystic king or a martyr king to extend a shield over them. They preached the Apostolic Succession. That principle was a theological

one. It carried them as far as the channel. It there encountered a geographical confutation. A few men had real belief in their principle; they saw that the "Church militant" could not be a "geographical expression;" they broke bounds, and attached themselves to the "Orbis Terrarum." The rest had less insight or more patience. They would not let go their hold of a national-universal Church. They insisted upon sitting on a piece of chalk, until they had hatched the egg. If they could not be the obedient children, they resolved to be the affectionate parents of a Church, and to make the Establishment all she should be. They were to give her a faith, and she was to give them a commission.

"It was in vain:" our Indifferentist will proceed, "look at facts, and see how every success has been fatal to you. The success of the Laudian revival led to the decapitation of its chief supporters in Church and State. These are not sanguinary times; and your success has only led to the stultification of your principles. Tractarianism advanced in a School only to make Protestantism advance in the Church. The School set up the doctrine of Sacrifice; the Church courts decided against the stone altars. The School asserted the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession; the Church joined with the king of Prussia in consecrating a Protestant bishop at Jerusalem. The School made boast of orthodoxy; the Church witnessed the appointment of Dr. Hampden. The School was eloquent about "one faith and one baptism;" the Church has submitted to the Gorham decision. As often as the School has challenged the Church by a question, it has been answered by a blow. Each time that the School has fired off its gun, the recoil of the engine has driven the Church backward. There was no help for this. The series of disasters that ran parallel with the advancing 'Signs of Life' were the result of a natural law."

"This will easily be seen. The direction in which the tree bends is that in which it will fall. In compromise the Church of England began: equivocation has been its protection, and dissension must therefore be its end. Other Churches were either Popish or Puritan; and the misfortune of the Eastern Church is that it is Popish, while political circumstances have always prevented it from *growing* a Pope. But in the Church of England two elements were included, as in the English language two

vocabularies, the Latin and German, are united. There was no help for it. The English have ever been a people attached both to tradition and to liberty: and of logic they are seldom capable, having indeed pre-eminently the opposite gift—that of practical judgment. A Church either Catholic or Puritan must have excluded half the nation. A Church which united both sections had to exclude nothing but logic and consistency; and might get on by turning the thoughts of men from what the most thoughtful would soon find the most impracticable subject—theology—to useful pursuits. But religion lives in our instincts, as well as in our intellects; and opposite theologies are not easily held in union. The original diversities of opinion continued to propagate themselves; for, as men are born Aristotelians or Platonists, much more are they born Protestants or Catholics. The two parties struggled together, and each had the advantage in turn, till the State sat down upon both. At last a new scene opened out. The disabilities under which both Dissenters and Catholics laboured were done away with: and in 1829 the true trial of the Church of England *began*; for she was then first bidden to walk alone. Since then she has lived fast. The success of either of the contending parties in the Church of England must necessarily have stimulated the opposite to redoubled energy at a moment when it must do or die. Protestantism had gained the ascendancy in public opinion. The whole traditional element in English theology was called on to speak at once, or be silent for ever. It made a brave response. The light flares up in the socket before the lamp is extinguished:—this is the result of a simple mechanical pressure. In one word the rationale of the matter may be thus summed up. Whenever the Church of England breaks up it will be because the last question has put an end to the long mystification, and thus given one of the schools that compose it a final triumph over its rival. That success must itself be the result of a fierce battle, in which the conquered party will put forth the utmost of its energy, and attain, for a moment, to its highest development.”

There is, of course, no reason why the High-Churchman should assume the Catholic reading of recent events to be the true one rather than any of the rival versions of them. What he is really called on to do is to recognize

and realize the fact, that all such "views" are relative only, and therefore are just, so far only as the point of view from which they are taken is just; and consequently that, the matter in question being whether his own ecclesiastical position be or be not sound, that position can derive no protection whatever from such interpretations of providence. To act on this simple truth is his duty:—this it is, and not anything beyond his power which constitutes *his probation*. But has Tractarianism ceased because the arguments on which it threw itself when dislodged from its higher ground, are so plainly fallacious? On the contrary; it continues, some say, to make progress, if not as a theological School, yet still as a religious party. Such progress assuredly we do not regret: but we cannot but deplore its special modes of defence. A glance at these will be sufficient to show (what alone is our present theme) that of a warfare so conducted neither statesman nor philosopher can flatter himself with a prospect of seeing the end.

First, there is the argument from some infinitesimal piece of good luck or good promise amid the shifting events of the day. "Convocation has at least met, if it has not acted: and if it was suppressed as soon as it spoke, still it did speak." This is to sail by the weathercock, not by the compass. Then there is the providential mode of accounting for all one's present deficiencies...the need of chastisement for sins, reduction of pride, and the like. But to believe in Providence is one thing; to interpret its ways is another; nay, is to change the problem from the region of faith to that of sight. It involves all the difficulties that beset those who confirm their impressions by the omens and auguries of unfulfilled Prophecy. No one knows what trials are good or bad for his party at a particular time; and most people are apt, when in good spirits, to think themselves the favourites of Providence, and when depressed, to think themselves abandoned. The sense of a Providence is intended to strengthen the heart and head, not to direct an unfixed faith, or to stamp a divine certainty on the mutations of human opinion. Then there is that appeal which to the intellect says nothing, but which so fatally paralyses the nerves and haunts the imagination. "What, and you too! can you doubt your own Mother?" The bewildered questioner forgets to answer that if the established church be indeed his spiritual

mother, he has no doubt that the more she is assailed the greater ought to be his fidelity: but that he sees several reasons for thinking that she neither can be the great mother-church, nor can be in communion with that Church,—that she can neither be the whole of it nor a legitimate part;—and that consequently it is by leaving her that he can alone return to a real obedience. He is ashamed of his doubts when he should be ashamed of having trifled with them so long. He is talked over, and dismissed with some wonderful anecdote, or the secret of some projected movement that is to set every thing right. He departs, troubled yet relieved. The next year, it may be, his adviser is a Catholic:—but the next year the advised is no more.

The appeal to the feelings sometimes takes the form of an appeal to the most sacred experiences. “The Church of England has Sacraments. You have often felt the power of them. In her, too, you have known the comfort of prayer and the answer to prayer. To doubt her is, therefore, to do despite to the Spirit of Grace.” But Dissenters use the same argument every day; and their theological position is not thus vindicated. It is impossible to say how far uncovenanted graces may not go in certain cases, or what response may not be made to prayer so long as the *whole* light accorded is faithfully used. The Anglican is apt to be too little tolerant in this respect to Dissenters and continental Protestants, regarding their “extraordinary consolations,” “wonderful judgments,” and “singular providences,” but as hallucinations or temptations. As he judges in the case of another let him sometimes judge in his own. The appeal is often made to the supposed sanctity of individuals; but here again, each sect is apt to have its own saints; and the life that is “hidden with God” is hardly likely to be sufficiently laid bare to mortal eye to admit of canonization by public opinion. Tertullian was a saint once; and not a few of those who once stood as high as any in the contemporary calendar of Puseyism are now to be found in the Catholic fold. Another argument is the happy deaths of many devout Anglicans. But in what school or in what sect are not such deaths heard of? We can no more penetrate the mystery of death than that of life: and grievous would be our delusion if we were to fix our religious belief, or position, by impressions so little likely to be impartial as the esti-

mate which we have formed of the deaths of those dear to us. A man's opinions may be false, and he may be mercifully taken away, expressly to save him from the consequences into which, if he lived, they would betray him:—or his heart may have been right though his mind was clouded by invincible ignorance:—or, again, his consolations may have been illusory, as in the case of notorious sinners who too often die without apparent contrition, yet full of confidence, and of what they mistake for faith. These things belong to the world which God only can look into. If the individual can weigh Grace, and measure the degree in which others have co-operated with it, or wrestled with temptation; what is there that he cannot do, and what need has he of creeds or councils?

Another and less amiable form of evasion is found in vituperation, “How dreadfully many of the converts are (they say) fallen off! They wear green neck-handkerchiefs, and walk about Rome with hunting whips in their hand. In Spain, the priests are infidels, we are told, and secretly Jews, or, at least, something very painful. In Ireland they have made constitutional government impossible. Poor Ireland! was not the famine enough? Probably, what she wants is another Cromwell...but one of sound church principles. At Rome the Cardinals live openly scandalous lives!” It is thus that a foreign Valet de Place, who has been amusing himself at the expense of travelling theologians, fills cloisters and common-rooms with the myriad echoes of a single voice! Since Virgil's time, and before it, the power of Rumour, with her thousand tongues, has been well known. In the warfare which consists in flinging dirt, those who walk in clean clothes are at a disadvantage. Once for all, theology is one thing, and gossip is another; and Catholics will not condescend to mix them. If Tractarianism confounds them, it is because its “poverty and not its will consents.” It is easy to identify the teaching of individuals with that of the Church; to search the volumes of casuists, and pass off their exceptional cases as if they were ordinary rules; to ignore the casuistry of Protestant Divines, or the laxer practice of a public which indulges in fine phrases and acts as is convenient to it. To retort on such charges would be undignified, nay, uncharitable, since the day will probably come when those who have suffered themselves to be betrayed into thus degrading religion, and siding with the

party of infidelity, at home and abroad, will yield to nobler instincts, and deplore their present aberrations as much as we do. It is sufficient to remark that, even were their allegations true, their arguments are no arguments, unless the function ceases when the functionary is unworthy; and that if their arguments were worth anything, there could now be no church upon earth. What are they then? Evasions.

Shall we go on? "If the Church of England was good enough for Herbert and Andrews, must it not be good enough for me?" Surely this is mock-modesty reduced to a very slender disguise. If I am unworthy, compared with other people, is that a reason why I can dispense with the aids God has given to support human weakness? Can the most infirm best dispense with the true Physician? Might not a Dissenter in like manner invoke the names and examples of those honoured in his sect? Does it really follow, that, because the men in question followed the best lights they possessed (assuming such to have been the fact) the same can be said for a servile follower of theirs, if, under different circumstances, he clings to the position they occupied...nay, clings to it at the sacrifice of their principles? Again, it is sometimes asked,—“Are you going to condemn the church to which your parents belonged?” Surely we may leave the Reformers of the sixteenth century to settle this matter with their descendants, and to justify themselves for having forsaken the fold to which their forefathers for nine hundred years had belonged. It is sufficient to remark that, if piety to the departed were to be shewn, not by active good deeds that affect them, such as prayers for the dead, but by adhesion to all their opinions, and a refusal to advance beyond their lights, Christianity could never have superseded Paganism. Another plea of the same sort is,—“do you not feel that you have never yet done full justice to the community in which you stand? Have you done as much as she has always commanded you to do?” Might not every sect ask the same? It is easy for the worst to preach duties which the best will perform very imperfectly; and the more we advance in grace, the more shall we feel our deficiencies. True strength comes through a true Belief and true sacraments; and as it is the attribute of sects at best to preach virtues, but not to nourish souls, they will always have the power of saying,—“At least do not try a better counsellor till you have fully carried out

my advice. I have always advised you to repent perfectly. You will then surely do thus much before you try whether confession and penance, be, or be not, aids to repentance." Would such sophisms deceive us, if the matter in question related to our lives and properties? Once more, "Do your duty; read books of practical religion; and avoid the temptations of controversy." Alas! Is it then no duty to ascertain which is the True version of God's Revelation? is there nothing practical in finding out the ark of Salvation? is there not such a temptation as that which makes us give Truth itself a bad name, discard at once Enquiry and real Faith, and keep terms with a religion which keeps terms with our country and our time? It is thus that we deceive ourselves when we play tricks with the subject, and look away from that which is the real point at issue. Every tie of life becomes a bond fastening us down to error. "Only look at my brother John!" exclaims some simple-hearted clergyman of the rural districts—"I, indeed, know little or nothing: but he is a man of universal learning, and European reputation. Where he is at rest, surely I must be safe!" "Only look at my brother Thomas!" exclaims the learned and far-famed John. "I have read enough to know that learning may deceive, and logic bewilder;—but simplicity is an inspiration in itself. My brother has chosen the better part. In the innocence of the vales, and in the duties of practical life he has found the security that is denied to the proud. Well! he has no misgivings. Surely I must be safe where he is!" And thus the complete John-Thomas stands firm and collected, a single and perfect man... a monument of stability assuring the hearts of thousands... a modern miracle in the land that knows not counterfeits... a Puseyite without a doubt!

But to give a list of "jury-mast" arguments under which dismantled systems may sail till they have got up their new rigging, would be impossible. We have referred to a dozen of them; but of such resources there will always be an unexhausted supply—one exactly proportionate in quantity and quality to the demand. We have not space to trace the later developments of the other schools within the Anglican Church. They can all alike find a new argument to balance each new mischance, or pass off a new evasion for an argument. There is then no chance of that theological warfare which every day connects

itself more and more with social warfare, dying of inanition. No confutation can convince those who will not "know when they are beaten." In the temporal sphere, those who choose to live in an infected neighbourhood, to sail in a bad ship, or to ride a foundered horse, receive a species of confutation which suffices for others, even though it may leave them the power of saying that "if it were to do again they would do just the same." But in spiritual things, the only light which cannot be resisted belongs to the future world; and a silence more awful than any sound compasses the deeds of men till the judgment be pronounced. From a period earlier than that in which we learn to speak, till the last sob of expiring life, inclusively, we are allowed the awful power of deceiving ourselves and those about us. There is, therefore, no hope that any external chance should abate that confusion and warfare which we have deplored. And thus we are brought back to our starting point. "Who shall stay the Plague of Controversy?" This is the question which the hater of Theology, and not he alone, has been demanding for years. We end as we began; entreating our anti-theological friends not to add to the warfare of the time by warring against the search after Truth itself. The world was not made exclusively for philosophers, for statesmen, for lovers of literary ease, "or practical life," for Epicureans, or triflers, for persons without anxieties, or whose anxieties are limited to trivial matters, and reach not those which are supernatural and eternal. Such being the case, a great disquietude respecting Divine Truth must ever remain in a nation which has once enjoyed the light of Revealed Religion, and which still preserves the belief that God Himself became Man, and gave man a Revelation of Himself...nay, that a book still exists which proves that such a Revelation was made; though it does not, by itself, shew what that Revelation is. The Catholic Church is the Temple of that Spirit through Whom the Bible was written. It is for this reason that she is also emphatically the "Church of the Poor," to whom "the Gospel is preached." In her fold, it is no inconsistency to affirm at once that you live by the Truth, and yet that you are no discoverer of Truth; for to her children truth comes by inheritance, and commonly through faith and obedience alone, not analysis and scientific discussion. These last remain the tasks special to her doctors and pastors. In the 'One

Body' all members have not the same function ; for if the eye were all, where would be the ear?—but all have the *benefit* of all functions ; for the same Spirit dispenses to all, constituting some, Teachers, and others, the Taught. It is thus that among civilized, though not among barbarous, races, there is a distribution of offices ; and, though but a few are lawyers or soldiers, all have the benefits of Law, and partake in the national security. From the moment, however, that Private Judgment substituted itself for that Authority which is, in reality, the Law of Love, the Communion of Saints, the preeminence which rules by serving, no choice remained except that of renouncing Truth, which is to renounce Him Who is Truth, or that of seeking truth through controversy, and *at all costs*. The Eastern Schism but paralyzed the region detached from the Church in which is the Spirit of life. The Reformation blew a trumpet against the four points of heaven, and invoked at once all the storms. The Powers of the air heard it and rushed in. Protestants must not complain if they have to reap as they have sown. Protestantism found a state of things in which what is individual, and what is common, in religion could not be confused. Each man had to believe, to hope, to love, to repent, to obey, individually : but Truth was, objectively, a common possession. Personal action, and Personal Responsibility, could not then have been confounded with separate action and the isolation of mere individualism. A *common* confession of sins, and a *private* opinion, would not then have satisfied. In the so-called "dark ages," not a century passed by without adding to the stores of theology ; but the work went on ordinarily in silence, like the building of the Temple. Since the Reformation, the process in Protestant countries has been the opposite ; and the sum of recognized Revealed Truth has been ever diminishing. It is surely not the lower instincts of man's nature which make him cling convulsively to what is left ; though, the more rigidly he closes his hand, the more rapidly, like sand, the treasure escapes through his fingers.

In England the controversy rages more fiercely than elsewhere : and this is her own choice. She has enthroned private judgment, but not expelled tradition. It is where the water meets the land that the waves roar loudest. She has all the controversies that other Protestant countries have, and one more besides...the question, namely, whether

she is Protestant or not. As she sometimes professes to be more Catholic than the Catholic Church itself, so she is Protestant in such a transcendent sense as to protest even against Protestantism. Surely there must be a remedy for her confusions. If the articles and liturgy will not agree why not separate them? If high and low cannot live together, why cannot they live apart, and be at rest? "But," it will be answered, "the two divided portions would soon have to be divided again. Moreover, the true destiny of the Church of England is not to divide but to expand, not to expel but to include!" Very possibly; and nothing can be easier. What more would be necessary for that end, than to cut off those "subtleties" or dogmatic statements which offend the Dissenters? "But," it will be answered, "this would be to expel the dogmatists, especially those of the High-Church School; and in losing respectability we should lose all." In this case, of course, matters must remain as they are: and Catholics at least have no right to quarrel with an arrangement to which they owe so much. But they may be allowed, as parties concerned, to tender such plain advice as this. Face things as they are and be contented. Do not try to unite contradictory advantages. You have your Church as you have made it. It is, in many respects, a great bond of social and political order, a great educationist, a great dispenser of charities, a vindicator of morals and Ethics...nay, a witness for "general Christianity." Many of its most zealous supporters do not assert more than this: and all this many of us concede. It is not because we deny that, in one sense the Establishment may be a valuable institution, that we decline to belong to it; but because we believe in a Supernatural Order, founded on a Supernatural Revelation. But do not be amazed if your remedies against enthusiasms have cooled the hearts of the poor to your Church. They will serve God from love and fear, or not at all; and in proportion as you get rid, on the one hand, of the Eucharistic Worship and of "erotic devotions," and on the other, of distressing statements, such as those about Purgatory and Eternal Punishment, you will get rid of the poor. If you say discussion is the mode to reach truth, do not be angry because the nation takes to discussion, and prefers "vitality," &c., to "stagnation, a dead uniformity," &c. If the Church has "authority in contro-

versies of faith," do not be surprised if Churchmen preach authority; and if all Churches may err, do not be surprised if the laity refuse to believe in an instructress who cannot believe in herself. Least of all be offended because a certain Church which is greatly spoken against, but which believes that she has a gift for man, proffers that gift.

Such would be the counsel of plain common sense to one resolved to perpetuate all the causes of strife that now so strangely meet in England, yet displeased because the connection between cause and effect has not been suspended to ensure his rest. But very different would be our tone to one of a more serious and manly mind, whose sorrow comes from a deeper source. Let such a man but ruminates over the state of things which we have described, and do so in that frame of mind in which we realize the thought that the whole world of sense and earthly interest is but a dream; that Truth alone abides; that God is the true universe; and that suns and systems are but motes in His light. Let him ask himself, "And I...what is my faith? do I really *believe* anything? What is the theology of the day? and how was my own come by?" Might not the answer be often thus made? "A little part of it, but the better part, came, on the Catholic principle, by tradition. It was learned at the knee of a mother. A little more came from the teaching prevalent at the moment in the school to which I was sent as a boy. Another portion came from the suggestion of friends who have long since changed their minds. Another portion from teachers selected by private judgment. Another from books at variance with each other, and among which we were at once pupils and umpires. Another from private judgment pure. Another from the accidents of the hour. Another from vague impression and predilection. Another from a resolution always to avoid Rome: and the greater part from Public Opinion—a blind guide, perhaps, but one who is always close by one." Well, then, you *believe* nothing; and you suspect it. Your theology is what is vulgarly called a "hodge podge:"—it cannot come from Him who is eternal Order, and immutable Truth. This also you know...as far as you choose to know it. In this, then, lies your probation.

For a choice lies before you. You may be true to the moral light you have; pray for more; fulfil known duties with diligence: use the internal grace denied to none, and

likewise the external aids which Providence places in our way in proportion as we will use them. You believe in reason and conscience. You may then cast off whatever in human systems is plainly, not above reason, but contradictory to it, absurd, and incoherent. You believe that a Revelation has been made, and that, whatever it may be, Faith is the organ through which it is received. You may exchange a Rule of Faith through which the habitual exercise of faith, even if the disposition exists, is not possible, for one in which faith is directed by her who is the "pillar and the ground of truth" to the spiritual Objects of Faith. You know that Certainty, not Probability, ranks among the Scriptural "notes" of true Religious knowledge. You may seriously examine the claims of a Church which has always insisted on the certainty of Divine knowledge, and denounced Protestant Systems as conjectural. You may make the Cross your book:—fear God, so as to fear none beside:—love Him, so as to be undistracted by meaner affections:—have Him for your guide, and find in Him not only the truth and the life, but the way to each, and to endless peace. Except through Him no one can come to His Church.

Or, again, you may trample your misgivings down—you may get used to them as we get used to the smell of an hospital. You may find out the most plausible reasons for remaining as you are, such as the necessity of fulfilling immediate duties, the danger of speculation leading to delusion, the chance of enquiry depriving you of faith—a faith which you too probably do not possess except in its most rudimental form, and which you cannot retain, except by trading with it in the spirit of a reverent boldness. You may do all this; and be thought the better of by the world for so doing; and feel less and less disquietude every year. But you will have betrayed yourself, and all dependent upon you; and you will miss the true purpose of life; and you will die as you have lived. A sorer sight there cannot be, whatever the world may think, than that of a brave man acting like a coward, a wise man like a fool, an earnest man like a trifler, a lover of truth and right like one who believed that, in their highest and native sphere, truth and right have no place. Yet even to this men born for better things are reduced by the necessities of Protestantism. They have been cheated, and that before they could think, of those great primary ideas, Religion, Faith, absolute Truth, which

underlie Theology:—and the human substitutes which continue to bear those august names are too insubstantial to serve as the basis for any solid structure. They cannot put out their hand in any direction without striking against a limit; nor look to either side without seeing a precipice; nor tread strongly without shaking down the pasteboard house in which they live. Their Religion is a Concordat which a Great Nation has made with an Unknown Power. They have a Theology of bright fancies and hollow names, which they dare not examine, lest the huge bubble should burst beneath their touch. It is in vain to remind them that if Enquiry be wrong, the Reformation was wrong: that if Authority be the true rule of faith it can hardly mean the chance authority of any particular body in which we happen to be placed;—that a man may be a Catholic or a Protestant; but that he cannot be both, and combine both with Latitudinarianism. The resolved but undogmatic Protestant will not believe even thus much; for the statement is logical; and his position requires that he should discard logic, and cease to have faith even in the connection between premiss and conclusion. He has perhaps courage enough to stake his salvation, and that of all whom he influences, on the soundness of a vague impression, and of an impression at variance with the convictions of three-fourths of Christendom:—yet he has not courage to meditate composedly for half an hour. It is a paralysis and a torpor. Amid the boasted enlightenment of a Reformation that professed to break in a moment the chains of twelve centuries, the mind, so active as to terrestrial things, when directed to the supernal sphere, refuses to act. The most thoughtful often refuse most absolutely to think; for such persons cannot, as easily as the rest, think themselves into fanatical consolations. The intellect of Protestantism is not to be blamed for declining to advance further into a wilderness; but it stands self-condemned for refusing even to consider seriously the duty of retracing its steps to the parental dwelling. The supposed chains which, in its fever, it tore off, were its clothes: and, self-enfolded, dim-eyed, and cold, the gloomy barbarian sits watching the ashes of a fire that has burned itself out. And yet but to put forth a hand frankly were to touch the gate;—to lift up the eyes devoutly, were to be once more at home!

- ART. V.—1. *Elements of Logic, &c.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D. Archbishop of Dublin. Eighth Edition, Revised. London: B. FELLOWES.
2. *Discussions on Philosophy, &c.* By SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. London: Longman.
3. *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D., &c.* Collected by SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. London: Longman.
4. *A System of Logic, &c.* By JOHN STUART MILL. Third Edition. London: Parker.

THE number and rapid succession of works on Logic, recently published in these countries, is not the least remarkable evidence of the present activity of the British press. Until within a few years ago, the study of Logic, at least since the rise of the Reformation, had never attained even a moderate degree of popularity among Englishmen. A variety of causes combined to obstruct its general cultivation. The philosophy of Bacon, whether for good or for evil, created a distaste for, if not a downright prejudice against mere abstract speculation of every kind; and induced a belief that all mental labour not employed in adding to the physical enjoyments, or alleviating the physical privations of mankind, was an unproductive waste of thought—a scattering of precious seed over a barren and ungrateful soil. It led men to set a value only upon such science as would enable them to win from Nature secrets which experience could authenticate—and rules according to which the resources of the earth and of the sea might be turned to most profitable account. The enemies of Logic have always represented it as an eminently unpractical study. At best, they maintain, it is but a *crux ingeniorum*—a repertory of hard, obscure, and barbarous terms. It is the natural ally, they used to say, not of truth, but of falsehood—it may hide the one under a cloud of meaningless words, but in the cause of the other, it is a worthless auxiliary, incapable of making new discoveries, or of converting old discoveries to any adequate account. Moreover, it was frequently objected to Logic, that it had been cherished in, and had descended from, a rude age, which was more inclined to attach importance to empty

forms than to realities; the most ludicrous absurdities of the schoolmen were picked out and traced directly to its influence: and the singular acumen of Locke enabled him to discover that artificial Logic had, without effecting any tangible good, occasioned many deplorable evils both to religion and to society. A science concerning the nature and value of which there existed such unfavourable misconceptions—misconceptions as wide-spread as they were unfounded—was necessarily doomed to neglect. Hence, the English works on Logic used, until within a very recent period, to count by units; and few, if any of these were distinguished for learning, originality, or depth of thought. Not embracing more than the mechanical part of the subject, they attempt no discussion of its philosophy, and altogether, they are scarce elevated in their aim above the character of school grammars. The treatise by Watts is vastly superior, in point of information and of systematic arrangement, to almost every book on Logic that had appeared in England before the publication of Dr. Whately's "Elements." The shameful apathy and neglect with which this study was uniformly treated in the great seats of education, was partly the cause and partly the consequence of its general unpopularity. In the Universities, at least, one would imagine that every science worthy of being so called, should find an asylum and a shrine; but even there, Logic met few to respect, and none to reverence it. Less than half a century ago, a Student of Oxford might have passed through examinations, obtained degrees, won the highest distinctions and honours without having ever mastered a manual of Logic; and Dr. Whately writes, that thirty years before the appearance of his valuable treatise "the revival of the study of Logic would probably have appeared to many persons as far more difficult than the introduction of some new study, as resembling rather the attempt to restore life to one of the ante-diluvian fossil plants, than the rearing of a young seedling into a tree."

But a change has taken place in the history of this portion of "divine philosophy." The science so long neglected in England, appears in our days to exercise much of its old fascination, and to be rapidly regaining over men's minds the old ascendancy that characterized it in the time of Proclus and of Abelard. Thousands of votaries are now offering ardent homage in the temple which

awhile ago had been deserted and silent. Not a month passes which does not bring us new publications on Logic, some of the moriginal compilations, some translations from French and German, not a few evincing much thought and ability, and all, when viewed in connexion with each other, as well as with their respective adjuncts of size, sale, various editions, and reputation, clearly indicating that the popular mind has been impregnated with a new leaven, and that if the present progress of things be uninterrupted, half a century hence will find the English a nation of trained philosophers. In the Universities, too, Logic seems to have reasserted its ancient rightful supremacy. Instead of being disregarded as a frivolous, barren pursuit, it is now ranked as the highest and noblest employment that can claim the attention or engage the faculties of a reasoning being.

It is by no means difficult to detect a few at least of the causes which helped to accomplish this significant revolution in the fortunes of the "art of arts." The enlightened efforts, made by the late Dr. Copleston, and by Dr. Whately to dispel the venerable and absurd prejudices of Oxford against Logic are universally appreciated. To Dr. Whately, more than to any man living, Logic is indebted for its present popularity in England. The appearance of his "Elements" operated like a spell upon the public mind. From the title page to the end of the volume it is as free from all pedantic jargon, as it is from frivolous catches and verbal puerilities. Without affecting a repulsive display of erudition, it abounds in solid and varied learning; and the perspicuous, flowing style, enriched by illustrations, which, though constantly recurring, are always graceful, apposite, and instructive, has thrown round a subject, proverbially technical, an interest and a charm which only the cunning hand of a master could communicate. Altogether, it has contributed more than any production in the language to propagate a correct view of the real value of the science of reasoning; and to remove the unjust, but popular imputation, that Logic, "though a good horse in the stable, is an arrant jade for a journey." It would be foreign to our present purpose to enter into a criticism of Dr. Whately's work, in a dialectic or literary point of view. Most of our readers are aware that the author has mistaken a partial and indeed a subordinate function of Logic for its adequate province;

that, instead of making the unvarying and essential conditions of thought its paramount object, he has arbitrarily and unjustly circumscribed its sphere to the mere use of words. He has also been charged with having been deficient in that comprehensive and plenary knowledge of the *literature* of his subject which might fairly have been expected even from a writer of less conspicuous ability, and less unquestioned repute for scholarship.

The controversy regarding the nature and value of Induction, to which his remarks have given rise, we cannot bring ourselves to consider as of much practical value. Aristotle, no doubt, was clearly of opinion that Induction is not reducible to the syllogism as its type and the test of its validity; he held it to be an entirely distinct and independent form of argument. But it is by no means equally clear to us (as is maintained by those who impugn the views of Dr. Whately), that the Stagyrite required a formally exhaustive enumeration of all the individual facts, or constituent parts as the necessary premises for a legitimate inference concerning the general law, or complete whole, whose existence it is sought to ascertain by Induction. In practice such an enumeration is ordinarily impossible; upon the strength of the validity of the "material illation," as Sir William Hamilton styles it,—that is, upon the presumption that a complete, a rigorously exhaustive enumeration of the component parts is not absolutely indispensable for a legitimate conclusion concerning the whole,—the practical reasoning of daily life is conducted, and even the severest sciences could not afford to discard it. To assign the conditions which legitimate such an inference is, to our mind, the true problem of Induction; at least, it is the only one which we would care to see solved. If we could once ascertain when and in what circumstances we might without peril deduce a general law from a limited number of observations, and a complete whole from a partial investigation of its components, we could then possess a valuable theory of Induction—nor in analyzing the formal process by which the mind would pass from the integrant parts to the complete whole, could it, we imagine, be of very weighty importance to determine whether it is compelled by any mental law to *fancy* a detailed supplementary inspection of the unexamined parts, or to at once assume that what holds

with regard to the parts, actually examined, holds with regard to the entire.

It could scarce have been expected that the author of the "Elements of Logic" should, in the course of the work, have entirely abstained from allusion to his peculiar views on subjects connected with Religion. In all his writings, Dr. Whately contrives to find room for an expression more or less distinct and unequivocal of his religious opinions. The doctrine of the Trinity, as asserting a real distinction of Persons in God, he ranks in the present treatise as a fallacy, and pretty clearly intimates that Sabellianism is its logical corrective. The idea is evidently cherished as one of his Grace's household thoughts. He delights in bringing it forward, sometimes incidentally—sometimes for formal discussion—sometimes as a thesis—sometimes as a casual, but apt illustration—sometimes it occurs in an appendix, or a charge,—and again it is introduced with elaborate ingenuity in the article on the Corruptions of Christianity recently published in the current edition of the British Encyclopædia. Our readers are acquainted with the mode in which Dr. Whately would explain the dogma of the Trinity. His is not the faith in that mystery which the Athanasian Creed asserts to be necessary for salvation. He *does* confound the persons. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are not, in his view, three distinct Persons, but three distinct characters, borne by one and the same Person. "Person," he writes, "in its ordinary use, at present, invariably implies a numerically distinct substance. Each man is one person, and can be but one. It has also a peculiar theological sense in which we speak of the 'three Persons' of the Blessed Trinity. It was probably thus employed by our divines as a literal or perhaps etymological rendering of the Latin word 'Persona.'" Then come two extracts from the writings of Wallis, the Mathematician and Logician, to explain the theological sense of the term, and to prove that Dr. Whately's view is not an innovation, but of high antiquity in the Protestant church.

"That which makes these expressions" (viz. respecting the Trinity) "seem harsh to some of these men is, because they have used themselves to fancies that notion only of the word Person, according to which three men are accounted to be three persons, and these three

persons to be three men. But he may consider that there is another notion of the word Person, and in common use, too, wherein the same man may be said to sustain divers persons, and those persons to be the same man, that is, the same man as sustaining divers capacities. As was said but now of Tully, *Tres Personas unus sustineo—meam, adversarii, judicis*. And then it will seem no more harsh to say the Three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one God, than to say God the Creator, God the Redeemer, and God the Sanctifier are one God."

"The word Person (*Persona*) is originally a Latin word, and does not properly signify a man, (so that another person must needs imply another man); for then, the word *Homo* would have served, and they needed not have taken in the word *Persona*; but rather one so circumstantiated. And the same man, if considered in other circumstances, (considerably different) is reputed another person. And that this is the true notion of the word Person appears by those noted phrases, *personam induere, personam deponere, personam agere*; and many the like in approved Latin authours. Thus, the same man may at once sustain the person of a king and a father, if he be invested both with regal and paternal authority. Now, because the king and the father are for the most part not only different persons, but different men also, and the like in other cases, hence it comes to pass that another person is sometimes supposed to imply another man, but not always, nor is that the proper sense of the word. It is Englished in our dictionaries by the state, quality, or condition whereby one man differs from another; and so as the condition alters, the person alters, though the man be the same."

To this doctrine of Wallis Dr. Whately subscribes; and he is pleased, moreover, to stigmatize the Catholic exposition of the Trinity as a virtual Tritheism, and as involving a self-contradiction. His views, he maintains, derive confirmation from the fact that though they have been so long before the public, and though they are obnoxious to some (i. e., to all Christians, morally speaking), they have never been refuted. The author of the "Elements of Logic" does not mean that they have never been refuted by arguments drawn from Revelation. What is this speculation of his concerning the Blessed Trinity but the fundamental error—the prop and corner-stone of Socinianism? If Socinianism has been proved to be false, so has Dr. Whately's view, which is but a refined plagiarism—an old exploded heresy in a new form. Was not this the very objection pressed by Crellius against the Catholic doctrine regarding the Trinity—that it led to Tritheism—that it was repugnant to reason, and involved self-contradiction? Does not Dr.

Whately, as well as Socinus, assume that his own intelligence, his individual modicum of understanding is not only the standard by which God must have regulated his communications to man, so that they should not be too high for its grasp, too intricate for its comprehension, but that it is also the measure of things possible, even of the height, breadth and depth of the Divine Nature? If Dr. Whately does not in reality assume this, how could he have laboured under the delusion that it still remains to be demonstrated that there are in God Three Persons really distinct, and that his assertion that there is only one Person who has borne three different characters, as one man might bear the characters of a king, a priest, and a prophet, still remains to be refuted. We can comprehend how an Unitarian might, in the pride of his heart, flatter himself that Unitarianism is a thesis which no assailant can disprove. Consistently with his principles it is not difficult to defend it; and he might well persuade himself that it cannot be overthrown. But the principles of an Unitarian directly lead to the subversion of all mysteries of religion—of the least above our capacity as well as of the most sublime and incomprehensible. Whatever does not seem to square with his individual notions of right and wrong, true and false, possible and repugnant, he makes it a rule to discard and repudiate. The Almighty, he contends, can reveal nothing so high that his faculties cannot soar to it, nothing so profound that they may not fathom it. In short, he claims to himself a right of revising the communications of God, and of making them conform to his own preconceptions. We can well conceive how a man, setting out with such principles as these, might make profession of admitting and revering the authority of Revelation, and yet bring himself to regard the august mystery of the Trinity as a self-contradicting myth. The natural imbecility of the human mind, and the difficulties which beset this great dogma of a Trinity of Persons and Unity of Nature, when it is contemplated by the mere unaided light of reason, might account for the way in which a theorist, arguing from the Unitarian point of view, comes to detect an apparent absurdity and contradiction in a truth which he cannot comprehend. Now, we do not know whether Dr. Whately, in rejecting a real distinction of Persons in God, and in falling back upon Sabellianism as the only rational and satisfactory method of explaining whatever is taught,

both by Scripture and tradition, concerning the Trinity, intends not merely to uphold an isolated tenet of Socinianism, but also to sanction and defend the principles upon which Socinianism is based. Whatever may have been his design, an Unitarian would undoubtedly recognize in his Lordship's argument against a Trinity of Persons in God a virtual acceptance and confirmation of all his own most peculiar and most cherished views. An Unitarian rejects the mystery of the Trinity simply on the ground that to him a Trinity of Persons in one Nature seems to involve self-contradiction; Dr. Whately rejects it on the same ground. Dr. Whately, it is true, professes moreover to rely upon the sense in which the Latin word *Persona* was used in the earlier times of the Church. We will not characterize this attempt to prop up his opinion by a few quotations borrowed from Wallis as an ingenious theological *effugium*, but it is extremely difficult to conceive how a writer of acknowledged erudition, and a Protestant Archbishop could have asserted in good faith that "the Latin Fathers did not intend to employ it (*Persona*) in what is now the ordinary sense of the word: both because *Persona* never, I believe, bore that sense in pure Latinity, and also because it is evident that in that sense three divine Persons would have been exactly equivalent to three Gods, a meaning which the orthodox always disavowed." On no other article of faith have the sentiments of the Latin Fathers and the decisions of the Latin Church been more explicit and unequivocal than in reference to the mystery of the Trinity. They taught and inculcated it in the sense in which it is believed by all Catholics,—taught it so as to leave no more room for doubt about their meaning than when they spoke of a judgment and a world to come. But plain and emphatic as is the exposition of the mystery of the Trinity, delivered by them in a thousand passages, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, writing an elementary treatise on Logic, vehemently contends that they cannot have intended what they actually say. And mark the reason alleged by him,—because, "in that sense three divine Persons would have been exactly equivalent to three Gods." We have rarely met with a more fatal application of the Socinian principle than is to be found in this argument of Dr. Whately. Not only, he says, is the doctrine of a real distinction of Persons in God in the sense held by Catholics not revealed in Scripture, but even the Latin

Fathers spoke of no such dogma! In the face of an array of evidence as manifold and as clear as the evidence in favour of God's existence, it is maintained that the Latin Fathers did not teach a distinction of divine Persons in the sense in which Catholics and almost all professing Christians believe them to be distinct, because, upon reflection, it seems to Dr. Whately "that in that sense three divine Persons would have been exactly equivalent to three Gods!" By a perfect parity of reasoning an atheist might argue that the bulk of mankind are not agreed in acknowledging a Deity, because, to his mind, the idea of a necessary self-existing being presents a repugnance and contradiction.

We are sorry that Dr. Whately should have thought fit to introduce this article on the Trinity into a work on Logic. Even in the appendix on ambiguous terms, the subject was irrelevant; and we regret to add that the principle on which the discussion of it is there conducted, may be turned to most mischievous account by the assailants and scoffers of religion. Dr. Whately has furnished the unbeliever with a weapon which may be aimed with fatal effect at the edifice of revealed truth. If there be not a real distinction of Persons in God, the inspired oracles which Christians profess to reverence might as well have been dumb; they are of no more value in guiding the intellect than the mystic utterances of the sibyl. Multiply and illustrate the evidences of Christianity as you may, this rejection of a second divine Person in the Deity loosens the whole argument, and shows that there must be a radical unsoundness in it. The whole Christian world, a Deist will say, had agreed in admitting that there were three Persons really distinct in God—that the Father was really distinct from the Son, and that the Holy Ghost was really distinct from both; there could have been no mistake about the sense in which they believed this distinction; it was plainly asserted in their sacred volume—it was explained and upheld by the voice of a long unbroken tradition, making itself heard in their symbols of faith, in the deliberations of their councils, in their condemnation of heresies, in the writings of their saints and doctors, in their catechisms, in their Sunday schools. All contending sects were agreed upon this dogma, at least; nay more, they all concurred in representing it as the great truth from which all the other truths of Christianity spring—and, lo! the great mystery so important, so uncontroverted, turns out to be a fable, a

myth, a self-contradiction. And as the root is, so, it may be justly inferred, are the branches also ; as is this fundamental dogma, so is the whole system of Christianity.

With regard to the doctrine of original sin, the author of the "Elements of Logic" suggests a view not quite so peculiar as his view on the Trinity, but which will strike a Catholic as scarce less incompatible with orthodox belief on another vital point of Christianity. The word sin, he writes, "has also what may be called a theological sense, in which it is used for that *sinfulness* or *frailty*, that liability or proneness to transgression, which all men inherit from our first parents, and which is commonly denominated 'original' sin, in which sense we find such expressions, as, 'In sin hath my mother conceived me.'" The impression which this passage is evidently calculated to make upon the mind of the student is, that the vast majority of right-minded theologians, when they assert that a man is conceived and born in sin, simply mean that he is born with certain natural propensities to evil, but they do not at all intend to convey that he comes into the world in a state of positive guilt. If he be placed in the occasion of sin during life, he has inherited from Adam a dangerous tendency which may incline and hurry him to its commission ; but beyond this there is no taint of sin resting upon his soul, until he himself shall have voluntarily contracted it. This theory foreshadowed the scandal of the Gorham controversy unmistakeably enough.

Here is an abstract of Dr. Whately's sentiments upon the unity of the Christian Church. It is not very difficult to predict the theological course which would be adopted by a youth taught concurrently to prove syllogisms, and regale his intellect over such an enlarged system of toleration as the following. It leaves just a choice between indifferntism, on the one side, and the most extreme latitudinarianism on the other. "The Church is undoubtedly *one*, and so is the human race *one* ; but not as a society. It was, from the first, composed of distinct societies, which were called *one*, because formed on common principles. It is *one* society only when considered as to its future existence. The circumstance of its having *one* common Head, Christ, *one* Spirit, *one* Father, are points of unity which no more make the Church *one* society on earth, than the circumstance of all men having the same Creator, and being derived from the same Adam, renders the human

race one family." The most conclusive argument against the Protestant rule of private judgment is to observe the manner in which it is actually applied by a sound, intrepid logician. The conclusion to which it leads Dr. Whately—a conclusion which he considers too valuable to be omitted in his "Elements of Logic," is, that Christ's connection with the Church did not extend beyond the mere inculcation of certain principles by which it should be governed; but that he had no more to do with its establishment (as a living society) than he who first pointed out the correct principles of architecture had to do with the building of the new House of Commons. It is dangerous to tamper with the word of God. If it be not received at once with child-like simplicity and deference,—if we apply the rule of our own poor, narrow intellect to ascertain its fitness, and gauge its proprieties, the chances are that the experiment will generally end in disbelief. Here are two prominent, fundamental dogmas of Christianity—a Trinity of Persons in God—and the transmission of the guilt of original sin. Both are tested by that principle from which Protestantism has sprung, and on which it reposes; and, behold, one is instantly explained away, whilst the other is exhibited in a misty atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty. There is no real distinction of Persons, according to the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, to be admitted in the Deity! There is but one Person as well as but one nature in God; and because, forsooth, this one Person did, on different occasions, assume different characters—now of a Creator, again of a Redeemer, and again of a Paraclete, just as David bore the characters of a shepherd, a king, and a composer of psalms, men come to corrupt the truth, and by a perverse, unwarrantable transition to confound the different relations in which God deigned to manifest Himself to us with a real distinction of Persons, obtaining intrinsically in God! This is the only sense in which the readers of the "Elements of Logic," if guided by the theological teaching of its author, would be allowed to accept the mystery which so often elicited an *O altitudo* from St. Augustine.

Such theories as these, every Catholic believes to be not only false, but utterly subversive of revealed religion. The dogma of a Trinity of Persons in God is the very keystone of the arch of faith; it is the glorious centre round which the whole system of divine truth revolves, and from which it derives all its harmony and stability. To cast a

doubt upon it, would be to leave the intellect no guiding pillar of fire through the desert, to leave the heart no Temple, no Jerusalem to which it could turn in prosperity or in affliction, in bondage or in triumph. We do not, however, allude to these dangerous, rationalistic views of Dr. Whately with the design of undertaking a refutation of them; we purpose, merely to state, without discussing, some of the theological tendencies of modern Logic, and to ascertain without debating their philosophical orthodoxy, the influence which the spread of those tendencies must ultimately exercise upon Christianity in England. It is simply for this purpose that we have referred to the above opinions advanced by a Protestant Archbishop, and contained in a book which has confessedly inaugurated the new era in the history of logical science; and in doing so, we are compelled to say that however admirable may be Dr. Whately's skill in the exposition of dialectic, there is a part, at least, of his theology mixed up with it, which is subversive of the whole superstructure of revealed religion, and which leads to no very long or circuitous road to unqualified Deism.

The student of Logic is not less familiar with the name of Sir W. Hamilton than with that of Dr. Whately. Though he has not yet given to the world any thing in the shape of a definite and complete system, Sir William has, undoubtedly, the largest and most influential following of any philosopher within the British seas. He is almost everywhere revered as a master, and among his disciples he has succeeded in inspiring a degree of faith and enthusiasm, which recal the venerable shades that once presided over the Academy, or disputed in the Mediæval Universities. And in the deference thus paid to authority, there is little of which even the most scrupulous Cartesian could legitimately complain. Sir William Hamilton's opinions rarely rest upon an *ipse dixit*; indeed, they are commonly supported by a profusion of learned argument as well as stated with a minuteness of detail, which an ordinary reader might be tempted to attribute to affectation and parade. The merits of his works have been often discussed at home and upon the continent: to our minds, the most prominent characteristic of his published writings, the "Discussions on Philosophy," and "Hamilton's Reid," is their searching erudition. In this respect, he is superior to any of his Scotch predecessors—far superior to Reid

himself, and infinitely superior to Dugald Stewart. Though Sir William, too, has borne off some unacknowledged treasures from The "De la Reserche de la Verité," it is not because he left other books unread or other mines of thought unexplored. He is evidently a scholar, and a ripe and good one. In the course of the two works of which he is the author, few occasions offer of evincing a familiarity with Præ-Aristotelianism; but wherever he does allude to Plato, it is invariably after the fashion of a man who has taken care to make himself thoroughly master of his subject. Aristotelianism, in all its windings and recesses, he has gone over, as if with a drag-net; and, in our very humble judgment, there is no living Philosopher more intimately acquainted with the Stagyrte. In Scholasticism, too, he is profoundly learned; but in reference to both the Alexandrian and Christian Schoolmen, as well as in reference to modern philosophers, Sir William Hamilton seems to fancy that those among them who departed widest from all established forms of theological thinking, and propounded the most extravagant theories concerning Religion, are best entitled to respect. Had he made his studies under Cousin, he could not have followed the brilliant eclectic more nearly in his estimate, or coincided with him more entirely in his appreciation of favourite authorities. Proclus is an idol. The wayward and fanatic genius which dictated such fierce assaults upon Christianity, such a systematic championship of Paganism, commands unqualified admiration. Raymond Lully, the eccentric Franciscan, whose life was employed in the double mission of making converts from Mohametanism to Christianity, and of making converts from Christianity to Deism, is another of the worthies proposed for hero-worship in the school of Sir William Hamilton; and Campanella, too, comes in for no stingy meed of praise,—rather, we presume, because he was a refractory Dominican, than because of his ill-disguised leanings towards Pantheism. Of modern Continental writers on Philosophy, Sir William recognises none who are not avowed, notorious rationalists. In Italy, in France, in Belgium, in Germany, there have been within the last half century several publications not inferior in ability, and in point of soundness pre-eminently above the best things sent forth by the advocates of Infidelity, and yet (though he rarely misses an opportunity of inciting others to constant reading by showing them the

extent of his own) the learned professor offended, perhaps, by their Catholic tone and tendency, has entirely overlooked them. He seems to think that outside the ranks of Deism there is no true philosophy to be found—at least, no philosophy worthy of consideration or notice. It was a theory of Hegel, that among the nations of earth, at least, since the degradation of Greece, the Germans alone, are, by nature qualified to be the depositaries and guardians of divine philosophy. No other people can rightly understand or appreciate it, not even the Scotch; but it is the appointed special mission of the Germans to superintend and foster it; they are the favoured Emolpidæ to whom alone it is given to penetrate and expound its sacred mysteries. Sir William Hamilton would seem to assign to modern Rationalists a prerogative equally exalted, and equally exclusive as that which the patriotic fancy of Hegel ascribes to his countrymen. We do not mean to suggest that in doing so he sought to prejudice the interests of Religion; we acquit him of intentional hostility to revealed truth, and of everything like a systematic disparagement of its defenders. But, however innocent the design of the author may have been, the certain effect produced by thus perpetually citing and appealing to Deists, as if they had monopolised all knowledge, by perpetually glorifying their intellectual achievements, as if they, forsooth, were by excellence the thinkers of the age, the sole light in darkness, is to procure for them an admiration, a sympathy, an adhesion as injurious to Religion as it is to orthodox philosophy. Infidels are, at best, but the false prophets of science; and their utterances must ever have an evil tendency, and be the result of an evil inspiration. The heaviest misfortunes that could befall youth would be to be directed to accept them as guides. If there be grains of gold scattered through their writings, they must usually be come at through an atmosphere of pestilence and death. Sir William Hamilton is, of course, entitled to refer to them in such terms of eulogy as to him may seem appropriate; but, to our mind, it is a bad omen for what used to be called Protestantism, that the coryphæi of Rationalism should thus, at every turn, be proposed for the veneration of Young England, as the only true philosophers, the only profound thinkers, the only great and unprejudiced intellects of modern Europe. The admiration bestowed on the

authors insensibly confounds itself with admiration of their theories ; and even English Protestantism, notwithstanding its singular susceptibility of variations—notwithstanding its capability of accommodating its system of belief to the exigencies of each passing hour, could scarce bear at this moment to have another branch of German Rationalism engrafted on the Thirty-nine Articles.

Sir William Hamilton's partiality towards deistical writers may, perhaps, be accounted for, to some extent, by the fact that he estimates the value of a philosophical theory not so much by the degree of truth contained in it, as by the amount of intellectual énergy which it is calculated to awaken. One of the ablest papers which he has written opens with a formal exposition of this view concerning the end of metaphysical studies. In cultivating them, we should, he holds, not be alarmed by an error ; on the contrary, an error has superior claims upon our attention and respect, provided only that it be a splendid one, and afford room for a larger outlay of mental activity than a more vùlgar truth. "Plato has profoundly defined man the hunter of truth, for in this chase, as in others, the pursuit is all in all, the success comparatively nothing. Did the Almighty, says Lessing, holding in his right hand *Truth*, and in His left, *Search after Truth*, deign to proffer me the one I might prefer, in all humility, but without hesitation, I should request *Search after Truth*." We exist only as we energize ; *pleasure* is the reflex of unimpeded energy ; energy is the *mean* by which our faculties are developed ; and a higher energy the *end* which their development proposes. In action is thus contained the existence, happiness, improvement, and perfection of our being ; and knowledge is only precious as it may afford a stimulus to the exercise of our powers and the condition of their more complete activity." If knowledge be, indeed, valuable only in proportion to the excitement produced by the pursuit of it, Sir William Hamilton's predilection for infidel writers stands explained. They form a class of "hunters" who are not deterred by barrier or precipice ; and he who keeps up with them or follows close behind will not usually find cause to complain of lack of perilous adventure, or of the recklessness that wantons with danger. The wonderful Homeric steeds that could clear the whole earth at a bound, or the more eccentric charger that bore the rapt Mephistopheles through the fields of air, could

alone be brought to emulate the style or speed with which they urge the philosophic chase. Witness Schelling's theory, which professes to analyze our knowledge of the Infinite. Considerable energy and some slight development of even the "vision and the faculty divine" are required for the purpose of simply realizing what it means—and yet, who is the Christian that would say that *there* the pursuit was all in all, the conclusion arrived at comparatively nothing? If the truth be of no value, so far forth error can be of no harm. In deciding, therefore, between Schelling's doctrine of the Infinite, and the old Catholic doctrine, stated and defended by Sir William Hamilton, we should attend not so much to the truth of either as to the degree of mental power which the exposition of it evinces and is calculated to evoke in ourselves. If this be the real criterion which should direct our preference, we should not hesitate a moment to pronounce in favour of the German autotheist. We mean no disparagement when we say that Sir William's analysis, compared with his, holds, both as suggestive of new trains of thought, and as demanding an exuberance of mental life and action on the part of the reader, a rank somewhat analogous to that which would be awarded to a Pinnock's Catechism of Political Economy, if placed in competition with More's Utopia or Campanella's City of the Sun. But the knowledge of the truth is the great end of Philosophy, and the highest development of our faculties, however good and desirable, as it is not the end for which we were created, should not be proposed as the ultimate aim of our existence. To hold that truth is in itself valueless or insignificant, is virtually to tolerate and patronise error. Nor does Sir William Hamilton's proviso about "practice" count for much. Kant fancied that by acting upon a saving clause of nearly the same kind, he could supply an antidote against the godless philosophy set forth in the critic of Pure Reason; but Kant's attempt was a failure so egregious, and requiring so little prescience to have anticipated it, that men are compelled to suspect its design. What errors in a science having for its object the being and attributes of God—the nature and destiny of the soul—are practically harmless? Who is the umpire qualified to discriminate between what is perilous and what is not? and if there be an umpire so qualified, what are the means by which he may enforce his decisions? Is Kant's doctrine of practical moment? Is

Cousin's? Is it of no consequence to hold that we must for ever remain uncertain whether there be a reality corresponding with our idea of a Supreme Being—or to teach that the universe was not freely created by God, but is a necessary manifestation of His divine nature? Sir William Hamilton appears to think that the philosophical controversy on Idealism may be carried on without detriment to any of our interests, and that the affirmative or negative may be strenuously defended without disturbing any of the established relations of common life. In a college or a school-room it may; it is an excellent subject for a thesis; but when a system of idealism is vindicated not merely by way of mental discipline, or for display of skill, but for the purpose of altering ancient opinions and commanding the assent of such circles as Cousin lectured, or Berkely wrote for, the matter assumes a widely different aspect. It is impossible that men should cling to one set of views in philosophy, and to a contradicting set of views in theology. The intellect is incapable of rendering such service to two masters. If a man is seriously convinced in philosophy that there is no first efficient cause, how can he rationally believe in the existence of God? Sir William Hamilton himself asserts that Idealism is incompatible with the Catholic dogma of Transubstantiation, and that many of the more acute schoolmen were urged by their principles to the very verge of the magic circle, and would infallibly have entered it, had they not been warned off by the light that streams from the lamp of the sanctuary. It may be that he would not consider the rejection of Transubstantiation a practical matter, but to a Catholic this belief is as dear as Christianity itself, and Christianity could not survive its extinction. The sad end of Lammenais, still fresh in the memory of our readers, but too strongly illustrates the danger of admitting false theories in philosophy, and the impossibility of dissociating speculative error from practice. What was originally the occasion of his melancholy fall? One of the most gifted and zealous of the French clergy, he had, whilst still young, become known throughout Europe for the ability and devotedness with which he maintained the sacred cause of truth and of the Church's honour. In an evil hour he undertook to speculate upon one of the most intricate problems of metaphysics, and deviating from the right path here, he was led step by step through the many scenes of his strange life,

ever receding further from the temple, till at last he cared not to look behind upon it any more, or to remember that he had ever knelt before its altar. Sir William Hamilton probably imagines that in the case of Lamennais the pursuit of truth was all in all, the conclusion arrived at comparatively nothing. He quotes him among his great authorities, and mayhap he is persuaded that his life was a triumph, and his end honourable.

John Stuart Mill is another distinguished name in the history of modern Logic. He is the author of a system, and is at the head of a school. He is said to be a profound thinker, though it is by no means difficult to perceive an occasional irregularity and want of consecutiveness in his thoughts. The title of his work, "A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive, being a connected view of the principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation," is, to some extent, appropriately prefixed to it.

It is, probably, unnecessary to remind the reader of the two great problems which Bacon proposed to solve in the *Instauratio Magna*,—a general classification of the sciences, and the invention of some new intellectual instrument which should supersede the Aristotelic syllogism in the investigation of truth. The first was a gigantic scheme; and even the genius of "the greatest of mankind" was incompetent to work it out. The subsequent failure, however, of D'Alembert, of Stewart, of Arere, though they addressed themselves to the task with the advantage of having, at least, a rude map in their hand to guide their steps, attested the superior force of the master-mind that originally conceived the project, and carried its accomplishment even so far. In constructing a philosophy of induction, no less than in this attempted classification, Bacon is not admitted to have attained complete success. Both efforts, however praiseworthy, were imperfect. The map of the sciences required to be redrawn, to have the boundaries more clearly defined, and the latitudes more accurately determined, to have omissions supplied, and errors corrected. In the same way, the new instrument intended to prove the futility of those long-cherished theories on which rested the immortal fame of Plato and of Aristotle, to sweep away the ancient idols of the intellect, and to place knowledge for ever after on a foundation as sure and solid as the earth, is supposed to be capable of a much more extensive application than had been contemplated by him

who devised it. At the same time that Auguste Comte, in France, has been essaying to remedy the first of these defects, Mr. Mill has undertaken to give his own countrymen instruction concerning the true philosophy of Induction. The Positivism of Comte, then, and Mr. Mill's System of Logic we, in common with most writers who have spoken of them, regard as mutual commentaries upon each other, or rather we regard the one as a methodical exposition of principles evolved, and carried to their legitimate consequences by the other.

According to Mr. Mill's view of Logic, it "is common ground on which the partisans of Hartley and of Reid, of Locke, and of Kant, may meet and join hands." He adds: "And I can conscientiously affirm that no one proposition laid down in this work has been adopted for the sake of establishing, or with any reference to its fitness for being employed in establishing preconceived opinions in any department of knowledge, or of enquiry on which the speculative world is still undecided." We will not enter upon any examination concerning the accuracy of Mr. Mill's notion of Logic in the abstract. We admit that there is little or nothing in formal Logic, which, of itself, tends to the prejudice or vindication of any theory, philosophical or religious. The sword may be keen and well-tempered, but whether it be employed for destruction or for defence, for good or for evil, on the side of right, or of iniquity, depends upon the will of him who holds it in his hand. But surely, in the hands of Mr. Mill, Logic is not the innocent thing he describes it. We know not whether he endeavoured to persuade himself that the speculative world is still undecided on the existence of God, on the freedom of man's will, on miracles, as the seal and proof of divine revelation; but we know that a reader left to form his judgment upon these subjects, and others of almost equal moment, with no safer light to guide him than is supplied by the observations of Mr. Mill, would be very likely to assure himself that there were, indeed, doubtful questions which a man, resolved to accept nothing but real genuine truth had better leave untouched. Our author does not in any part of his work deny in terms the existence of God, but he everywhere ignores it, and insinuates that we cannot know it with certainty. He even covertly impugns it. Discussing the Law of Universal Causation, he observes:

“Of the efficient causes of phenomena, or whether any such causes exist at all, I am not called upon to give an opinion. The notion of causation is deemed to imply a mysterious and most powerful tie, such as cannot, or at least does not exist between any physical fact, and that other physical fact on which it is invariably consequent, and which is popularly termed its cause, and thence is deduced the supposed necessity of ascending higher into the essences and inherent constitution of things, to find the true cause, the cause which is not only followed by, but actually *produces* the effect.....No such doctrine will be found in the following pages. But neither will there be found anything incompatible with it.”

If there be not an efficient cause, there is no God. Mr. Mill, therefore, is not called upon to give an opinion whether God exists or not! The necessity of admitting God's existence he describes as a supposed necessity, nor will any such doctrine be found in his pages! In dealing with the theory of universal causation, it might, no doubt, have been beside Mr. Mill's purpose to enter upon any discussion concerning efficient causes; but it was equally foreign to his purpose to suggest the atheism that lurks in the above passage. Though any such doctrine as that there exists a First Great Efficient Cause, or God, will not be found in the “System of Logic,” the author, however, pledges himself that neither will there be found anything incompatible with it. This assurance is not adhered to; the same chapter in which it is given contains a formal and elaborate disquisition on the existence of God: and though the writer has recourse to the ordinary stratagem of seeking to disguise his views by a dexterous change of terms, as well as by a studied use of the plural number, and by not using capital letters—from discretion, it may be, or perhaps from contempt, his opinions, notwithstanding, are but too transparent. Every one knows that to destroy the idea of an Efficient Cause, is to destroy the idea of God. If the earth and the fulness thereof be not the Lord's, then, truly does the fool say in his heart that there is no God. The Universe has not sprung from beneath His Almighty Hand as one physical fact necessarily follows another. It has not come from Him as light comes from the circling sun, or as rain comes from the overcharged clouds, or as a flower rises from its stem, or as bloom and verdure are awakened by the Spring. He does not stand towards the world, or towards those per-

manent and original natural agents of which Mr. Mill speaks in the relation of a physical antecedent to its consequent. He created, that is by a free act of His sovereign will—an act from which He might have entirely abstained without prejudice to His divine attributes, and to which He could not have been compelled by any exigency resulting from the nature of these things themselves, He produced from no pre-existing material those “permanent primeval agents.” He it was who gave them being; He it was who formed them; it was He who established those very laws and uniformities which are now adduced to disprove His existence. And if He be not the efficient cause of the Universe, its Author and Creator, then is He not its cause at all; He has not merely preceded it, but He has produced it; otherwise there is no God. When, therefore, Mr. Mill elaborately revives the atheistical principle of Hume, and argues that men act without reason in admitting an efficient cause, in admitting any other than simply physical causes which produce their effect, as cold causes ice, or a spark causes an explosion of gunpowder, what are we to think of his assurance that though the doctrine that there is a God should not be found in his pages, neither should anything be found in them incompatible with it? To hold that phenomena are produced by the will of some sentient being he designates as an original Fetichism, springing from a natural tendency of the mind to be always attempting to facilitate its conception of unfamiliar facts by assimilating them to others which are familiar. Thales and Hippo, he proceeds, held that moisture was the universal cause and eternal element of which all other things were but the infinitely various sensible manifestations; when Anaximenes predicated the same thing of air, Pythagoras of numbers, and the like, they all thought they had found a real explanation; and were content to rest in this explanation as ultimate.....Moisture, or air, or numbers carried to their minds a precisely similar impression (as the existence of a supreme volition or God does to ours) of making that intelligible which was otherwise inconceivable, and gave the same full satisfaction to the demands of their conceptive faculty. It is not by accident then, but on principle, that Mr. Mill, in reconstructing the Categories of Aristotle, has excluded God from among real nameable things; it would have been utterly inconsistent with this theory of universal causation

to have introduced among existences a First Cause, a Necessary Being, the Author, Creator, and Efficient Cause of all else. Accordingly, no place is left in the list for Him! There is no such nameable thing as God! We will not pause to examine whether Mr. Mill is correct, or otherwise, in representing the Aristotelian categories as being both defective and redundant; but, at all events, it is obvious that the religious views of the old Pagan may well challenge comparison with those of the writer who, in an enlightened age and a Christian country, undertook to recommence those categories under better auspices.

After having excluded a First Cause from the physical universe, it would have been inconsistent and illogical to recognize an overruling Providence, whose will guides the moral and social destinies of man. Day after day, the earth revolves on its axis; but it is vain and unphilosophical to search for an invisible hand that directs its rotation; it is all the result of a mechanical law, of whose origin and establishment we must ever remain ignorant. So is it also with the vast machine of human society. It is puerile to contend that there is an omniscient eye continually watching over it—an almighty arm continually stretched forth for its conservation and government. It is imbecility to refer, in explanation of any of its phases, even of the most singular events which seem to cast a mysterious shadow upon its history, to the intervention of a supreme controlling will. All that has occurred in it from the beginning, has occurred in virtue of the very same kind of laws which make a certain physical consequent follow its proper antecedent, and may be accounted for on a principle perfectly analogous to that which accounts for the succession of day and night. The rise and fall of nations, the spread of one religion and the decay of another, reputed orthodoxy and despised superstition, the car of Juggernaut, the mosque, the Christian temple, all are but logical corollaries naturally flowing from the historical events that preceded them; and in a few years to come, may be explained upon purely natural grounds, with as much facility and precision as people now descant upon the opening of a flower, or the ebbing of the sea. Such is Mr. Mill's "Logic of the moral sciences." He will not at all admit the will of God as a controlling or modifying element in human affairs. He would account for the destruction of Jerusalem, and for the diffusion of Christi-

anity, just as he would account for the repeal of the corn laws, and would no more consent to recognize the special intervention of a divine agency in the one case than in the other. "All phenomena of society," he holds, "are but phenomena of human nature generated by the action of outward circumstances upon human beings." He will condescend to no exception: all are generated by the action of outward circumstances—Christianity as well as Paganism—the release of the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt no less than the American Revolution.

But, as we have already intimated, Mr. Mill makes no secret of rejecting miracles. He repeats the substance of Hume's celebrated essay on this subject, and enters into a formal vindication of the profane Sceptic's theory. "A miracle," he says, "considered merely as an extraordinary fact, may be satisfactorily certified by our senses, or by testimony; but nothing can ever prove that it *is* a miracle; there is still another possible hypothesis, that of its being the result of some unknown natural cause; and this possibility cannot be so completely shut out as to leave no alternative, but that of admitting the existence and intervention of a being superior to nature." And further on in the chapter, on the Grounds of Disbelief, he reproduces in a new form the old objection against the credibility of miracles taken from the alleged conflict between the two certainties, and boasts that it still remains unanswered. According to Mr. Mill, then, though at the bidding of a man, proclaiming that he has a commission from on high, the most extraordinary events should occur, and be cited by him in proof that his legation is divine, still we cannot be quite sure that the whole affair is not a delusion and an imposture. We cannot be absolutely certain that a being superior to nature does really interpose to produce these events, since, in point of fact, it is by no means impossible that they may be the result of some undiscovered law of nature. Let us suppose that one of the Apostles by a single prayer suddenly restores speech to the dumb, or sight to the blind, or life to a decomposed body; the witnesses might act rationally in believing the fact that a man who had been dumb had recovered the faculty of speech, or that a body which had been lifeless was reanimated, but they could never safely and without some just grounds for suspicion of error, conclude that the event, however extraordinary, did not take

place in conformity to some unknown law of nature, or in consequence of some secret combination of circumstances, which no supernatural agency was required to produce. Here is a doctrine which, in sooth, annihilates the evidences of Christianity—the whole mass of them, collectively and in detail. To abolish miracles, is to leave the human intellect without one solid reason for accepting revelation. They are admitted to be the chief, if not the only motives of credibility upon the strength of which religion claims our assent and our homage; because without them it is impossible to be certain that religion is not a forgery and an imposture.

We will conclude our notice of the “*System of Logic*” by a brief statement of Mr. Mill’s theory regarding Liberty and Necessity. It is a just logical inference from his doctrine on causation. We have already seen that Mr. Mill admits the existence of no closer relation between any cause and its effect, than that of antecedent and consequent. The law of sequence or physical succession prevails throughout the universe: but between no two phenomena can we discover a stricter connexion or dependence than this law illustrates. Hence, he maintains that it is absurd to represent man’s will as self-determinative under any circumstances; it is always necessarily determined by a preponderance or balance of motives. In the will there resides no intrinsic energy, power, force which controls and exercises absolute dominion over any of its own volitions,—every act is a necessary consequent, not upon the bidding of the will itself, but the inevitable result of certain motives which may have been operating upon that faculty previously to the performance of the act. The sovereign will, after all, is no better than a ship launched upon the wide sea, without a helm, or rather with no guiding hand upon the tiller. Mr. Mill holds that it has no choice but to follow the wind and the tide. The wind, to be sure, may change, and no mortal can predict its course; but whithersoever it bloweth, onward in the same direction moves the unresisting sail over the bosom of the water.

“The question whether the law of causality applies in the same strict sense to human actions as to other phenomena, is the celebrated controversy concerning the freedom of the will, which, from at least as far back as the time of Pelagius, has divided both the philosophical and religious world. The affirmative opinion is commonly called the doctrine of necessity, as asserting human volitions

and actions to be necessary and inevitable. The negative maintains that the will is not determined like other phenomena by an antecedent, but determines itself.....I have already made it sufficiently appear that the former of these opinions is that which I consider the true one.....Correctly stated, the doctrine called Philosophical Necessity is simply this:—that if we knew a person thoroughly, and knew all the inducements which are acting upon him, we could foretell his conduct with as much certainty as we can predict any physical event.”

A considerable number of ingenious explanations, arguments, and illustrations are brought to bear in support of the cold materialism which everywhere in this chapter on Liberty and Necessity protrudes itself from beneath the thin disguise which it is attempted to throw over it. It would be foreign to our present purpose to undertake a formal refutation or exposure of the false principles and illegitimate assumptions upon which this theory of Necessitarianism is founded. No extraordinary degree of logical acumen is required to detect that it involves throughout a *petitio principii*. Mr. Mill takes for granted, that the phenomena of mind are subject to, and regulated by precisely the same laws which control the material world; and hence, because he fancies that it is impossible to discover the operation of any efficient cause or agent in the latter, he infers that a consistent philosopher must exclude efficient causation from the former also. We hesitate whether to designate this an intrepid application, or merely a repetition, of Hume's celebrated analysis. It certainly implies that all mental operations,—even the most intimate operations, which take place in the will, and which are the result of its immediate action,—are subject to a law precisely the same as that which makes one billiard ball move in consequence of an impulse communicated to it by another. Now, it may be that in these phenomena of the external world, which fall under the observation of the senses, no type of active efficient causation can be recognised, and pointed out in answer to Hume; a piece of wax melting before fire, one billiard ball set in motion by another, even those motions of the muscles and body which are consequent upon corresponding acts of the will, such phenomena as these may not, to the mind of a metaphysician bent upon pushing analysis to the last extreme, furnish an adequate, satisfactory illustration of efficient power and causation. But,

is it, therefore, lawful to assume that the immediate action of the will itself, and the volitions which are elicited by it, approach not nearer to the required type than do those mere modifications of inert matter? Where, in the material world, does there subsist a relation between any two sensible phenomena resembling that relation which consciousness proves to subsist between the will and some of its volitions? I am certain, from the testimony of consciousness, that I am free to elicit a volition, I can produce it, or abstain from it; or produce the contrary of it. I determine its continuation, I can break it off, reproduce it, suspend it again, and again revive it at pleasure; and yet my will stands to this volition, according to Mr. Mill, in exactly the same relation which a physical antecedent bears to its consequent, a spark, for example, to the explosion of gunpowder. And upon this unproved and extravagant assumption, he bases his whole theory of Liberty and Necessity. Nor is he less mistaken in his alleged interpretation of universal experience, than in thus gratuitously supposing that his cherished doctrine of causation admits no exception, and may be brought even to prove that the human will is not self-determinative. It is usual, no doubt, to calculate what a man's conduct is likely to be, in a given instance, from our knowledge of his previous character, and of the inducements which may be operating upon him for the time. But does this imply that every one is internally convinced that there is not a self-determining power in the human will, and that its acts are always the necessary and inevitable result of motives from the influence of which upon the mind it would be as easy for us (if we could but know them accurately) to predict the consequent act, as to foretel that "death would follow from poison?" If the experience of mankind is appealed to, and fairly construed, it will not be found to support or to warrant any such inference. At the same time that we endeavour to become acquainted with a man's disposition, and to ascertain the motives present to his mind, in order thus to calculate the line of action which he shall probably adopt, we are, in the very midst of all this speculation, perfectly assured that he has full power to make up his mind and to determine for himself after the fashion which best pleases him. We do not fancy that his conduct is the result of the motives, in the same way that a physical consequent is the result of its antecedent. The motives

may influence the will more or less in the adoption of a particular course; but all acts which are said to be free are to be attributed not to the pressure of the motives as their adequate cause, but to the intrinsic force—the self-determining energy of the will. Thus, to repeat our former illustrations, we may predict the course of a ship, if we know the port from which she sails, and the place for which she is bound, taking in moreover as essential elements for a correct calculation, the state of the weather, the condition of the vessel, the competence of those on board, et cætera. Where we have full data in such cases, we place the most unqualified reliance on the accuracy of our speculations; but, at the same time, we never dream that the ship's course is not regulated by the orders of the captain, or that he who holds the helm has not the power to turn the prow just as he pleases, towards any one of the cardinal points. Because, argues Mr. Mill, universal experience teaches us that if we knew a man's character and the inducements present to his mind, when he is about to act, we might safely predict what the act itself would be; it is, therefore, lawful to infer that the act is not the effect of any self-determining power in the will of him who performs it, but a necessary and inevitable consequence of the inducements operating upon him. By a perfect parity of reasoning it might be concluded that a helmsman has no control in directing the motion of a ship, because with certain data, such as have been alluded to above, it would be easy to anticipate the whole course of her voyage.

Mr. Mill, Sir William Hamilton, and Dr. Whately are acknowledged to be the revivers, and are undoubtedly the ablest representatives of logical science in England. We have not gone outside their writings to ascertain the theological tendencies of Modern Logic. The originators or restorers of a study generally sow the seed from which springs the abundance natural to its more advanced state. The reader, however, who would comprehend the true position in which Logic and mental philosophy stand towards revealed religion in England, must interrogate the disciples and followers, as well as the masters; otherwise, he would form his judgment upon inadequate grounds. For a correct estimate, it is necessary to inspect the writings of those who fancy that their mission is to develop and propagate, and mayhap to improve, in many respects, the doctrines contained in such works as those placed at

the head of this article. Progress, that is a greater latitude or a greater audacity of opinion on the part of the adherents than would have been countenanced or tolerated by the founders, has ever been the main characteristic of each new school that has added a new error to the history of philosophy. Whatever little capital in favour of irreligion and impiety may, with any degree of speciousness, be made out of the views of a distinguished thinker is always sure to be seized upon by some detective intellect in the ranks of infidelity, and turned to account in spreading and strengthening its baleful empire. Spinoza maintained that Pantheism, with all its blasphemous consequences, was no more than a logical evolution of the principles of the Cartesian system. Locke's theory concerning the origin of knowledge, led to the "transformed sensations," and "the statue" of Condillac, and the name of the acute Englishman is even still identified with a gross debasing materialism, which would account for man's present existence as it was accounted for by Virey or Volney, and which would leave to him no better hope of a hereafter than it leaves to the beasts that perish. Kant, whether in good faith or otherwise, maintained that his philosophy, practically speaking, left religion and society much the same that it had found them; and one of Kant's disciples, professionally lecturing a body of German youth, hesitated not to utter the notorious, appalling blasphemy: "Gentlemen, at next class we shall make ——." Royer Collard distanced the common sense theory of Reid, and Cousin outran Royer Collard, his master and friend. We have but to recal any epoch in the history of modern philosophy to be assured that wherever the authority of the Church has not been recognised as paramount, the faintest deistical tendency in an original thinker always gradually developed, as if by a fixed necessary law, and but too often ended in turning to ashes in the breasts of disciples and imitators every holier feeling that had taught them to look with reverence upon the altar, or with Christian hope beyond the grave. The lesson thus inculcated by history is confirmed and further illustrated by the present character and tendency of speculation in England. Even to a casual observer it must be apparent that at the present day all the old forms of English Protestantism are rapidly disappearing beneath the shadow of Infidelity—not merely a practical infidelity of life and action—but Infidelity reduced

to system, propounded in theorems, and defended by show of argument. Every hour this new gospel is conquering fresh ground, and winning fresh adherents. Some of the keenest intellects in the country are among its champions and propagandists; the most brilliant periodicals are its avowed organs; some of the ablest books that come from the British press are written to sustain it. At no other period since the Reformation have Protestant principles been carried out to their legitimate consequences with more intrepid consistency than in this our day. It had been foreseen from the beginning that those principles might, perchance, owing to the force of circumstances, evolve themselves gradually, so that many years might elapse before their true import could be fully appreciated. The seed has matured, has put forth its flowers, and the fruit is now almost ripe. Many influences have, no doubt, cooperated with the rise of the new systems of Philosophy to make Deism popular in England; but even though infidelity had no ally but Philosophy alone, it would be scarce possible in a Protestant community, that religion should long successfully resist it. It has been observed no less truthfully than sententiously by Hazlitt, that "ideas descend, sentiments ascend." Let a theory once obtain sure ground, and make itself fashionable among the aristocracy of intellect, it will infallibly find its way downwards, and mingle with the household thoughts of the people, unless where it is denounced by the Church. Hence, in every country throughout the continent of Europe, Protestant opinion has uniformly reflected the philosophic theory dominant for the time, has varied with it, has been ultimately absorbed by it, and once identified with it, has never been able to sever or survive the debasing alliance. This is notoriously true of Germany, and it is equally true of the Protestantism that once flourished in a little corner of France. The tide of Rationalism once allowed to break in over the land in which the Reformation had its origin, has flowed on, rising over each fair green spot, till almost every vestige of Christianity now lies under it as under a dead sea.

During the lifetime of the first Reformers, and even after their system of belief had outgrown the swathing bands and the cradle, shrewd precaution was adopted in Germany for the purpose of guarding it against the poisoned tooth of Infidelity. Luther had probably foreseen

from the beginning the danger to Protestantism that lurked in an alliance with, or even a toleration of, philosophy. Accordingly, some of his most characteristic and most vehement denunciations are fulminated against it. Not content with devoting Aristotle and the Schoolmen to Hades, he proclaims, moreover, as if to remove, for ever, all misconception concerning the boasted strength and perfectibility of man's intellect, that human Reason, even at best, is but a treacherous and imbecile faculty. It is only when employed in the contemplation of divine truth, in investigating the evidences of Christianity, and in unfolding the hidden meaning of the Sacred Word, that we can safely trust it. But when it ventures to speculate upon matters pertaining to its own natural and legitimate sphere, it becomes utterly unreliable. In fact, Luther represented Reason and Revelation as two independent oracles, whose utterances may, perhaps, sometimes coincide, but may just as often conflict with and contradict each other. A palpable and genuine truth in Philosophy, he contends, may be a downright falsehood in Theology—and, *vice-versa*, a dogma in which a man makes an act of faith as a Christian, he is privileged to reject and laugh at as a metaphysician. Luther's paradoxical and disparaging estimate of Philosophy was countenanced, if not formally subscribed to, by Melancthon. Both evidently regarded it with jealous apprehension. Both saw the danger of trying to enlist it in the service of Protestantism—and dreading to trust it as an ally, or subordinate, they resolved to evoke against it a general feeling of suspicion and obloquy. In men who set out by according to human reason such sublime prerogatives as were accorded to it by the Reformers, this procedure was glaringly inconsistent. If Reason deserves to be reproached with inherent weakness and liability to error, the admonition is surely more pertinent, and more called for, when Reason presumes to sit in Judgment upon Revelation—than when it simply addresses itself to the investigation of natural truth. It was only in matters of faith, however, and of profound mystery, that the Reformers recognized its authority and strength; there it held a sceptre, while outside that dread domain it was armed but with a reed. By thus systematically depreciating the power of Reason, when employed in mere Philosophy, the early Reformers acted inconsistently, but they saved Protestantism—and prevented it from

being prematurely merged in Rationalism and Infidelity. They narrowed and compromised the principle of the Reformation for the sake of the theory which they contrived to build upon it. Boasting that they had emancipated the human intellect they only set it over the Bible; but they refused to let it manage its own affairs,—and thus the truths of Revelation, though sadly disfigured and corrupted, were protected for a time from formal scepticism—and were not yet doomed to positive rejection and scorn. The early Reformers in Germany, compared with their descendants, remind one of the unsightly band of monsters in Comus:—the charming-rod had changed their human *countenance* into all forms of wolf, and bear, and bearded goat, but in other parts they might be said to have still retained the shape and lineaments of men. With the decline of the Pietism of Spener, however, there sprung up in the German mind a sudden and ominous predilection for Philosophy. Indeed, it was impossible that a people who are described as having such a strong natural tendency to metaphysical speculation should have remained indifferent in the midst of that great intellectual revolution created by the genius of Descartes. His writings found their way, and were discussed everywhere throughout Europe. The novelty and the boldness of his system would be sure to have recommended it, even indifferently of its supposed value. It was a grand conception. It professed to disenchant the human mind from the spell of Scholasticism; it was to awaken mankind from the dreams that had been deluding them for ages, and to place Philosophy for the first time on a more solid and comprehensive basis. Moreover, the fundamental principle of Cartesianism must have presented itself to the judgment of a reflecting Protestant as marvellously like the counterpart and complement of the fundamental principle of Protestantism. At all events the Protestants of Germany entered at once into the spirit of the new philosophy. The warnings of Luther and of Melancthon were lost upon the generation that was privileged to meditate upon the profound and luminous disquisitions of Leibnitz. Protestantism soon bore melancholy evidence of the change. The Germans could not continue to be Christians and philosophers. Naturally inclined to introspection and mysticism, they commenced to substitute the wildest and dreamiest speculations for the revealed word

of God. Outside the recesses of their own minds they cared not to seek for the law or the Gospel. Their philosophy operated upon them like opium; it placed them in the midst of an unreal transcendental world of which each one might fancy himself the presiding deity—and from which he would be enabled to bestow upon the children of men an indefinite number of phantasies equally nebulous and sublime. It is really pitiful to contemplate the progress of Rationalism in Germany,—to behold each new theory outstripping its short-lived predecessor in unfathomable nonsense and absurdity—to find the history of our Redemption turned into a myth—and all that we believe and hope in as Christians superseded by systems that would be deemed extravagant in Laputa. To such end has philosophy conducted Protestantism in the country where the Reformation had its birth.

The destiny of Protestantism throughout other parts of the Continent has not been very dissimilar. Philosophy has nowhere come in contact with it, but to absorb or annihilate it. The great intellectual revolution which convulsed Europe in the last century was professedly the war of philosophy against Christianity. Let the light of science, said the enemies of faith, once stream in upon the sanctuary and it will quickly reveal how hollow are the creeds that men believe—how vain and impotent the idols which they worship. And what has been the result of that struggle?* “It is surely remarkable that neither the moral revolution of the eighteenth century, nor the moral counter-revolution of the nineteenth should in any perceptible degree have added to the domain of Protestantism. During the former period whatever was lost to Catholicism was lost also to Christianity; during the latter whatever was regained by Christianity in Catholic countries was regained also by Catholicism.” At this hour it can scarce be denied that, outside Prussia, and one or two northern states, Protestantism is extinct on the Continent. Wherever the traveller turns his eye he beholds indeed two adverse camps placed against each other as of old; the war upon whose issue eternity depends continues to be waged with unabated vigour, but the leader of the armies of Belial has raised a new cry, and devised a new inscription for his banner. The Catholic Church has now

* Macaulay's *Essays*.

to contend not with Protestantism, but with infidelity, the offspring and successor of Protestantism. When not employed in resisting the insolent Erastianism of Kings who have been taught to regard the altar as a footstool, she has now only to guard against men, who, under pretence of exalting human nature would entirely abolish Christianity.

Looking at the present position of affairs in England it is not difficult to foresee that there too the Church will soon have no other enemies to deal with than Erastianism and Infidelity.

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- ART. VI.—1. *Die Gesellschaft Jesu, ihr Zweck, ihre Satzungen, Geschichte, Aufgabe und Stellung in der Gegenwart.* Von F. J. BUSS. In Zwei Abtheilungen. Mainz: Kunze, 1853.
2. *Die Jesuiten, Des Ordens Geschichte, religiose und wissenschaftliche Leistungen.* Von J. A. M. BRUHL. Mainz: Wirth John, 1853.
3. *Leben des Heiligen Ignatius Von Loyola.* Von GENELLI. Innsbruck, 1853.
4. *Geschichte des Pontificats Clemens XIV. nach unedirten Staatschriften aus dem geheimen Archive des Vaticans.* Von Professor Dr. AUGUSTIN THEINER, Priester des Oratoriums, Consultor der heiligen Congregation des Index u. s. w. Firmin Didot, Gebrüder, Leipsig und Paris, 1853.
5. *Clemens XIV. und die Jesuiten nach dem Werke "Geschichte des Pontificats XIV. Von A. Theiner."* Herausgegeben Von Josef Burkhard Lea. Luzern, Kaisersche Buchhandlung, 1853.
6. *Der Protestantismus als politisches Princip.* Von Professor Dr. F. J. STAHL. Berlin, Schultze, 1853.
7. *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, ou Notice Bibliographique de tous les Ouvrages publiés par les Membres de la Compagnie de Jésus depuis la fondation de l'Ordre jusqu' à nos jours, et des apologies des controverses des critiques littéraires suscités à leur sujet.* Par les R. R. PERES, AUGUSTIN et ALOYS de BACKER, de la même Compagnie. 1ère Serie. 1. vol. 8vo. Paris, 1846.
8. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus.* Par CRETINEAU JOLY. 6 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1846.

THE Jesuit, like Hercules after death, is fated to bear a double life, and like him to have always one representative in Erebus and another in Olympus. Thus, while the heroic shade vainly sought to deceive its melancholy by felling the ghosts of monsters with the phantom of a club, the substance of the hero translated to the courts of his father, and wedded to immortal youth, seems to have had slight knowledge of a duplicate Hercules elsewhere. Without pursuing the illustration through its rather too poetical analogies, we shall only remark, what few can have failed to observe, that there are two distinct classes of Jesuit, the one to be found in the higher regions of invention, the other crossing us in the coarse realities of life. Of the mythical Jesuit, we are not, to be sure, in a position to speak from observation, but we have long been made familiar with his character and habits, by the platform oratory, and popular literature of England. He peoples the twilight gloom of Protestant imagination with countless swarms, but is supposed to become more distinctly visible in a privileged building in the Strand, called Philadelphieion, in some sense unknown to etymology. There, when the streams of turbid eloquence have commingled and been sufficiently swilled by the ministrants at this formidable rite, the shadowy Jesuits flock about the pool, and are studied at leisure by the initiated. But though constantly in process of being dragged into light, the Jesuit, it is an established fact, has never been seen out of disguise. He borrows any shape and plays every part with equal readiness. He gives his outward adherence to any form of worship that suits his purpose, and even contrives with a malignity peculiar to himself, to have been born into that precise communion. He is a well-known member of several Wesleyan conferences; he has headed an Erastian faction in the General Assembly of Scotland, and is more than suspected of backsliding in the free Kirk. He is at present on the episcopal bench of the Establishment, and has died there more than once, his personal property in each of the latter instances having been sworn under half a million sterling in the province of Canterbury, and the same having been distributed in due course amongst promising young Jesuits, his sons and daughters. His occupations are as numerous and contradictory as those of the "constant reader" or "old subscriber," but he is supposed to incline more particularly to framing marriage brok-

age contracts, or catching bargains with expectant heirs. The heads of houses in both universities, the visitors of Maynooth, including the Lord Chancellor for the time being, and all ministers of state without exception, have at one time or another been affiliated to the Order; nor is it quite clear that Lord Shaftesbury, or Mr. Spooner, can always hope to escape the withering suspicion. Henry IV. of France declared that, were he to undertake anything in favour of the Church, he should be looked on as a Jesuit;* the Pastor Jurieu implicates the Jesuits in the death of Charles I.; † the Dutch Protestants ascribed to them the assassination of Maurice of Orange, ‡ and the notorious Pombal accused them of intriguing with England for the invasion and conquest of Portugal. § An honest and simple-minded Briton has, in fact, no means of escaping from the all-pervading and invisible freemasonry by which he is encompassed.

Never having had intercourse or contact of any kind with this description of Jesuit, our information in respect of him is proportionately scant, but of the vulgar kind who are subject to the perception of corporeal organs, and live in houses made with hands, we may be expected to have some knowledge. They are by no means difficult of detection, and their occupations which throw them continually in our way, though not of the nature ascribed to them, are neither fewer nor less various than supposed. The Jesuits are to be found in almost any place, at home or abroad. They have churches, pulpits, confessionals, colleges, missions, and a splendid literature, with wide-spreading relations growing out of each. You may meet them in London or Dublin affecting secrecy or disguise as little as yourself, and should your inquiries carry you to the hunting ground of the Red man, or the Roman observatory, you may find them compiling an Iroquois grammar, or discovering a new planet, as the case may be. They are in open connection with the university of London, they have universities of their own in the United States, and

* Hist. de La Société de Jésus par Créteineau Joly, T. ii. p. 48.

† Politique du Clergé de France, ou Entretiens Curieux. 2ieme Entretien par Pierre Jurieu.

‡ Sica Trajica Comiti Mauritio a Jesuitis aiunt ut Calvinista intentata. Costa.

§ Letter of Pombal to Count D'a Cunha. 20 June, 1767.

their colleges multiply in France, under the inspection and control of a sufficiently sharp-sighted government, they civilize the forçats at Toulon without an effort at concealment, and govern agricultural colonies in Algiers, with the countenance and co-operation of authority; they plant their professional chairs in the halls of the Sapienza, or lecture in the clay-built ovens of Madura. In fine, they are the Jesuits with whom history and experience are conversant, who offer something to study, something to discuss, something to grapple with; whose action has always been definite in object, uniform in direction, and appreciable in result; and to neglect the study of whom, is to leave unattempted one of the deepest problems that could be offered to our investigation.

The history of the Jesuits may be compiled from materials so authentic as to exclude all speculation, and so accessible as to require but moderate industry, yet the effect of some excellent essays has been marred by a certain apologetic strain which for many reasons we could wish to see abandoned. When you come to speak of the Jesuits, there is a demand for impartiality, which few historians will find it possible to meet, for the Jesuits have exasperated their enemies and attached their friends in a precisely equal degree. But while a friendly historian if judicious, will forbear to run after an impassive serenity beyond his reach, he will equally avoid that tone of rhetorical panegyric which can serve no other purpose than to throw suspicion on his facts. For although no objection lies against an apology professedly such, the historian supposing him to favour the Jesuits, must proceed on the assumption that the facts supply their justification, and this being so, he will neither colour a narrative nor force an inference. And it is to the facts, after all, that the safest appeal of the Jesuits will lie. The speculative tendency of their teaching, and its influence upon society, calculated à priori, the imputed laxity of their ethics, the questions of probableism, and tyrannicide in all their breadth and depth have been exhausted and dropped, and revived and exhausted again. It is not the fact of such a proposition having been originated by such a casuist, or merely adopted, nor the greater or smaller amount of currency it may have in the society, that will determine the influence of Jesuit theology outside the schools. That influence had outgrown speculation some two hundred years ago. It is,

and has long been, an ascertainable fact. It has shaped events and moulded generations; it has been, at least partially, withdrawn: it has been revived to a certain extent, and has fluctuated since its revival. We have, therefore, every available material for estimating the nature of that influence as exhibited in the life and conversation of those who exercised, as well as of those who had to feel it. No man will pretend that an influence so subtle, so penetrating, so universal, could fail to record its own increase or diminution in a corresponding state of public morals. If we suppose the Jesuit theology incompatible with a high standard of morality, the spread of Jesuit doctrine will be accompanied by a proportionate depression of morals, and if we take up the contrary hypothesis, the opposite result is equally inevitable. Public morality has fluctuated violently enough from the hour that Ignatius first operated on it by plunging neck-deep into a freezing pond to rebuke the libertinism of a friend, to the hour when Pompadour and Pombal, moralists of another kind, annihilated for ever, as they believed, the influence of the Jesuits. That influence has registered all its variations in history, and certainly during its long and stormy reign, the Christian community, kings and people, had not withdrawn to the catacombs, and the investigator has no occasion to restore battered reliquiæ, to wrangle learnedly over symbols, or coax a decayed manuscript to part with its scandal. It is all a question of facts and statistics, recent or cotemporary. If the Jesuit corruption have wrought corruption, well and good,—nothing can be more in course of nature; but if those who were supposed to pervert, and those who were in process of perversion, are unimpeachable, alike; then men have been gathering grapes of thorns and figs of thistles, and the Jesuits have cast out devils in the name of Beelzebub, the prince of devils.

With the slight draw-back of that apologetic tone we have noticed, or as a lawyer would call it, the fault of argumentativeness, we are indebted to Herr Buss for an authentic and well-digested collection of facts, classified in a way that the marvellous variety of the subject would seem to render indispensable, but which has by no means been universally attended to. The subject takes in three hundred years of the history of the world, years more full, perhaps, of every good and evil working of humanity, than any which

preceded them; years in which every portent of misbelief, every monstrous combination in politics, every treason, every intrigue, every form of human misery, and every effort of superhuman charity, every perversion, and every reform have met and struggled, and connected themselves in one way or other with the name of Jesuit. Setting out with the proposition that in the economy of the Christian Church agencies are kept in reserve, which come into development when the occasion for their intervention arises, the author undertakes to show that the Society of Jesus grew naturally, and even necessarily, out of the state of things existing at the time of its appearance, and that the ministry of the same society is hardly less a necessity of the times we live in. The Church being in its constitution an external and highly-disciplined body, having a great diversity of gifts and powers, is allowed considerable latitude in their exercise. Her discretion is the less fettered that she can always rely on inspiration, and instead of being met, like the Jews, at every step, by some prescription of the law, she is allowed to fill in the details, and organise her service on the footing she sees best. It cannot be matter of doubt that a pastoral system large enough for the catacombs, would be found inadequate to the freer development of the Church. The administrative and judicial functions that entered into the government of the few and the primitive, should necessarily be adjusted to the wants of the many and degenerate, and the measures that served when all was peace within and hostility without, could hardly be made to apply, when the position was reversed; nor on the other hand can any one pretend that the same remedy may be resorted to against dangers and difficulties, wholly different in kind. Accordingly, as the Church extended her frontiers, there was a more ample communication of powers, and for convenience of government, different territorial circumscriptions, and different hierarchic relations were established. Hence the growth of archbishoprics, by the detachment of spiritual colonies from the principal centres of population, and hence the aggregation of provinces into patriarchates in subordination to the Roman primacy. The duties of the primitive Government were simple in the extreme; but when the relations between Church and Cæsar were altered from hostility into friendship and communion, new duties sprung from new circumstances; and now that doctrinal error, and deterioration of morals, always

to some extent the growth of peace, began to call for interference, new means of defence, security, and punishment, were of necessity adopted. The duties of the Church were sometimes restricted to condemnation or reproof, but they more commonly included action and correction, for which particular service the constitution of the monastic orders qualified them in a more especial degree. This will be apparent from the consideration, that as unity is of the essence of the Church, she necessarily favours the principle of association, and operates by combined and regular, preferably to isolated and intermitting action. It was in virtue of this instinct that the solitaries in the desert gradually drew together for interchange of spiritual advantages, and exhibit to us the rudiments of conventual life, which, as they came to be developed, converted each order into an epitome of the Church itself, and further, into a body peculiarly serviceable in emergencies, by the compactness of its organization, and its unenforced obedience. Hence, when error was to be refuted by doctrine, or immorality to be rebuked by example, a monastic order was sure to be impressed, or to start into existence. In this way the institution of canons regular by St. Augustin, which led to the establishment of capitular bodies generally, had a twofold object, the revival of discipline among the secular clergy, and the organization of a force against the Manichæans. The order of St. Dominic in like manner was established as well to purify and invigorate the ministry of preaching, as to take the field against the Albigenses, and in our own times the various orders of missionary priests have each been called into existence by some want or disorder of humanity. To similar causes did the Society of Jesus owe its origin; and as the Protestant movement was a revival of all former heresies, as in the sixteenth century all flesh had corrupted its way, as disorder was within the sanctuary and without, so was the Society of Jesus fitted by the emergency out of which it sprung for the discharge of all the functions of all other orders—for internal reform, for external conflict, for justice, for judgment, and for mercy.

Such are the leading features of what may be called the author's theory, in support of which he offers the historical or principal portion of the work. The action of the Society during the government of each General is considered first in regard to its European operation, and more especially

its bearing upon Protestantism ; secondly, as to its working in the foreign missions ; and thirdly, as to its constitution and government under the decrees of the general congregations, the provisions of papal ordinances, and the encyclical letters of the Generals themselves ; a distribution which has the essential merit of being exhaustive. And truly, it is a grave undertaking to embrace within the moderate compass allowed himself by the author the entire career of the Society, its object, and its laws : to account satisfactorily for successes and disasters, inexplicable to the majority of writers, and indeed to the majority of men ; to penetrate the secret of an influence that single-handed rolled back the tide of innovation from three-fourths of Europe, that sank or was supposed to sink with a rapidity almost equal to that of its advance, and having been preserved through a kind of miracle by its natural enemies was revived to meet the shock of new passions, and shape itself new destinies in a generation different from any the world had ever seen. Many have attempted the problem, and if we are to judge from the number and variety of the solutions offered, the question has made but little progress. Some would maintain that the order had fallen away from its original spirit ; that the same high standard of enthusiasm had not been preserved ; that the languor following upon success, and the fatal protection of the world had altered its character, and falsified its position. Some will have it that the enterprises of the Society were too vast and too dissimilar for one body to accomplish, and many, of course, have said that their doctrines were as perverse as their practice was immoral, and that both wrought their own downfall. To us, indeed, there can be no doubt that the hostility encountered by the Society attaches of necessity to its object, its constitutions, and its mode of operation. The prejudices it shocks are so angry, the interests it wounds so vital, its hostility is so uncompromising, and its means of offence so various, that there can be no truce, no terms between itself and the principle it attacks. M. Eugene Veillot, whose knowledge of an author's susceptibility few readers of the *Univers* will be inclined to discredit, seeing how thoroughly he probes it every day, makes the writers of the Society responsible for a very large share, at least, of the hostility to which it is exposed :

“ In the course of three centuries,” says M. Veillot, “ we meet with more than ten thousand writers who have published in every

European language an immense number of works upon most branches of human knowledge. It is quite too evident that so many Jesuits never could have written upon philosophy, literature, and science, without wounding to the quick what is vainest upon earth, and most easily stung to fury and ferocity, the 'beaux esprits' in every department. Had the Jesuits themselves been perfectly free from the faults of the literary tribe, the bare fact of their having written so much could not have failed to envenom implacable jealousies and provoke undying hatred. If you wish to know in what heart animosity finds the securest refuge, and builds itself up an impregnable fortress, it is in that of a well-refuted author. The man who can forgive criticism, above all when it tells truth, is a hero of the most unusual description, whose virtue God has been pleased to strengthen, no doubt in recompense of his good faith; for as to those who err knowingly, they never forgive. The Society of Jesus having, in the course of three hundred years, produced more than ten thousand writers, the marvel is not that it is detested, but that it is alive."

This, however, though quite true, is far from supplying an adequate reason for the enmity that tracks the Jesuit so indefatigably in every period of his history. That he writes is simply an accident of his position, and any other duty will find him equally zealous and alert. The organization of the Jesuit body is strictly military, and the policy of its government (a tradition never swerved from) is that of unremitting action. Its object is the exaltation of the Church, and no service, however desperate, is declined, or any function, however mean, contemned, that may contribute even remotely to this end. The object was and is of itself sufficient to attract the hostility not only of the avowed enemies of the Church or of religion generally, but even of well-meaning people, whose perceptions of what is great in design or generous in sacrifice, have been deadened by the nature of their pursuits or other influences to which they were subjected. Next in order is the character of the Society itself and its mode of operation—accounting in great measure for the sagacious and perfectly consistent tenacity with which the enemies of the Jesuits pursued their destruction and pursue it still. The impossibility of corrupting or intimidating the Jesuits, their fine discipline that served them equally in sap or storm, the suddenness and completeness of their victories, their skill to improve every advantage and fortify every inch of ground behind them, all contributed to confirm their opponents in the belief that antagonists of that description were not to be

defeated by halves. The reaction which the Jesuits led and inspired was directed not merely against technical or confessional Protestantism, as opposed to the creed of Pope Pius IV. Protestantism in the abstract, and as it was understood by Edmund Burke, is not so much a religion or a cluster of religions as the genius of disorder to which the Jesuits, the most strongly marked living type of authority, were, by the mere and sheer force of things, in opposition. It was this involved the Jesuits in that succession of conflicts, or rather the perpetual conflict, which now seems to be almost the condition of their existence.

It will have to be borne in mind also that in the course of their struggle with Protestantism, they, like all revivers of discipline, were obliged to employ sharp and painful remedies at home. They had to organize a broken, and what the French would call demoralised force, fighting furiously, but not wisely, thinned by desertion and exhausted by toil. Within the Church there was all the dismay, outcry, and hurry of a night surprise. and it devolved upon the Jesuits to reduce the confusion to order, to reprehend in and out of season, to chide the backward, to inspirit the timid, to rally the dispersed, to reassure the despondent, to restrain the irregular activity of some, and stimulate the all but incurable indolence of others, and to do this in spite of obstruction where they should have found support, amid the stunning tumult of powerful and clashing interests, under vehement protest from dispossessed abuses, with mutterings of mutiny and threats of vengeance assailing them, the latter certainly not uttered at random. The Jesuits could never succeed as they did, with paying at one time or another, the penalty which all success must pay to envy or ingratitude. To a certain extent their success continues still in the permanency of its results, but it was in the achievement of that success the marvel lay. The Society seems never to have known the weakness of youth or the decrepitude of age—she sprung a stately virgin, ready armed, from the travelling forehead of the Church, and took her place at once as the admitted patroness of wisdom, science, and war. She fell, if, indeed, she could be said to fall, without sickness or decay, and rose like a giant refreshed with sleep. There is no one portion of the Jesuit annals less full of character, less crowded with events, less involved in its relations with

cotemporary history than any other. The difficulty of accounting for all you read meets you at the first step, and continues throughout. The Jesuits may shift their position or unmask new batteries, but whether as assailants or assailed, they are always on the ground with varying success but unabated vigour and on a scale of equal magnitude from first to last. You scarce begin to know who the Jesuits are when you find them everywhere; in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, the Levant, India, Japan, America, Abyssinia. They get short shrift from Calvinist pirates on the high seas, they are strangled in scores by the judicial thuggee of the period in England pleasantly called justice; in Japan they are suspended over deadly exhalations from the earth, and in the plague-stricken towns of Europe they drink infection from the tainted whisper of the dying sinner. You meet them on the fields of Dreux, Jarnac, Moncontour, and Muhlberg, in the fleet at Lepanto, in the tents of Wallenstein, Batthori, and Sobieski, theologians of the Pope at Trent, his legates in Stockholm and Moscow, facilitating the return of Henry IV. to the Church, and profiting by his protection to strike root in France. The world is already full of their controversies personal and religious. They are the honoured correspondents and intimate advisers of kings and prelates; they have to protect the Church against innovation from without, and their own constitutions from innovation at home. Amid the distractions of so many events and pursuits, they have to preserve that oneness of character, that simplicity of obedience, that directness of purpose and uniformity of action belonging more exclusively to themselves and to our minds the great secret of their success.

M. Guizot indeed disposes of the question in a remarkably dashing way, and with a most enviable jauntiness of carriage, that no one but a professor of history under a liberal system can hope to obtain. He does not attempt any delicate dressing of facts, any innocent mistakes of figures, any rhetorical sleight-of-hand. He brings his paradoxes to the charge at a dashing gallop, clears the entrenchments at a bound, overleaps all petty obstacles of time and place, and makes a demonstration on every point at once with bewildering effect. He denies that the Jesuits have ever had a success worth mentioning, that they have left any standing memorial of their name beyond what he calls an idea, whereas their adversaries have

triumphed, brilliantly, invariably, and decisively. The passage is a curious one, and certainly valuable as an instance how far the love of stringing clever, even if not wholly intelligible phrases, will carry away a man of undoubted abilities, great reading and not remarkable unfairness. It is true, no doubt, that in speaking of the Jesuits as the chief antagonists of Protestantism, he does not himself take ground as a Protestant, in the narrow sense of the word, but rather in that which the Jesuits and most deep thinkers concur with Edmund Burke in attaching to it. Viewed in this light the assertion that the Jesuits have been absolutely and finally defeated, does not come so strangely from one, living under the empire of triumphant revolution, or Protestantism in its highest development, and believing in its perpetuity; but still it is a strange oversight to take no account of the defeats which Protestantism in the more common acceptation, had to sustain at the hands of the Jesuits; and even with regard to the entire comprehension of the term, or believe M. Guizot would pitch his flourish of triumph a key or two lower were the history of Civilization to be written in 1854. It is from that work we quote.

“No one is unaware that the principal force organized to defeat the Reformation was the order of the Jesuits. Cast a glance over their history. They have failed universally. Wherever they attempted to operate at all extensively, they drew disaster on the cause they espoused. In England they were the ruin of kings—in Spain of nations. The general current of events, the development of modern civilization, liberty of action for the human mind, all the influences they were established to counteract, have made head against, and vanquished them. And not only have the Jesuits failed, but call to mind, I pray you, the means they were constrained to employ. There is no lustre, no grandeur in their operations; they have brought about no striking events, they have not set in motion great masses of men. They have always travelled to their ends by obscure, underground, and indirect paths, having nothing in them to kindle the imagination or conciliate that public interest which attaches to great things, whatever be their principle, or whatever their object. On the other hand the principle they had to struggle with, has not triumphed merely, it has triumphed brilliantly. It has effected great things by great means,—it has called whole nations into action,—it has made Europe fertile in great men; it has changed the destiny and the form of states in the face of day,—in a word, everything has been against the Jesuits; facts as well as appearances. Neither com-

mon sense, which looks for success, nor the imagination, that must be gratified with show, finds anything to rest on in their history. And yet nothing is more positive than that they have a greatness of their own, and that a great idea attaches to their name, their influence, their history. The fact is, they understood their object and their wishes; they had a full and distinct comprehension of the principles on which they acted, and the end to which they tended. Theirs was the greatness of design, and the greatness of will, sufficient to save them from the ridicule which follows obstinate reverses and miserable means."—*Histoire Générale de la Civilization in Europe*, p. 363.

Before noticing M. Guizot's opinion on our own behalf, it might be worth while to draw together a few passages serving to show how differently some eminent men, not over friendly to the Jesuits, have been impressed by their career. They do not, it is true, profess to speak of the Jesuits in their relation to Protestantism; and the successes ascribed to the order are supposed to have no direct bearing on the Protestant movement; but they are in sufficient contrast with an opinion which allows the Jesuits no success whatever, or only the equivocal greatness of framing impossible projects, one of which was nothing less than to arrest the progress of modern civilization, and we suppose, in due course, inaugurate a state of nature. To begin with Buffon. He speaks to at least one success of the Society.

"The Jesuits have formed more men in barbarous nations than the victorious armies of the princes who overran them have been able to destroy. Meekness, charity, good example, and the constant practice of virtue, as seen amongst the Jesuits, succeeded in touching the savage heart, and subduing its ferocity. The savages came to be witnesses of the law which rendered men so perfect; they gave it their allegiance and society was constituted. Nothing reflects greater honour upon religion than to have civilized these nations, and laid the foundations of an empire with no other arms than those of virtue."—*Hist. Naturelle*, T. xx. p. 282.

Voltaire is even more energetic in the expression of his admiration.

"The establishments of the Spanish Jesuits alone in Paraguay appear in some respects the triumph of humanity."—*Essai sur les Mœurs*, p. 65. Ed. de Genève.

Engelbert Kœmpfer in reference to the means employed by the Jesuits for the conversion of the Japanese, repre-

sents them as of a higher order than M. Guizot would be disposed to admit.

“The Fathers of the Society of Jesus gained the hearts of the people by the sweet and consoling doctrines of the Gospel, absolutely unknown at the time to the Japanese. The Fathers won credit by their exemplary modesty, their virtuous lives, the disinterested assistance they rendered to the poor and sick, and by the pomp and majesty of divine service.”

Jean de Müller describes the Society as

“An institution, the results of which may be compared to those produced by the most important institutions and legislators of antiquity.”

Bacon’s dictum is well known.

“Ad pedagogicum quod attinet, brevissimum foret; dictu consule scholas Jesuitarum, nihil enim quod in usum venit his melius.”—*De Dignit. et Aug. Scientiar. Lib. vii. p. 153.*

D’Alembert, a witness above suspicion, says roundly,

“We must admit that no religious society without exception can boast an equal number of celebrated men in literature and science. The Jesuits have tried every department and succeeded. Eloquence, history, antiquities, geometry, light and serious literature. There is hardly known a class of writers in which the Jesuits do not reckon men of the first order.”—*Destruction des Jésuites.*

Lalande, a fellow labourer of D’Alembert, and consequently as little likely to say anything he could avoid in favour of Christianity or its defenders, is eloquent in praise of the Jesuits.

“I have watched them closely, and they are a people of heroes. * * * * * The name of Jesuit appeals to my heart, to my understanding, and my gratitude. Carvalho and Choiseul have destroyed irreparably the fairest work of man, which no sublunary institution ever can approach, the eternal object of my admiration and my gratitude. The human species has lost for ever that precious, that marvellous association of twenty thousand men, engaged without intermission, as without self-interest, in education, missionary labour, reconciliation, and works of mercy to the dying, that is to say, in all the functions dearest and most useful to humanity.”—*Annales Philosophiques, T. i. p. 180.*

We might accumulate quotations from Bossuet, Leib-

nitz, Des Cartes; Bacon, Robertson, and others, but we have rather affected different and less friendly sources of opinion. Before returning to M. Guizot, there is one passage from De Pradt we should scruple to omit, as well on account of the author as of the matter.

“What an institution! Was there ever one stronger amongst men? What are the humble virtues of other cenobites, compared to the virility of genius amongst these? And as a necessary consequence, how has Jesuitism lived—how has it fallen? Why, after the manner of the Titans under the united thunders of all our earthly Jupiters. Did the aspect of death appal its courage? has it been driven to recoil a single step? ‘Let them be as they are, or be not at all.’ This is what I call to die erect, and with the bearing of an emperor. By this immense courage we may form an idea how the body must have lived that could die so proudly.”—*Du J suitisme Ancien et Moderne, par l’Abb  de Pradt, ancien Arch v que de Malines.*

These extracts, and they might have been more numerous, will suffice to show that M. Guizot’s ideas on the subject have at least the one merit of being exclusively his own; but had an opinion never been broached upon the matter by Christian or infidel, it is inconceivable how all the facts and all the arguments naturally flowing from them could have been lost upon a man so acute and far-seeing as M. Guizot. It might not perhaps be easy to determine what M. Guizot understands by success or failure; but without putting any strained interpretation on the words, the Jesuits were admittedly successful in arresting the advance of Protestantism throughout Europe, to this extent, if no further, that from the moment the Jesuits appeared, the moral triumphs of Protestantism were at an end. Venice, Padua, Rome herself, the University of Paris, the south of France, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Silesia, Rhenish Prussia, Austria Proper, Savoy, and Switzerland, were every one of them inoculated with Protestantism, some more or less, some dangerously, some hopelessly. At the present day most of these countries and places are exclusively, and all, with the exception of Switzerland, substantially Catholic. To have circumscribed the Conquests of the Principle they were intended to oppose, would have been in itself no inconsiderable triumph; but to withdraw whole provinces from its actual, and entire kingdoms from its inchoate dominion, was a

greater triumph still. It was considered a piece of wonderful strategy, and a daring effort of genius in Julius Cæsar to circumvallate the enemy's camp upon Dyrrachium, to run a wall from mountain to mountain, and from sea to sea, blockading and famishing a force so far superior to his own. But Cæsar's blockade was not effectual, like that of the Jesuits, who had nevertheless to keep in, not men, but ideas; and though Pompey forced the lines of his rival, the blockade of Protestantism has been maintained to the present hour. This, of course, is intended only of Protestantism popularly so called, for unfortunately Protestantism in the larger acceptation, has been more successful. That modern civilization of which clubs, provisional governments, constituent assemblies, revolutionary tribunals, and improvised constitutions, are the political basis, has broken the boom. It has built thrones upon barricades, it has educated generations by the feuilleton, it has sacked palaces, royal and episcopal, it has not always spared the "*Hôtel des affaires étrangères*," as M. Guizot has had reason to remember; but above all, it has dealt hardly with the Jesuits,—and yet it has not triumphed. What has become of the hoary anarch that built his hopes upon the barricades, corruption, and M. Guizot, and where are the Jesuits that M. Guizot extinguished? Has the current of events they could not arrest so completely carried them out of sight as we might be led to suppose? It would appear not. The Chambers are gone, the d'Orleans are gone, M. Guizot and M. Thiers are gone, the horrid jargon of the tribune is silenced, we hope effectually and for good, and the Jesuits have entire liberty of action and organization. We have an accurate account of the position and progress of the French Jesuits in an interesting State paper furnished to the Emperor during the course of the present year by the minister of public instruction. It appears by the report that the Jesuits have eleven houses, with 2818 scholars, of whom 1711 are boarders. The Maristes, who come nearest to the Jesuits in point of numbers, have thirteen houses, but reckon only 1449 scholars, including 763 boarders, and the other educational communities have a much smaller number of establishments, and of course far fewer, though increasing, scholars. There are some paragraphs in the document so significant, that we do not venture to abridge them. They do not apply to the Jesuits exclusively; but

as writers and thinkers of M. Guizot's school are accustomed to discern the impulse of Jesuitism in every forward movement of the Church, we are willing to leave their impressions undisturbed for the present, as the Jesuits have undeniably their share in the extension of clerical influence at present taking place in France.

“To recapitulate :—The 256 ecclesiastical schools of all kinds contain 21,195 scholars, including 3,724 boarders, and they have unquestionably made rapid progress within the last four years.

“The same is not quite true of the independent lay establishments, as may be readily inferred from the following statistics.

“The sum total of scholars in houses independent of the State, amounts to 63,657, who are distributed after the following manner. In 256 clerical establishments, exclusive of the ‘*petits séminaires*,’ the number of scholars reaches 21,195, and in 825 lay establishments the numbers are 42,462. So that, although the lay establishments are four times more numerous than the clerical, they only educate twice the number of scholars. I may add, that the 40,462 pupils under lay instruction by no means invariably follow the course of secondary studies. The greater proportion of these schools I find to be merely primary or professional. In general, no adequate provision has been made for classical studies ; a circumstance attributable to their isolation and poverty of resources. With the exception of some important establishments in large towns, in Paris especially, and which, to keep up their credit, make their most distinguished pupils follow the course of some Lycée, the other lay schools fall away, pass frequently from hand to hand, and are only able to exist by lowering their scale of charges, and perhaps reducing the standard of their studies.

“With the exception of the ‘*petits séminaires*,’ the bishops had a very limited number of educational establishments, and they have now 67, containing 8,051 scholars, including 5,051 pensioners. Some of these schools have been established under the provisions of the Law of the 15 March, 1850, art. 69, with the cooperation of the Communes, who, after having been duly authorized, and with a view to relieve themselves from sacrifices often unavailing, have changed their Communal college into an independent school, under the exalted patronage of the diocesan authority. Establishments of this class have been installed, either in the diocesan buildings or in others specially set apart for the use. The episcopacy has therefore resolutely availed itself of the facilities created by the law of the 15 March, 1850. The establishments founded by it in such numbers are subject to the common law, and are generally in a flourishing position. Placed under the direct authority and responsibility of the bishops, they offer to the government and to society the most substantial guarantees.”

This brings us naturally to the means employed by the Society in effectuating its ends, the breadth and grandeur of which latter M. Guizot does not affect to deny. Supposing for a moment those means to have been as paltry and indirect, and every way despicable, as he considers them, the circumstance would only go to enhance the merit of any success that could be achieved by so unlikely an instrumentality. No doubt a pebble from the brook in a shepherd's sling is a very primitive weapon, and Goliath did not hesitate to pronounce it decidedly ungentlemanly. The jaw-bone of an ass was a weapon less dignified still, and the lamps and pitchers of Gideon are to our modern notions a shallow stratagem indeed, yet they all told in the hands of those who used them, and that is the measure of their value. Take, however, that principal engine of Jesuit warfare, public education, and certainly any one who wields it, and wields it with effect, may well say,

— et nos telum non debile dextrâ

Spargimus, et nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.

All revolutionary governments and M. Guizot's amongst the foremost have recognized the power of education as the sole means of giving stability or securing a future to their principles and institutions. Parliamentary Government in France up to 1848 was a prolonged struggle against freedom of education, and if education were in reality so contemptible an agency it is not to be supposed that all these governments would have done involuntary homage to the discernment of the Jesuits simply to contest a worthless point. One of the most odious and subversive pretensions of modern democracy is to institute a system of compulsory education administered by the State. Surely it is not from a depreciatory idea of the power of education that such a proposal can originate, and this one at least of the means adopted (whether successfully or not) by the Jesuits for the furtherance of their objects, good or bad, is not to be classed amongst the obscure, underground and second-hand shifts to which the Jesuits have been obliged to resort. "Your Majesty," writes Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, to Philip II., "desired that I should have a citadel built in Maestricht. A Jesuit College it seemed to me would prove a fortress of greater strength, and I have built one."* We never

* Hist. de la Soc. Jes. par Crétineau Joly. T. ii. 167.

proposed to take up these curious paradoxes seriatim, but there are some of them so startling as at least to make one pause upon them. What, for instance, can M. Guizot mean by imputing it to the Jesuits as something disparaging, not to have put in action great masses of men? It certainly is not by the quantity of the operating force, or the multitude of instruments employed that the value of any enterprise is to be estimated, but by the results attained; otherwise Xerxes and Tac-Ping-Wae are to be considered far greater personages than Alexander or Leonidas, and the mob that broke the mirrors and riddled the pictures in the Tuileries a more splendid historical picture than the three hundred that defended the pass of Thermopylæ. After all, history is not wanting in proofs that God is by no means invariably "du côté des gros bataillons," and that great changes are wrought, and mighty events brought to pass by means apparently inadequate and forces utterly disproportionate. Indeed it is something curious for a philosophical historian to speak of the Jesuits as not producing great events when it always belongs to the events to produce the men. Napoleon did not make the French Revolution, or Cæsar subvert Roman liberty. They, like the Jesuits, grew out of their own times and fulfilled their allotted destinies. Every age has its man, every emergency its resource, every society its institutions, every bane its antidote. The force of things drove the Reformers and Jesuits almost simultaneously to the surface in the fifteenth century. The only difference was, that the former became the sport of the revolution, whereas the latter resisted and controlled it. What the Jesuits effected we know, and their means were to the full as public as their success. They brought to their task the perfection of discipline, the clearest intelligence, the most highly-wrought enthusiasm, and the coolest forethought. The pulpit, the school, the consciences of Kings and Popes, the infinite resources of a literature so various and so excellent as to force tribute from the most malevolent, their own labours, their blood, their marrow, their lives, the whole intensity of their affections, the undivided energy of their wills, the most wonderful accumulation and concentration of mind the world ever saw; these were the means the Jesuits were driven to employ,—pitiful perhaps, but, we doubt, has human nature, any more effectual.

And last of all, there is a deep saying of M. Guizot's countryman, Montaigne, applicable to the Jesuits, more visibly and more constantly than to perhaps any other society of men in history. "Il y a des défaites," he says, "triomphantes à l'envie des victoires," and there is scarce one disaster or discomfiture of the Jesuits which has not demonstrated the grandeur of their designs, the correctness of their views, and the perfection of their plans. With few exceptions their failures have originated in causes external to the Society, and may be referred either to the manifestly overruling hand of Providence, to a disloyal enmity recognising no faith or principle, or to the unintelligent zeal of those who should have been friendly, but were scandalised at whatever passed their comprehension or their strength. The defeat of the Society in Japan was properly a triumph because it served to exhibit the character of Protestantism in a point of view that the most eloquent invective could never have painted. It shows us an evangelical nation fomenting and sustaining in a Pagan country the most ferocious persecutions to which a Christian community had ever been subjected since the days of Diocletian, trampling on the cross according to the established form of apostacy to secure a commercial privilege, and finally pointing its own guns against Christian cities, and exterminating Christian populations. In league with the Dutch, it shews a Japanese Pompadour whom the Jesuits had exasperated by the sternness of their morality, and it has adorned the Society and Christian name with a new array of martyrs, yielding in nothing to those whose relics yet linger in the catacombs or sleep beneath the million altar stones of the Church.

"The most extensive persecution that history records," says Kœmpfer, "seemed at first to produce no such effects as the government expected, for although according to the letters of the Jesuits 20,050 Christians suffered for their religion in the year 1590 alone, yet during the next few years when all the Churches were closed they made not less than 12,000 proselytes." The defeat of the Jesuits in America was a triumph for them personally, inasmuch as it showed that they alone could maintain the beautiful civilization they had created; and even their defeat in China was of the same kind, for they were not themselves the authors of it, and the catastrophe brought about by

the unfortunate question of the Chinese names and ceremonies, was drawn upon the Christians by a foreign interference, bigoted and ignorant at best, perhaps not perfectly upright in intention, which reduced the Pope to choose between the sacrifice of the Chinese Mission, and the propagation of a scandal that would have proved a ready and effective weapon in the hands of the malignant.

We shall notice one other theory of a Protestant writer, Professor Stahl of Berlin, put forward in a reflective and dispassionate spirit, and with no deeper tinge of prejudice than is almost inevitable in a person of his position, who sets out with *his* principles, and studies the question in a point of view almost exclusively Protestant. He considers the Society of Jesus as a highly concentrated exhibition of Catholicism, and nothing more. He can discern nothing vicious or immoral in its constitutions, nothing depraved in its practice; but he ascribes its imputed faults, errors, and failures, to the one fact of its being, like the Catholic Church herself, an outward and visible body, relying for success, as he will have it, upon the activity and merit of human works; whereas Protestantism, or the antagonist principle, looks to faith alone, and the merits of the Saviour, for its life and development.

“What an object of horror have not the Jesuits been to men of the most different character, and parties most adverse to each other—to rationalists, atheists, revolutionists—to the severely religious Jansenist—to the evangelical Christian, and often to the Catholic Clergy itself. On the other hand, how often have they been glorified at different times, including the present, by the most estimable Catholics as the very flower of the Church, the salt of the earth, the salvation of the times we live in! Even the English historian, Macaulay, is brought to a stand before this Order, as if it were a kind of enigma, an inexplicable compound of the sublimest virtues and the most utter reprobation. What is, therefore, the essence of Jesuitism? Where can the focus of its existence be, that it should make such opposite impressions, perhaps we ought to say possesses such contradictory qualities? Whence does it derive this mighty strength for good or evil? Perhaps the evangelical point of view will put us in a position to answer this question.

“The essence of Jesuitism, the very innermost focus of its existence, is the Reaction of the spirit of Catholicity against Protestantism. The Church of the Middle Ages, in her child-like unconstraint and imperfect development, maintained in peace two structures, one built upon human strength, the other upon divine grace

—the immediate mystical union with Christ, and an intermediate union through the hierarchy. Then came the Reformation, and disclosed in full brightness, and with sharply-defined outlines, the structure erected on the merits of Christ, the immediate union with the same, apart from the hierarchy, and exalted over it. This led to the eventual rejection of the hierarchy; and, in opposition to this movement, arose the spirit of adherence to the mediæval tradition represented by Loyola and his companions. * * *

The essence of Jesuitism, that is to say, the sufficiency of man for his own justification and sanctification, and the drawing mankind into union with the Church and the Pope, is directly antagonistic to Protestantism. In those precise particulars which the Reformation assailed does Jesuitism outstrip all that had previously existed in Catholicity. To compass its own Christian perfection, and advance the kingdom of God by human strength and preparation—to establish and maintain the outward power of the Church as highest and supreme upon earth—such is the soul of Jesuitism. *

* * * This consecration of all human energy and industry to our own sanctification, and to the objects of the Church, this bond of companionship, this devotedness to the supremacy of the mediæval Church, and therewith the perpetuation of the European tradition of the hierarchy—lastly, that positive Christian belief which undeniably animated the founder of the Society, and is an immense field of action for it, and then the substitution of the practical aim of popular education for the merely contemplative life, a species of Protestant reform in monasticism used as a weapon against Protestantism—all this united gives to the Order that vehemence and strength of action and sacrifice which have secured for it such important results. Hence it is not merely a power opposed to Protestantism and unbelief, but a resource against drowsiness in the Catholic Church herself; and those Catholics who, at the present time, are accustomed to glorify the excellence of their Church, declare, nevertheless, that against the decline of learning, or the inroads of a worldly spirit amongst the Clergy, there is now no other hope of safety than in the Order of the Jesuits. * * *

“Loyola and his friends undertook to found an order for the sanctification of men by the operation of man, for the establishment of the kingdom of God by human strength; and at no distant period that very Order becomes the representative and pillar of doctrines, the unholiness of which might shock heathenism itself. What then? Have not Escobar, Sanchez, Suarez, Laymann, Reginald, Lessius, Fillucius, Caramuel, Bauny, and their companions, gone through the spiritual exercises for four entire weeks? Have they not spent one full week in meditating, with darkened window, on sin, and its threefold distribution? Have they not attained to contrition—to tears? and do they not, for all that, lay down a methodical intro-

duction to sin, such as the world has never seen? This corruption of morality is not of the essence of Jesuitism, but, if I may be allowed to use a weapon in great favour with the Catholics of the present day, a necessary consequence of it. When any man rejecting evangelical truth takes his stand upon the letter of prescriptions, he must necessarily come to casuistry in action, and to that exactitude and logical hair-splitting which leads to such distinctions.

* * * I, by no means, wish to attribute this corrupt morality to the Jesuits as the essence of their system and its distinguishing character. It is not my desire to obscure the merit of individual members. I will not deny to them collectively the fear of God and love of the Redeemer; but the piety which God desires is, after all, that of the gospel, and not that of the Jesuits. Protestantism will take from man his naturally sinful heart, and replace it by a heart filled with divine grace. Jesuitism, not satisfied with so little, will take out the heart created by God, and substitute for it a heart regulated according to the views and rules of the Order."—Der Protestantismus als politisches Princip N. Vortrag. s. 94-113.

Amongst other proofs of Jesuit reliance upon outward force and the arm of flesh, he lays to their account every physical restraint applied, or attempted to be applied, to Protestantism. To quote a solitary instance, the thirty years' war was planned and conducted by their pupils, Ferdinand II., and Maximilian I. Undoubtedly it was; and Protestantism is far more indebted to Cardinal Richlieu, and the good sword of Gustavus Vasa, for its existence in Germany, perhaps in the world, than to the exaltation of faith above works, or reliance upon the omnipotence of grace. But it was strength wrestling with strength, and craft counterchecking craft. Had it not been for a Cardinal of the Roman Church, Protestantism would long since have bequeathed to history its tenets, and to the readers of history a lesson and a warning. Yet the Jesuits have been known to interpose in favour of the *French* Protestants at least;* and assuredly Protestantism has relied almost as little upon purely spiritual weapons as Islamism itself. There never were men of more butcherly instincts than the first reformers with one or two exceptions;† and their instincts have been only too faithfully trans-

* Hist. des Confesseurs des Empereurs et Rois. Par l'Abbé Grégoire ancien Evêque constitutionnel de Blois.

† Lettre de Calvin au Marquis de Port, Chambellan du Roi de Navarre, 30 Sep. 1561. Notice Historique sur la Ville et Canton de Valréas.

mitted. But it is principally the moral theology of the Jesuits that Dr. Stahl regards as the result of the imputed Catholic principle of justification pushed to its extreme; "Der Jesuitismus ist darum das Extrem des Katholicismus;" and we extracted the passage rather as a sample of Protestant theories on the subject of the Jesuits, than with any idea of examining it. Dr. Stahl himself rejects the so often exploded, and so often revived calumny of the "monita secreta;"* he even goes the length of discharging the Society from absolute participation in every opinion sanctioned by the General. And, going so far, it might have been worth his while to ascertain whether all the speculative opinions ascribed to the Jesuit casuists were genuine, and whether, in the compilation of extracts from works of Jesuit theology, sent by the Parliament of Paris to the Bishops of France, there were not as many as *seven hundred and eighty* falsifications of all kinds.† We cannot conceive a more ungrateful task for Protestant or Catholic, than to open up the question of probableism and its concomitants. M. Buss goes into the enquiry at great length, and with very considerable ability; but after the most lavish expenditure of time and labour on one side or the other, you can only do what has been better done a hundred times already. The Jesuits can only slay the slain, and their antagonists revive them. The appeal to facts becomes inevitable, and the enquiry must be, not how the Jesuits have speculated, but what they have done.

We remember to have seen at a republican fête in Paris the names of Voltaire and Fénelon, Bossuet and d'Alembert, in juxtaposition upon the same scroll commemorative of the literary glories of France, and we know writers who, delighting in sudden contrasts and incongruous groups, love to institute comparisons between Ignatius and Luther. Leaving out of consideration the profanity of such a parallel, there seem to be few points of comparison between the men, beyond the fact of their belonging to the same period, and taking the leading part on opposite sides. The schism was not the work of Luther, but Ignatius was the leader of the reaction. Had the obscene savagery of Luther never defiled a page, other Luthers could not have been wanting, and the dark and scowling fanaticism of

* Der Protestantismus als politisches Princip s. 100.

† Die Gesellschaft Jesu, u. s. w. Von F. J. Buss, p. 164.

Calvin was in reserve for even sterner doings. The fifteenth century was in travail of revolution. The phantom of Italian unity had begun to haunt the Vatican itself, and the estrangement between Pope and Emperor grew daily more threatening. Spain, France, Italy, and England, had all been the theatre of devastating wars, the entire population of Europe was in ferment and disorganization; in a word, the soil was fallow for every seed of discontent and error. At the same time a new civilization was gradually making way, and bringing with it the enervating as well as genial influences that follow in its train, and when suddenly determined to the surface by the diffusion of Greek literature after the fall of Constantinople, it came upon minds and manners in most cases ill prepared for its reception. In no country had the secular clergy those resources for study and discipline which are so universal now, and in many countries the salt had no savour whatsoever.

The Houses of France and Austria had already entered upon that mortal struggle which was to end in the exhaustion of both and the aggrandisement of England, when the inevitable convulsion was precipitated by the jealousy of an Augustine Monk. The character of Luther is not that of most heresiarchs. We do not find in him the man of deep design, patient industry, and inexhaustible shifts, steadily elaborating one plan, advancing or retreating, as the occasion requires, and taking no step not well and cautiously considered. His doctrines were no concerted scheme, but successive formations, crust overlaying crust, as explosion after explosion of his volcanic temper heaved up some new heresy. Everything favoured his outbreaks; for we cannot speak of his enterprise. Able and daring, though mutinous lieutenants were soon at his side,—auxiliaries were drafted to him from a clergy whose sensuality he bribed with indulgence, and whose intellects were unformed by study, while many who stopped short of actual defection, being of a scarce higher standard than those who had gone over, were able to oppose no effectual resistance to his progress. Every coarse appetite and mean passion was a recruiting angel in the service, and impressed his contingent. Drawn by the glare of novelty, some brilliant students joined his standard, and raised its reputation by associating innovation in religion with the renovation of letters; but more unfortunately still, some Catholics, not

more zealous than weak-minded, fell into the snare, and, confounding two things essentially different, attacked the Revival as well as the Reformation, and drew upon the Church the reproach of obscurantism, exasperating the new-born interest of the press to such a degree that it was all but impossible for a Catholic controversialist to find a publisher. If to all this we add the besotted policy of Francis and Charles, each playing off against the other or against Rome any element of disorder in his antagonist's empire, we can form some slight idea of the state of things to which a remedy had to be applied, the administration of which fell to the Jesuits.

Strange to say, Luther, Waldo, and Ignatius (we shall be pardoned for the approximation of the names) entered religion, or at least withdrew from the world under the influence of very much the same impressions; Waldo and Luther, panic-stricken by the sudden death of friends, and Ignatius under the pressure of personal disappointment. The former, hurried away by terror, brought with them to their retirement their passions, untried and unchastened, whereas Ignatius had proved, wrestled with, and overcome his own before attempting his enterprise. The organisation, too, of the man was different. Straightforward, downright, and practical as befits a soldier, he had a general's eye to combination and discipline as well in his faculties as in his men. Hence he did nothing without measure and deliberation, subduing every power and affection of his mind that could thwart his purpose, and bringing into play those only that could aid it. In fact, he so fully realized his own position as general, and that of his faculties as subordinates and inferiors, he had so fully acquired the habit of commanding, and they had so completely lost all power of resistance, that a mental revolution or even a loitering in design was rendered impossible. What the spiritual exercises had effected for him, they accomplished for his society, and so lasting, so indelible was the character they stamped upon it, that its spirit and its government are the same to-day without deterioration and without reform, as they were in the lifetime of the founder. It is, in truth, a solemn hour, and well calculated to give character to an entire existence, when the exercitant enters into that spiritual agony which lies upon the threshold of his new life,—when he takes his stand between the camp of the world and the camp of God, the one gay with idle banners and vocal with seduc-

tive music, the other stern and silent, or reverberating with one awful voice, not so much an invitation as a warning: "What will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"—when in the chamber darkened to exclude the glare of the world and sober down the imagination to a gentle melancholy, he scans the affections of his heart, and pursues self-love through all its windings under an oppressive consciousness of scrutiny from an eye that follows every step of the pursuit,—when doubts revive, and resolution wavers, when the light from above waxes dim, and the voice from within gets faint,—when discouragement and prostration seem to make sacrifice impossible, and exertion almost fatal, leaving to the struggler the one only confidence of divine presence and sustainment. Perhaps, too, a feeling somewhat more human may contribute a little comfort and support; the Grotto of Manresa and the conflict it shut in are present to his mind; there is a communication of dignity as well as strength in the idea; and everything concurring, his doubts begin to be dispelled, his courage gradually revives, and at length reaches the height of that final decision, the object of so unsparing a trial. In the interval he has become familiar with that internal discipline which is to qualify him first for submission to, and subsequently for the exercise of outward authority. He has been guided all through his search after the divine will by those who have trodden the same labyrinths themselves, and, according to his strength of mind and the degree of supernatural operation, he leaves the exercises, the mould of man, from which Jesuits are made. The slow gradation of rank, the moderately democratic character of the elective and legislative courts—the concentration of all power in the hands of one, and the precautions not only zealous, but effectual, which have been taken against its abuse, form a class of men equally capable of governing and being governed, not of raw theorists or hollow patriots, who convert liberty like toleration into what de Balzac has called them both "une sublime niaiserie."* Thus qualified to act in concert or apart, thus proved and disciplined, with every spring-well of passion discovered and dried up or diverted into a new channel, with every possibility of change or doubt cut off, Ignatius and his companions broke bread in the subterra-

* *Révue Parisienne*, 25 Aout, 1840.

near church of Montmartre. They were only six, and foremost a soldier of noble presence, halting, but stately in his gait, and with an eye, which though emitting no irregular flash of the Castilian pride, bespoke a will that could never halt in purpose, and a penetration that no disguise could elude. Behind that expansive brow were recesses for the cares of empires, and upon it were lines of thought inscribed by no earthly musings. The little band around him proved he had that sagacity in the selection of his instruments, which is the most elementary quality of greatness. The first but a few months ago was a young and brilliant professor, who, in almost tender years, had already his school and his disciples, and before whose kindling eye stood his own image in no distant future, dilating with no tardy growth to the stature of Thaulerus, Albertus Magnus, or Thomas of Aquinas. Intoxicated with the triumphs of scholastic philosophy, triumphs as hardly won and as dearly prized as any upon field or sea; not wounded in his pride or balked in his career, but in the full flush of victory and noontide of his fame; Francis Xavier passed, under the influence of Ignatius, through the portals of the spiritual exercises to a destiny and a renown of which his new-born humility had no conception. The second is Laynez, destined to be the successor of Ignatius, wanting, perhaps, the creative and organizing faculties of his master, but equally fit for government or action, and qualified, of all men, to consolidate a power whose sudden growth might raise fears for its stability. He wears the placid smile that sat upon his features later, when he moved to acclamation the cold serenity of a general council, a smile not of contempt or derision or assurance, but the involuntary expression of reliance on his cause. And amongst the six are two whom their general, having, as he says, but six for the entire world, and with kings his petitioners for even one, will send to a remote and miserable country, far out of the throng and press of the conflict raging over Europe, and known even now for little else than its faith and its afflictions. One might feel inclined to suppose that he had foreseen the inconceivable growth and still more wonderful dispersion of the Irish race when he despatched Salmeron and Pasquier Brouet to Ireland, and felt how precious was the confirmation of the faith in a country destined to carry with it truth or error over half the world.

The first views of Ignatius and his companions take the direction of the East, but the East is closed to them, and they adjourn the prosecution of their design to the period when they shall all share the priestly character. The time at length arrives, and they solicit from the supreme authority that religious organization which is indispensable to concentrated action upon any point whatever. The chances are all adverse—the gradual extinction of monastic orders, the four principal ones excepted, has just been recommended, and although the Pope sees the finger of God in the proposed constitutions, a commission of Cardinals is less favourable, and their scruples have to be calmed before he can think it right to sanction the establishment of the Society of Jesus. That also is accomplished; the little company stands constituted under Ignatius its first General, after an election twice confirmed; and in the course of a few years you become as familiar with the name and labours of the Jesuits, and identify them as completely with the history of the Church, as if the origin of the Society, like that of the religious life itself, or the fountains of the Nile, was lost in the desert, and the broad flood had never ceased from immemorial years to roll its waters through Christendom. Within the memory of a stripling grown to manhood, it has left the University of Paris; become known in churches and in courts; revived the conservative instincts in princes who had begun to dally with revolution, and forced upon them counsels that secured the remnant of their power, as formerly it might have saved the whole; wrested from Protestantism the supremacy of the press, organized against it the declining generation by the pulpit and the rising by the school; showed itself upon every point of Europe at once, commanded every position of the field from Rome, and everywhere wrought changes which would surpass belief, were not their effects in evidence even now. The German, the English, the Scotch, the Irish, and the Roman colleges, are founded by Ignatius with as much simplicity and completeness as if he had a treasury at his disposal. Laynez, Salmeron, Lefevre, and Canisius, to name only these, are on your road everywhere, in Italy and Germany, at the diet of Worms and Ratisbonne, at the Council of Trent, in Cologne, Vienna, Switzerland, France, Poland. Not one name amongst the original six, or amongst the earlier companions of Ignatius,

that does not represent a history. The Council of Trent is part only of the history of Laynez, the preservation of all that was not gangrened in Germany, but part of the history of Canisius. What tender points of controversy does not Laynez determine in Trent,—how nice are not the boundary questions of jurisdiction he has to adjust,—sometimes carrying the assent of the Council by acclamation, and sometimes by slow and disputed advance, but always without pride or triumph, and in the spirit of that sublime answer which Lefevre gave to the solicitude of those who told him his life would be endangered by his presence in Trent, “it is not necessary to live, but it is necessary to obey.” Canisius, a Jesuit of the true heroic type, finds Cologne, Austria, Bavaria, and Poland, all but lost. In Vienna the ordination of priests had long since ceased, the churches were deserted or invaded by Protestants. The Archbishop of Cologne was known to be compromised with the reformers. The Polish diet already contained a large and active faction of Protestants; yet, in the course of a few years we see the churches filled with worshippers, the confessionals besieged with penitents, colleges thronged by students, an episcopacy courageous, vigilant, and energetic; a clergy spotless in morals, severe in life, zealous in duty; in fine, kings and electors weaned from their vicious policy, and taking resolutely, though late, the only path to preservation for themselves and their states.

We do not pretend to give a summary of Herr Buss’s work, which in itself is only a summary, though very detailed and accurate, of Jesuit history. The subject is quite too vast to be compressed into a short, or even a far longer essay than our limits will allow. Besides which, the main incidents of Jesuit history, (all that we could afford to touch upon,) must be known to the generality of readers. Take any one branch of the subject; the controversial, the missionary, or the pastoral labours of the Jesuits, their purely literary or their purely scientific history, their educational or their governmental systems, their struggles with parliaments and universities, their suppression and revival, and you will have to unite the breadth of view which belongs to history, with the minuteness of detail demanded by biography. It was our principal desire to consider Herr Buss’s history in connexion with the theory it professes to develop, and with

the other theories at which we have glanced from time to time ; and we do not conceive that, to a calm examiner there can be much difficulty in accounting for the successes and disasters of the Jesuits from the very nature of their institute, and the task they had in hand ; of the time they undertook it, and of the times through which they had to carry it. Let us just try to realize, to some extent, the position of the Society in any period of her history ; and suppose we begin at the beginning. The wonderful daughter of Ignatius and the University of Paris, for the Society was nothing else, met with sufficiently harsh treatment from her mother from the first. This it is easy to account for : all monopolies are jealous alike, and the benches of the University were neglected for the schools of the Society ;* but there were other and more decided grounds of hostility on the part of an active and increasing body in the University,—the disaffected in religion. The same may be said of the parliaments, where the new doctrines flourished with tropical growth in the atmosphere of chicane and faction, which was to these celebrated bodies as the breath of their nostrils. It was in vain that the Jesuits and University were in the same camp during the wars of the league. No sooner was Henry IV. in Paris than the Sorbonne which had so solemnly excommunicated him, and decreed that no conversion, however sincere, could legitimate his pretensions, impeached the Jesuits of the same treason. Yet as the king said of them, “ avec patience et bonne vie ils viennent à bout de toute chose,” and though one of their number was executed on a trumpety pretence of complicity in the attempt to assassinate that prince, he remembered well how much his reconciliation with Rome had been forwarded by the Jesuit Cardinal Tolet ; and more than that, his active and organizing mind was completely in communion with the kindred spirit of the Society ; the sincerity of whose hostility, when it was hostile, wore far more respectably in his eyes, and gave him better earnest of friendship than the sudden zeal and suspicious devotedness of University and Parliament. Still, though the king befriended the Society, and favoured its development as best he could, and although after a temporary check

* Histoire de l'Université de Paris, par Du Boulay, t. vi. p. 916. Ed. de 1673.

in the next reign, Richelieu extended to it his oppressive patronage, and Louis XIV. a more generous protection; most of the passions that had assailed the Society in its infancy kept pace with its growth, and secreted fresh venom in silence, till Jansenism, the new nursling of the parliaments, came into action. Meanwhile the thirty years' war desolated Germany. Ferdinand, Maximilian, Wallenstein and the Jesuits, were the watchwords on one side, and shame to say, Richelieu, France, and Gustavus Adolphus on the other; and it is not to be supposed that when the thirty years' war was overblown, the protestants forgot the habit of hating the Jesuits, along with that of sacking their colleges. Nor was this yet enough: Popes had wished to alter the economy, to change the organization, to remodel the basis of the Society. Sixtus V., and Pius V., men of resolute will if ever such existed, commanded change,—they met with no resistance, but the change they effected never survived themselves. The Society went on and produced its doctors, confessors, and martyrs, side by side with its historians, poets, and philosophers, and not unfrequently gave in a single subject a representative to every branch of science and every degree of virtue. We might run out our pages into a dry catalogue of names, like those of Bellarmine, Petau, De la Rue, Vannæus, Kircher, Bourdaloue, Possevin, any one of which (we have taken them almost at random,) would suffice for the glory of another society; not, indeed, that we mean to say all the writers of the Society are in any way comparable to these referred to, but the number of those whose excellence deserves mention is such as we describe. In course of time the conscience of every Catholic prince in Europe was confided to a Jesuit, and one might be permitted to argue *à priori* that it was impossible the Jesuits could escape under the circumstances, an amount of odium almost sufficient of itself to crush them. In nearly every instance they stood exculpated by the facts, but the facts were not seen as we see them now, as even Protestants of common fairness see them, and there was hardly any crime or any mistake of the prince that was not charged upon his confessor.

The contest with Jansenism was not the least damaging to the society, not of course on the merits, but from the abilities and tactics of their opponents, who certainly wrote with a vigour and a skill sufficient to upset more constitu-

tional governments in France than there are barricades to build them on. No one now pretends that the "Provinciales" are anything but an audacious pasquinade [in the choicest prose, it will be admitted], but with nothing better to be urged on their behalf. Voltaire says of them: "In common honesty, is it by the satire of the Provinciales that we are to learn the morality of the Jesuits?"* And in another place, "It was pretended in these letters that they [the Jesuits] had entertained the formal design of corrupting men's morals—a design never conceived by any sect or any society. It was no concern of Pascal's to be in the right, but simply to amuse the public."† It is not to be supposed De Maistre would be less explicit: he speaks of Pascal as "a clever controversialist to the degree of making calumny agreeable;"‡ and Chateaubriand says, "After all what is Pascal but a slanderer with genius? He has bequeathed us an immortal lie."§ Sch'll, Protestant as he is, confirms their testimony. "The letters," he says, "are a party production in which bad faith ascribes to the Jesuits questionable opinions they had long since condemned, and makes the whole society responsible for the extravagancies of some Spanish and Flemish Fathers."|| And the effect that all this has produced upon more than one reasoning mind, we shall give in the words of one who read Pascal before he studied the constitutions of the Society, and is now a Jesuit, but by no means in disguise—"Pascal, your genius, has been guilty of a great crime—it has established an alliance, indestructible perhaps, between falsehood and the language of the Franks—you have compiled the dictionary of calumny—it is an authority still—it shall not be so for me."¶

The orgies of the regency had fully succeeded in depraving the morals, and thence came by an easy transition, to destroy the faith of the French nobility. The prince who had listened in boyhood to the inspired teachings of the "Petit

* Lettre au Père de Latour, 1746.

† Siècle de Louis XIV. t. iii. c. xxxvii.

‡ Soirées de St. Petersburg, l. 16ième Entrétien.

§ Etudes Historiques.

|| Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens.

¶ De l'Existence et de l'Institut. des Jésuites par le R. P. de Ravignan, p. 54.

Carême," exhibited, when scarce arrived at manhood, those vices of character that entailed disgrace upon his name, and precipitated the ruin of his family. That family now reigned over France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, and Parma, but out of the licence and irreligion of the French court, grew what was called a philosophy, which, however it might work in amateur atheists, like Bolingbroke and Frederick of Prussia, could not fail to take a practical turn in time, as the Bourbon family was taught to feel, and feels even yet. The Prime Minister of Portugal who governed the reigning idiot, as well as the miserable country, caught the fashionable taint, and regarding the Jesuits as the natural enemies of his new friends the philosophers, resolved on their destruction. He began at home, as was natural, and by a dexterous twisting of events, by clever combinations of time and place, by calumnies skilful or dull indifferently, by most marvellous piecing of evidence, and, finally, by the exercise of irresponsible power, drove the Jesuits out of Portugal and her dominions, and landed them in ship loads upon the states of the Church. How he came to influence the mind of Charles III., and through him of the entire House of Bourbon, is not so clear. That prince himself never disclosed his real cause of offence against the Jesuits, and Ferdinand VII., in their rehabilitation, went no further than to say his ancestor had been deceived.* The same process was repeated in Spain as in Portugal, with an exaggeration of atrocity; the same again in Naples and Parma; and lastly, in France; but there, happily for the honour of the French name, without the circumstances of gratuitous barbarity that characterized it elsewhere; after a prolonged struggle, and with at least a colourable sanction of public opinion. In France, under no matter what form of government, there is a certain force of public opinion, and unless in moments of revolutionary excitement, a degree of personal, if not political liberty, far beyond what exists in most other countries. Hence, even in the parliaments where opinion pronounced most strongly against the Jesuits, and where alone public opinion could be constitutionally collected, the voices condemnatory of the Jesuits were in a very small majority, while almost the entire episcopacy spoke loudly and fear-

* *Exposicion y dictamen del fiscal del consejo y camara. D. Francisco Gutterien.*

lessly in their favour. The Jesuits were not, strictly speaking, expelled from France, and they remained there without hindrance or molestation, as seculars; but, however the French people might feel, the ministers of the House of Bourbon had resolved upon the destruction of the Order: Nothing less than its absolute suppression by the Pope would content them,—to compass this end, every pressure short of actual constraint was applied to the Holy See,—and when at length the Pope yielded, it was when he could resist no longer.

There are few chapters of ecclesiastical history more full of painful interest than the election and pontificate of Clement XIV. We have no desire to enter upon the distressing controversies to which they have given rise, and it is greatly to be regretted they should have been revived in our own time. Dr. Theiner, in a spirit of reparation with which we have no reason to find fault, has undertaken to vindicate the character of Clement XIV., the difficulty of whose position it certainly is impossible to exaggerate. Dr. Theiner's peculiar opportunities give him access to documentary evidence of the most authentic kind, and no one can blame him for using them in what he conceives to be the interest of the truth. No one acquainted with the character and the writings of this distinguished ecclesiastic can hesitate to believe that such was his one object, and that nothing was farther from his mind than to disparage the Jesuits or damage their reputation in any way. His disclaimer of such purpose is sufficiently formal. "The man," he says, "would be much astray, and do us grievous wrong who should attribute to us the purpose of reflecting on the Jesuits in this work. Far from us—far as heaven from earth, be such an idea. Tender and sacred bonds knit us, and to our last breath shall continue to knit us, to that illustrious Society. On the contrary, we shall make it a conscientious duty not to cancel or misinterpret one of the so numerous pages of glory they have graven in the book of history. But we say with equal candour, that it is just as little our intention to suppress or artificially excuse and gloss over their weaknesses when we meet with such. This we owe alike to the Church and to truth. The Society of Jesus will derive from the work a lesson merely, and by laying the same to heart, profit likewise. The artificial and extravagant praises of shortsighted friends have hitherto done the Society little service, and done little

for the advancement of their cause.”* Dr. Theiner has only given expression to opinions of our own in this passage. His work, however, has been used in a very different spirit by the enemies of the society. He has met with a commentator, Herr Leu of Lucerne, who, professing to give to the public the substance of Dr. Theiner's work in so far as it relates to the Jesuits, displays a small, spiteful, and illiberal jealousy of the Society wherever he introduces an observation of his own, that it is really pitiful to see. To affect to disguise the mistakes, the weaknesses, as Dr. Theiner calls them, or the faults, if you will, of the Society, or to evade the discussion of them, would be a very fatal course, and if we ourselves have made no allusion to the bankruptcy of Father La Valette, the presence of Father Peters in the Privy Council, the examination of Father Garnet, the education of Don Sebastian, and innumerable other heads of accusation; it was not that we thought the society or individual members wholly free from blame, or, on the other hand, that nothing was to be urged in their defence, but that these are for the most part questions, not of principle, but of fact, and that any one prosecuting an enquiry into these matters in good faith, will find valuable assistance from Herr Buss's work, where the arguments on both sides are fairly and lucidly stated, and facts elicited that will in many cases diminish the blame, in many cases wholly clear it away, and in by far the great majority, shift it from the responsibility of the society, to that of individual members, and confirm the wisdom of the rule by showing what was complained of to have been an infraction of it.

Having had regard to Herr Buss's theory rather than to the historical work, we were unwilling to make any lengthened extract from the latter. Indeed, our readers are probably too well acquainted with every remarkable incident in that history, to find anything new in the author's pages. Those, however, who may not have had an opportunity of coming at more authentic details of the fortunes of the society in Switzerland, just previous to the revolution of '48, than were to be met with in the public journals, will not take it amiss if we give them a specimen of Herr Buss's style.

* *Geschichte des Pontificats Clemens XIV. Vorrede,*

“In the sitting of the 24th of October, 1844, the Great Council decided on inviting the Jesuits to take charge of the seminary by a majority of seventy to twenty-four voices.

“The general of the Jesuits who had long been importuned by all parties, yielded at length to the wish of the Pope, and empowered the Father Provincial Rothenflue, to concert measures with the government of Lucerne for the superintendance of the episcopal seminary.

“The people voted by a majority of more than six thousand for the immediate carrying out of the resolution of the Great Council. The Radicals immediately protested against the violation of the federal compact, although Lucerne had done nothing more in 1844 than had been done by Valais in 1810, Freiburg in 1818, and Schwytz in 1836. Even in the diet the introduction of the Jesuits was regarded as a purely cantonal concern.”

After the defeat of the free corps in Lucerne, the Jesuits took charge of the seminary, and opened their classes the 13th October, 1845, between which period and 1847, the agitation for their withdrawal had never ceased to convulse Switzerland.

“The Jesuits had been for two years in Lucerne, honoured by the people; their most determined antagonists had never been able to fix a reproach upon them.

“The source of Swiss grievances was certainly not the Jesuit college of Lucerne. The withdrawal of the Jesuits was now impossible, and were it even possible, it would still be useless, nay, shameful and dangerous, since it would upset all principles, render the radicals more daring, and dispirit and disunite the Catholics.

“In a word, the presence of the Jesuits in Lucerne involved sacred and fundamental principles, namely, cantonal independence and religious liberty; principles, which in their expulsion would be outraged and annulled. No single charge had been brought against the Jesuits as a pretext for their expulsion from Switzerland, so that the procedure was in every way iniquitous. Its results could be no other than the most flagrant infractions of the common law of nations, beginning with the arbitrary banishment of citizens from their country and the confiscation of their property. The grievances of the Catholic population were the heaviest that could be inflicted, their feelings wounded in everything they held dearest, the Church subjected to persecution, all religious and political rights trampled under foot, left no room for personal complaints or personal sufferings.

“Such was in substance the memorial of the General of the Jesuits to the representatives of the European powers in Switzerland—it spoke in language of the meekest reason, but the blindness of the European powers, and of Swiss Protestantism, was invinci-

ble. Lord Palmerston instructed his minister to show the Jesuits no quarter. European diplomacy felt amused at the pertinacity of the foreign office, but remained motionless, tied up by the precedents of 1830.

“In 1847 the Swiss Cantons numbered one hundred and fifty-two Jesuits, of whom one hundred and two belonged to the Cantons of the Sonderbund. and the remaining fifty to Berne, Solothurn, Argau, St. Gall, Grisons, Vaud, Geneva and Basle. These Swiss believed there was nothing in the fact of their being Jesuits to deprive them of their country; and, moreover, the religious involved a political question. The Jesuits had long declined going to Lucerne, but the government of that canton wrote to them, ‘We cannot understand how the self-same men, who court martyrdom amongst barbarians, refuse to take the field in union with the people of Lucerne so gallantly in arms for the Church.’ There was no alternative left them. They remained an unflinching advanced guard at the outpost of Lucerne.

“But now when civil war became more and more imminent, and even friends of order throughout Europe were disposed to tax the Jesuits with giving rise to it; the Father Provincial Minoux visited in turn the cantons of Lucerne, Schwytz, Freiburg, and Valais, conjuring the leaders of the Sonderbund to tell him whether the withdrawal of the Jesuits would avert the conflict, in which case he would solicit from the General the power of withdrawal, but the unanimous answer was,—*No*.

“And thus the Jesuits remained upon the field, bound by obedience to the Holy See, by their priestly duty, by the honour of their institute, and by their love of country.

“On the 18th of October, 1847, the Diet met again to consider the coercive measures to be adopted against the Sonderbund. St. Gall and the Grisons made an effort at conciliation. The twelve cantons determined to send federal commissioners with a proclamation into the cantons of the Sonderbund.

“The proclamation was a tissue of falsehood, and the commissioners mere agents of revolution. They were not received. On the 21st October, they brought forward a proposal which might have secured the object in view. The proposal was to acknowledge the cantonal sovereignty with all its legitimate consequences, whereupon the Sonderbund would dissolve.—Geneva, Glarus, St. Gall, Solothurn and Grisons, showed some disposition to take the proposal into consideration, but Berne, Valais, and Argovia peremptorily rejected it. The agents of Lucerne, Schwytz, Unterwalden, and Freiburg, were, without instructions, to deal with the protocol. The radicals, not the people, wished for war. On the 24th October, the president of the Diet Ochsenbein, declared upon false information, that disorder was increasing from hour to hour in St. Gall, and that the Catholics there were in arms. Immediately, a decree was

passed, to place fifty thousand men at the disposal of General Dufour, for the preservation of peace.

“The representatives of the Sonderbund were not present at this sitting, but Neuenburg and Basle proposed a conference out of doors between the representatives of the Sonderbund and those of the other cantons. It took place on the 28th October. The deputies of the Sonderbund openly declared they should forthwith be considered non-existent when the cantonal sovereignty ceased to be called in question. The case of the convents of Argovia should be referred to the Holy See, and, pending the decision, both parties disarm.

“These propositions were assuredly such as the radicals themselves might have accepted; but absolute submission was demanded of the Sonderbund. The conference led to no result, and nothing remained for the representatives of the Catholic Cantons but to withdraw. They understood their duty and discharged it with a mournful solemnity. On the 29th of October they handed to the Diet a manifesto in which their rights were so forcibly and convincingly stated that the Diet thought it necessary to forbid its publication. It was sent to the representatives of the European Powers in Switzerland with a strongly-worded note, requiring no intervention but simple recognition.

“By a kind of fatality, Switzerland, and with her most of the European States were sinking into the precipice of revolution which the English Foreign Office had opened.

“The other governments witnessed the sacrifice with indifference. War began. Freiburg, cut off from the aid of the other Cantons of the Sonderbund, capitulated on the 14th of November, after General Maillardoz had resigned his command and the enemy had broken the armistice of the thirteenth. Although the fifth article of the capitulation guaranteed security of person and property, the insurgents of January were all brought into the town and the prisons opened. Out of these materials, with the aid of some radicals a provisional government was formed and the plunder began.”—pp. 1418-1428.

The horrors that ensued are only too fresh in the recollection of most. They drew from the federal General Dufour the candid admission “a lost battle could not have brought greater shame upon us.” The other Cantons were taken in detail, and nations followed hard upon. Abyss called upon abyss, revolution opened under revolution, and empires with five hundred thousand bayonets were made of no more account than the principedom of Monaco or the kingdom of the Mosquitos. The Jesuits were swept from half the Continent of Europe by the flood, but not submerged. They found a refuge in

the France of February and June, seething with revolutionary passions, sick of society and civilization, reeling from the fumes of civil slaughter, yet destined to shelter the Jesuits, to restore the Pope, to revive authority in its most decided form, to protect religion, and save Europe from an impending tyranny almost worse than that of revolution.

We have only in closing this notice to repeat our fixed opinion that it is difficult to conceive more miserable trifling than that which should refer to the peculiar doctrines of the Jesuits, the animosity of their enemies or the singular variety of their fortunes. The same opinions which had passed unnoticed and uncensured in others were found to the last degree criminal in them; nor can it be forgotten in connexion with one of the charges against the society, that the prime object of the Pharisees in their questions to Him whose name the society adopted, was to trip Him in His words, and we fear that on more occasions than one the answers would be found to be unusually Jesuitical. Suppose the question: "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?" were put by an attorney general to a Jesuit on the rack, or say, with reeds inserted between the nail and the skin, and answered in the terms recorded by the Evangelist, we have no doubt whatever such a reply would be stigmatised as a vile quibble and a miserable evasion of the truth; but as to the declaration of the Saviour that He would destroy that temple, and in three days build it up again; *that* certainly could not fail to be considered a mental reservation within the meaning of the Catholic Oath. It is hardly necessary to say, nothing can be further from our minds than to set up a defence of equivocation or quote scripture texts in favour of it—nothing can justify a deviation from truth,—but the real question, which certainly falls under the competence of a theologian and must be remitted even to lay judgment in the absence of direction, will be,—what *does* amount to a violation of the truth? Herr Buss sifts the arguments for and against the Jesuits in this matter with very considerable ability, and brings to bear upon them a large amount of curious and well-digested learning, through which we should gladly follow him if circumstances allowed. Not, indeed, that much is to be gained by this, or any other question of the same kind regarding the Jesuits, for it is habitual with the adversaries of the So-

ciety to regard every doctrine of theirs not as a doctrine in the abstract, and to decide accordingly; but as Jesuit teaching, and therefore necessarily pernicious. "The concert of accusations, most frequently calumnious, which we find amongst the anti-Jesuit writers of the time," says Sismondi, "is positively frightful in its way."* It availed the Jesuits nothing that probableism as a system was neither invented nor perfected by them, were it indeed susceptible of being perfected, nor is it ever taken into account that any one hesitating between two courses, and disposed to do what is right can only act according to the measure of his light, and must decide for one or the other. No Protestant that has to deal with the Jesuit doctrine, in the matter of regicide, ever condescends to remember that it was neither originated nor pushed to its final development by the Jesuits, and that in speculation it was supported by the first reformers and received its practical application from their descendants.† Those, again, who impute immoral teaching to the Jesuits have never been known to furnish an illustration of its influence from their own knowledge, still less have they thought of collecting evidence, and any one maliciously disposed might feel tempted to hint they had acted with commendable prudence as the evidence was quite the other way. During the season of their highest favour, and when they directed the conscience of every Catholic prince in Europe, it was unheard of that a Jesuit flattered or connived at the irregularities of a penitent. There is, in fact, no accusation that we know of pointing in that direction. It would be something too common-place to enumerate the great men who have borne testimony, willing or constrained, to the pure morality of the Jesuits themselves, and to the purity of that which they inculcated upon their scholars. Every one is familiar with the celebrated passage in Voltaire.

"During the seven years that I spent in the house of the Jesuits

* *Histoire de France*, T. xxix. p. 231.

† Luther, Beza Ep. 37 and 40, Knox, Arthusius, *Politica Methodice digesta* cap. xiv. Herbornæ 1603. Stephanus, Junius *Brutus Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. Buchanan, *De Jure Regni Apud. Scotos*. Hist. Scot. L. vii. Milton—*Defensio pro Populo Angl. Op. om.* 1759.

what did I witness there? The most laborious and frugal life. The hours of the day divided between the cares they bestowed upon us, and the exercise of their austere profession. I appeal to thousands of men educated like myself; and for this reason I am lost in astonishment at the idea of their being accused of teaching lax morals."—*Œuvres Complètes, Correspondence, t. iv, éd. de 1831.*

The Confessors of Louis XIII. wrought successfully for the reconciliation of that prince with Anne of Austria. A Jesuit Confessor was heard to threaten a royal penitent with the divine malediction if he moved against his mother. The Père Desmarets refused the sacraments to Louis XV., and Père de Sacy to Madame de Pompadour, when any condescension on the part of those patrons of lax morality could not have failed of its reward, and their inflexibility was likely to provoke a swift and unsparing vengeance. But the enemies of the Jesuits seldom descended to details so minute as these; the more general their charges the better. There was nothing too coarse, too monstrous, too incredible; there were no materials too heterogeneous, or too combustible, for playing off against the Jesuits; and the consequence is, that, unless in minds open to the influences of Eugene Sue, or Paul de Kock, the Jesuits are certainly not losing ground. "Est ars quædam etiam maledicendi,"—and very few of the antagonists of the Jesuits, none perhaps, Pascal only excepted, seem to have understood it. Bayle says, with sufficient bitterness, that if the Jesuits were to keep in pay the class of writers we usually find attacking them, their money would be well spent. They are certainly not worth the trouble of refutation. It is a more pleasing, as well as a more profitable task, to look with M. Buss into the future of the Society, and see if it be permitted us to speculate upon its duties and destinies in times so strangely beset, so fitful, so treacherous as our own. The Jesuits have the old enemy before them, but his tactics have been changed. Protestantism has had its development as well as the Christian Church, and that development is not to be met or checked with folio or quarto. These were never the exclusive arms of the Society; and a battalion of Bellarmins, or of Petaus, would effect less good, perhaps, at the present day, than the college of Avignon or St. Acheul. Happily, too, no spirit of zeal requires to be evoked among the European Clergy. The Jesuits have no license

to rebuke by the perfection of their lives, no relaxation to shame by the austerity of their discipline; but they have to guide, often to moderate, the zealous, as well as to quicken the tardy; they have to counteract the pernicious literature of the day; and they have to communicate to their system of education all the finish of which it is capable; for this is a field in which their competitors are many and indefatigable. They have a part of peculiar delicacy to play between authority even friendly or protecting; and the people even were prejudiced and hostile. As the Society needs no reform or re-modelling, its great necessity is independence. It requires too, that its familiar name should be met again on the neutral ground of science and literature. Through the rising generation it saved Europe once before, and through the same, Europe must be saved again. We do not speak without experience of what it can effect, and, with all our wish to be impartial in the matter under investigation, we never looked to reach that degree of philosophic indifference which many might consider desirable. It is hardly possible for you, even as a reviewer, without some vice of mental or moral organization, to forget that you have been for years the object of tender nurture, and followed at their close with affectionate solicitude; that athwart all the waywardness and ingratitude of boyhood, a practised eye has been upon the strain to catch the appearance of every ill-defined and rudimentary talent, and a delicate hand ever ready to shape and swathe it into symmetry; that when time admonished to give your faculties scope, the same directing spirit has taught you which should lead and characterize, which correct and balance the entire; that it is your own fault if you are not aspiring without vanity, and modest without timidity; if you have not acquired the secret of your strength with the intimate conviction of your weakness; that your development has been the study of minds the deepest, the vastest, the most versatile in the world; that you have been, and are yourself the living refutation of half the charges against your instructors, and that the remainder vanish before evidence; that your heart has been formed, and your morals guarded with equal assiduity; that you never got a lesson in mental reservation or regicide, and never met with a pupil of the Jesuits who did. All this it is not easy to forget, or remembering to remember with indifference. You cannot, even if perhaps

you ought, discharge your mind of a certain pride and triumph in the reflection that you are thus brought into communion, and almost into companionship, with all the heroes of Catholic story, and all the lights of Catholic literature that have known no different formation from yourself; that you are in some sort the comrade of Ferdinand II., Maximilian I., Wallenstein, Sobieski, Turenne, Bellarmin, Corneille, a thousand, and a thousand others, your forerunners and your models. Perhaps you started on your prosperous career with the generous "éd anch' io," I, too, am a pupil of Jesuits,—you felt that the walls of your own college did not include all your friends, all your companions, all your masters; that the great family knew no limit of countries or sympathies, and that it was true to say of it,

Non Sta fra quelle mura
 Ella è per tutto
 Dove aucon non è spento,
 Di virtù e di libertà l'amor natio
 SON' ROMA I FIDI MIEI, ROMA SON' IO.

ART. VII.—1. *History of Oliver Cromwell and the English Commonwealth, from the Execution of Charles the First to the Death of Cromwell.* By M. GUIZOT. Translated by ANDREW R. SCOBLE. . 2 vols. 8vo. London: Bentley, 1854.

2. *History of the English Revolution of 1640, from the Accession of Charles I. to his Death.* By F. GUIZOT. Translated by WILLIAM WAYLETT, Esq. London: Bogue, 1848.

WHEN Agesilaus of Sparta was one day surprised in the middle of a noisy game of hobby-horse with his children, he checked the laughter in which his friend was disposed to indulge at his expense, by begging that "he would not say anything on the subject until he had himself been a father." On a somewhat similar principle it has been said that no historian is capable of entering into the true spirit of the history of revolution, unless he have himself lived through the storms of revolutionary

strife. Personal narratives of such events will always be held liable to suspicion; although of such narratives there is no lack, whether in ancient or modern times. Since the day when Cæsar risked his life by swimming with one hand from his sinking galley, in order to keep his precious Commentaries above water in the other, there have been few periods of strife, whether foreign or domestic, of which the actors themselves have not left some record. Most of these are sufficiently egotistical: many of them are undisguisedly one-sided, and not a few untrustworthy; a large proportion of them, too, are mere fragments, only detailing so much of the facts as fell under the immediate notice of the writer, and seldom aiming at any broad or comprehensive view of the main history of the general movement. Nevertheless, with all their defects; with all the passion and prejudice which every page displays; with all the misrepresentation of enemies and partial estimates of friends,—oftentimes so unscrupulous that even the uninstructed reader may himself discover it;—with all the heat, intemperance, and short-sightedness, which pervade them, it is in these fragmentary narratives that we find the most graphic, the most life-like, and though not the most reliable as to detail, at least the most suggestive, pictures of the periods to which they relate.

We do not, of course, mean that such narratives as these can themselves be regarded as authentic history; but they supply the material, rough but genuine, from which history is best framed. If, in the conflicting statements of writers who are almost necessarily partisans, the truth may sometimes appear inextricably involved, this is little more than occurs in every-day life, where the fullest opportunities of personal examination are afforded; and at all events, whatever of impartiality may be lost by such conflicts, is far more than compensated by the reality and life-like character of the views which they present.

At the same time, great as are the opportunities of full and complete information as to facts and characters, which are enjoyed by contemporary writers, it would be a great mistake to suppose that the history of any important or exciting event, embracing a large number of actors, or a marked diversity of interests, can ever be fully and satisfactorily written at or very near the time of its occurrence. It is not merely that the secret history of the actors and of their motives is only gleaned by slow degrees, either by

the gradual oozing out of confidences as the reasons for concealment disappear, or by the discovery and publication of private and confidential papers, or by the very progress of events themselves, and the developments to which they naturally lead. Independently of these important considerations; independently, too, of the difficulty which a contemporary must always feel in divesting himself of party bias in reference to matters of great public interest during his own time, the full bearing of such events can only be taken in after an interval. Like an extensive landscape, they can be seen in their completeness only from a distance; and it has sometimes happened that after years had passed away, and after most of the actors had disappeared from the scene, new relations and connexions of men and events have been discovered, of which not a trace, and not even a suspicion of any trace, had previously existed, and by which the former verdict regarding them has been materially modified, if not entirely reversed. Scarcely a year passes without new and most striking evidence of this fact, in reference to almost all the leading periods of modern history.

Nevertheless, it constantly occurs that events and periods repeat themselves in history. The world moves in a circle. With a little allowance for accidental variations, it will be found, in the main, that each new dynasty is a type of some former one; each revolution is a transcript of its predecessor. The circumstances, the actors, and the causes which call them into action, of course differ in each. The order of events varies, and perhaps is even inverted. Parties which in one revolution rise to the ascendant, in another suffer inglorious defeat. But the main character of all revolutionary struggles will be found to have been tolerably uniform. The same general principle is, in most cases, brought to issue; the same great classes are found in antagonism; the same interests contend for ascendancy; and, whatever may be the varieties of individual character, the same unvarying passions and impulses will be found in full activity. Each revolution, therefore, throws light upon those which have gone before it; and it has not unfrequently happened that the memory of revolutions long past, has served to the actors in some new revolutionary warfare, as a salutary warning against similar dangers, or that the history of modern revolutions has supplied a commentary upon much that

was dark and doubtful in that of the revolutions of the olden time.

When M. Guizot, therefore, undertook to write the history of the English Revolution, it was felt that his familiarity with the still fresh memories of the first French Revolution, and still more, his personal connexion with that of 1830, formed no mean qualification for the task. Since the publication of the first portion of his work, the events of 1848, in which his participation was still more direct and immediate, have added still more largely to that experimental knowledge of the secret history of revolutions. Nor has he failed to avail himself of the reflected light which these two great crises in English and French history cast upon each other. During the first years of his exile in England, his earliest appeals to the returning calmness and moderation of parties among his countrymen, were founded upon historical parallels, drawn from the kindred events in England during the last half of the seventeenth century. His "Democracy in France;" his "Causes of the Success of the English Revolution;" his "Monk's Contemporaries," (although it was but a recast of a series of Essays written many years before); all professedly addressed themselves to this theme. In truth, if we may judge from the tone which pervades them all, we would say that M. Guizot writes like a man who, even in the most active and stirring scenes of the eventful period through which he lived, has seldom withdrawn his mind from that great historical crisis in the destiny of England, which has been his occupation of his leisure for years to analyse and illustrate. As a politician, he has drawn political capital and political experience from the history of the past; while he has equally, and even more perseveringly used his experience as a politician, to direct and assist his researches and his judgment as a historian. He may be said, in some sense, to have written with all the experience of a contemporary, relieved from the personal and partisan prejudices at the expense of which such experience is ordinarily purchased.

The English Revolution, indeed, may be said to have formed a main study of M. Guizot's life. The labour incidental to the preparation of the immense collection of "Memoires" relating to it which he edited, would in itself have supplied occupation for the best years of a less energetic student. To him it seems to have been but an

interlude between the busier scenes of a literary and political life. But it was the best preparation for his present task; and the familiarity with contemporary writers, which both portions of this work display,—with Hollis, Ludlow, Thurloe, Whitelock, Selburne, May, Clarendon, Reresby, Rushworth, Oldmixon, and the other annalists of the Revolution,—is the well-earned reward of his assiduity in the more humble path of an editor and collector.

M. Guizot divides the history of the English Revolution (under which name he includes the sixty-three years, from the accession of Charles I., in 1625, to the fall of James II. in 1688.) into four periods. The first comprehends the reign of Charles and that conflict with the Long Parliament in which he fell; the second comprises the history of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell; the third, the Restoration of the Monarchy; and the fourth, the reigns of Charles II., and James II. The history of the first of these periods has already been for some years before the public; and although it is itself well deserving of a formal examination, the interest of the second period, which has just appeared, is so much more novel and attractive, that the reader must pardon us if we confine ourselves exclusively, or at least principally, to the latter. The career of Oliver Cromwell is one of the most curious problems in history, and every contribution towards a satisfactory solution of it, especially from so accomplished a hand as that of Monsieur Guizot, will be received with respect and welcome even by those who may differ most widely from him in their estimate of the very first principles upon which it is to be resolved. For ourselves, we need hardly say that we have never made a secret of the feelings with which we regard M. Guizot. As Catholics, and lovers of the rights of conscience in the person of Catholics, we owe him, whether as a politician or as a historian, but little gratitude. To most of his views on religion and philosophy we are irreconcilably opposed; and we have often felt as if the scanty measure of acknowledgment of the social services of the Church during the mediæval times, which he has occasionally vouchsafed, but served by the contrast to bring out more strongly the bitter and half contemptuous hostility to her modern representative which lies at the bottom of many of his most elaborate speculations. But we have never concealed, neverthe-

less, our admiration of M. Guizot's genius, of his skill in grouping and estimating events: and above all, of the vigour, perspicuity, and graphic force of his pen. Of most of these qualities the work now before us is a specimen fully equal to any of his earlier publications. If we abstain from saying that it is so in them all, it is because, while the evidences of learning, research, and patient impartiality which it displays are more abundant than in any other of his works, the very effort to maintain the calm and impartial tone which is apparent even in the most exciting crisis of the history, has had an injurious effect upon the picturesqueness and vivacity of the narrative. The fault with which he himself, in the preface of the first portion of his History of the English Revolution, charges Dr. Lingard, that "he fails by his impartiality to restore life to history," is far more apparent in his own production. And, although we are far from that indiscriminate admiration of the well-known system of "picture making," which has become so popular in the modern school of history, and of which Thierry, Michelet, and Lamartine, are the great representatives in France, yet we cannot but regret to miss in the present work the rapid and lively narrative—the quick and keen apprehension of the opinions, passions, and tendencies of the actors—and the clear and well-balanced grouping of them all, in which no writer of modern France is more successful than M. Guizot, not only in some of his former publications, but still more in those elaborate and classical oratorical displays in which he occasionally indulged in the *tribune* of the French Chamber.

The first portion of the history contained a considerable number of interesting unpublished papers, partly of a private, partly of an official character. The present volumes are still more rich. The opportunities which the author enjoyed in his official capacity, have been turned to the best account. The correspondence of the French ambassador in England, preserved in the French Foreign Office, is for the most part new; and many interesting papers are now for the first time produced from other manuscript collections in Paris, but chiefly from the archives of Simancas in Spain. We may instance here particularly the letters addressed by Lewis XIV. to Cromwell and to Fairfax, on behalf of Charles I., and entrusted for presentation to M. De Varennes, but never delivered, as the unhappy king

had been executed even before De Varennes had taken his departure from Paris. Hitherto it had commonly been supposed that both France and Spain looked on with selfish and cowardly indifference during the trial of the unfortunate king; and in France especially it was regarded as peculiarly dishonourable, connected with him by alliances as was the royal house of that kingdom. M. Guizot's discovery, indeed, proves, that speaking literally, the allegation is unfounded. But it leaves the main charge entirely unrefuted. It is plain from all the circumstances, that this tardy and timid interference was extorted by shame, rather than dictated by friendly solicitude. The actual ambassador of France in London, M. de Bellièvre, "made no attempt on his behalf;" he did not even ask permission to see him. Some surprise was manifested at this at Paris, in the King's Council; but Bellièvre was warmly defended and approved. 'I see the necessity which I have for your protection,' he wrote to M. Servien, 'and the kindness with which you have extended it to me. I thought it was better to be blamed for not having taken a step which any one might have seen could produce no advantage to the King of England, than to be guilty of the harm which that step might have done to the affairs of the King, my master. For, as you know very well, they are so suspicious here with regard to everything that proceeds from France, that that which would pass unnoticed from others, is declared criminal when it comes from us; and as, of foreign powers, they fear us alone, they pay such attention to our actions and our words, that the least expression of the resentment which we must feel for that which they have done, might be enough to lead them to make alliance with Spain; and the knowledge of this fact, combined with the general instructions which I have always received not to irritate these fellows (*ces gens-ci*), made me resolve to act as I have done. I cannot repent of having been too circumspect, as I now find myself supported by your approval.' — pp. 205—206.

The new materials, however, which M. Guizot has accumulated, cannot but be regarded as an important contribution to the study of the character of the subject of this biography. They are, for the most part, the correspondence of the foreign ambassadors, especially those of France and Spain with their respective governments; and may naturally be accepted as supplying a more dispassionate view of

the events passing under their eyes, and a more impartial estimate of the conduct and the motives of the actors, than could be derived from the reports of those who felt a more immediate and personal interest in the result. M. Guizot himself appears to have looked upon them simply as such, and to have used them with the most rigorous impartiality as a means of balancing the conflicting statements of home authorities, and even as a key to the more secret negotiations upon domestic affairs; with some of which the foreign residents appear to have been better acquainted than parties who might be supposed to have had a direct and natural connexion with them.

There is one branch of the history of the Protectorate on which he has thrown much additional light, and which, indeed, he may be said to have for the first time fully elucidated;—the foreign relations of England during that eventful period. In the eyes of the English historians, of course, this portion of the history was by far the least interesting; to a foreigner, and especially to a foreign statesman, on the contrary, it is the first which presents itself; and the new documents which are contained in M. Guizot's appendix, (and particularly those of the second volume), will be found full of interest.

Our present concern, however, is with the life and character of the great Protector himself. There are few personages in history of whom more conflicting estimates have been formed. By one party he is regarded as a vulgar and selfish hypocrite; by another, as an impersonation of genius, energy, and manhood. Among his contemporary biographers, one class can find no key to his history, whether in gross or in detail, but that of self, and the desire of self-aggrandizement; the other, even where they recognize the evidence of self-seeking in his conduct, extenuate and even dignify it by the motive to which, in their judgment, it is ascribed. Later historians have endeavoured to strike a balance between these two opposite estimates, and have leaned in varying degree towards one or other extreme. On the whole, however, up to a recent period, the unfavourable view of Cromwell's character, with certain modifications, was that which had found universal acceptance. Almost the first hearty and energetic appeal against the general verdict, even that of the modern Puritan historians, was Mr. Carlyle's. Those who are acquainted with the habitual turn of Mr. Carlyle's pronouncements, need not

be informed that his appeal was no half measure. He leaped, without hesitation, to the very extreme of the controversy. With him "the brave Oliver" became the type of "a deep believing man"—a MAN in the best and noblest acceptance of the idea. True to his cherished principles of hero-worship, he thought and wrote of Cromwell as the impersonation of that enthusiasm, which, in his eyes, is not alone the source, but the constituent of greatness—the embodiment of the sacred "traditions of humanity." In his own vaporous and misty phraseology, his place in history appeared as "a sacred island girdled with Eternities and Godhoods." It is the "culminating point in the history of Protestantism;" and he himself is "the *eidolon* of divine inspiration." His departures from what "shallow sceptical generations" regarded as the principles of right and wrong, were but privileged exemptions from conventional laws in favour of principles which, though eternal in themselves, yet have their alternate periods of manifestation and occultation among men. And with his accustomed intolerance and impetuosity, Mr. Carlyle denounced almost all the previous historians as imbecile, and the earlier historical collections as "balderdash," "lumber-mountains," "shot-rubbish," through which you "but look into the infinite vague of the black and inane!"

This cry was zealously taken up and echoed by the crowd of Mr. Carlyle's imitators and admirers; although it was admitted that his book was an appeal against the verdict, not merely of historians, but of history itself; and a very curious chapter of hero-worship might be compiled from the contemporary criticism, with which "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches" was received both in England and America. Even after the fever had abated, Mr. Macaulay did not hesitate to pronounce Cromwell* "the greatest prince that ever ruled England;" and, although he does not enter into a full examination of his acts and motives throughout his whole career, yet, in a calm and deliberate review of the historical evidence as to the most important of them all, namely, the share which he had in the trial and execution of the ill-fated king, he declared it "on the whole probable, that he who seemed to lead, was in reality forced to follow, and sacrificed his own judgment and his own inclinations to the wishes of the army."

* History of England, chapter ii. I. 153.

M. Guizot appears to have written the history of Cromwell, if not in utter unconsciousness, at least in complete indifference, both to the received verdict of former historians, and to this marked reaction of later years; but we fear that when Mr. Carlyle next returns to the subject, he will be obliged to add one more to the number of "imbeciles," and to groan once again over "the histories and biographies of this Cromwell, written in shallow sceptical generations, that could not know or conceive of a 'deep-believing man.'"

The early history of Cromwell belongs to the former portion of M. Guizot's work. We shall not dwell upon it. It will be enough to remind the reader, that he was born at Huntingdon, in the last year of the sixteenth century, of a family which may in some sense be called noble, and which, on the maternal side, has been alleged, perhaps by the flatterers of its day of greatness, to have been connected with the royal blood of Stuart; that after a preliminary training in the public school of his native town, he matriculated at sixteen in Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, and probably afterwards entered the Temple as a law-student; that (however Mr. Carlyle may seek to impugn or extenuate the evidence) his career was a wild and dissolute one; that, nevertheless, he married early, at twenty-one, and returned with his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, to his paternal estate, where he lived in retirement till 1627—8, in which year he was returned to parliament for his native town, as also again in the Short Parliament of 1640, and in the Long Parliament which followed soon after the dissolution; and, eventually, in the September of 1642, became a captain of the Parliamentary army, in which he rose by rapid gradations to the chief command.

We must pass over these preliminary details in order to come to that portion of the history which forms the subject of M. Guizot's present volumes. But there is one scene to which we must briefly advert; not only because it is one of the earliest illustrations at once of the profound duplicity of Cromwell, as of the extraordinary power which he was able to exercise even over an unfriendly audience, but still more, because it is one of those in which Carlyle and the other apologists of the Protector have taken care to conceal the most damning evidences of his double-dealing and audacious falsehood. We allude to the cele-

brated *coup-de-main* of Cornet Joyce at Holmby, by which the army got possession of the King's person, and thus obtained their first and most signal advantage against the Parliament. That this step was taken by the advice and instigation of Cromwell, no reasonable man can doubt. Huntingdon alleges that it was advised by him and Ireton. Hollis asserts that it was actually planned at his house; and if we could doubt their testimony, there is still more unquestionable evidence of his complicity in the fact that when Joyce had fully succeeded in the project, his letter announcing the complete success of this step, was addressed to Cromwell. With these facts before the reader's mind, let him study the following graphic description of the scene which occurred in the Parliament when Cromwell was taxed with complicity in this audacious proceeding.

“Further information, however, by exciting indignation, restored some degree of courage to the parliament; they received from the commissioners details of what had taken place at Holmby; they became acquainted with the letter from Joyce to Cromwell; they even thought they knew exactly on what day, at head-quarters, in a conference between some officers and the principal agitators, this audacious *coup-de-main* had been planned and decided upon at Cromwell's instigation. When the lieutenant-general reappeared in the house, their suspicions were given utterance to; he repelled them with vehemence, calling God, angels, men, to witness, that up to that day Joyce was as unknown to him as the light of the sun to the unborn child. None the less for that, the conviction of Holles, Glynn, and Grimstone, remained unshaken, and they sought everywhere for proofs, resolved to take the first opportunity of moving his arrest. One morning, a little before the house met, two officers waited upon Grimstone. ‘Not long since,’ said they, ‘was discussed, in an assembly of officers, whether it would not be well to purge the army, so as to have there only men in whom confidence could be placed; ‘I am sure of the army,’ Cromwell said on the occasion, ‘but there is another body which it is far more urgent to purge, the house of Commons—and the army alone can do this.’” “Will you repeat these words to the house?” asked Grimstone. “We are ready to do so,” answered the officers; and they accompanied him to Westminster. The house was sitting; a debate was begun: “Mr. Speaker,” said Grimstone, as soon as he entered, “I move that this debate be adjourned; I have a much more urgent matter to put to it, a far graver question, a question affecting our liberty, our very existence;” and he forthwith charged Cromwell who was present, with intending to employ the army against the Parliament. “My witnesses are here,” he said; “I move that they be admitted.”

The two officers came, and repeated their statement. They were no sooner withdrawn than Cromwell arose, and, falling on his knees, after a passion of tears, with a vehemence of sobs, words, and gestures that filled the whole assembly with emotions or astonishment, poured forth invocations and fervent prayers, invoking upon his head every curse of God, if any man in the kingdom was more faithful than he to the house. Then, rising, he spoke for more than two hours of the King, the army, of his enemies, of his friends, of himself; touching upon and mixing up all things; humble and audacious, verbose and impassioned, earnestly repeating, again and again, that he was unjustly assailed, compromised without reason; that with the exception of a few men whose eyes were turned towards the land of Egypt, officers and soldiers, all were devoted to him, and easy to keep under his command. In a word, such was his success, that, when he sat down, the ascendancy had altogether gone over to his party, and, "if he had pleased," as Grimstone himself said, thirty years afterwards, "the house would have sent us to the Tower, me and my officers, as calumniators."—Bogue's edition of Guizot, pp. 329-334.

One other passage of the history, prior to the death of Charles, is deserving of notice. We have already recited Mr. Macaulay's very decided expression of opinion as to the sentiments by which Cromwell was influenced on the great question of the king's trial and execution. He acquits him in this matter of all suspicion of having acted in any other way than as the instrument of the vengeance of the army; and represents his complicity in the sentence of death as "a sacrifice of his own judgment and inclinations." Nothing could be more contrary to the whole tenor of the history. He not only concurred cordially and energetically in every step that was taken towards the trial and condemnation of the king; but he exhibited, on more than one occasion, symptoms of personal feeling too evident to be overlooked. He treated with rude indignity the advocates of moderation. He lost no opportunity of driving on the extreme. At the first meetings of the so-called "Court of Justice," Algernon Sydney, then very young, who had been named a member, went to London for the purpose of opposing the trial, although it appeared to have been decided upon. He urged the danger of proceeding to extremities. He expressed a fear that the contemplated step would create in the minds of the people a rooted aversion for a republic, and hinted that it might even provoke a dangerous insurrection. Cromwell resented this; with what can hardly be called other than

personal bitterness. "No one will stir," he impetuously exclaimed; "I tell you *we will cut off his head with the crown upon it.*" Sydney left the Court, never more to return. So again, on occasion of the trial, when the king put forward his celebrated demand, "to be heard in the Painted chamber by the Lords and Commons, on a proposal of greater importance to the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of his subjects than to his own preservation," when Colonel Downs moved the adjournment of the court, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of those around him, declared that "if he died for it, he must do it," Cromwell assailed him with the same ferocious violence.

"Colonel," said he, "are you yourself? What mean you? Can't you be quiet?" "Sir," answered Downs; no, I cannot be quiet;" and immediately rising, he said to the president: "My lord, I am not satisfied to give my consent to this sentence, and have reasons to offer to you against it, and I desire the court may adjourn to hear me and deliberate." "If any one of the court," gravely answered Bradshaw, "be unsatisfied, the court must adjourn;" and they all immediately passed into an adjoining room.

They were no sooner there than Cromwell roughly assailed the colonel, upbraiding him for the difficulty and confusion in which he was involving the court. Downs defended himself with agitation, alleging that perhaps the King's proposals would be satisfactory, that, after all, what they had sought, what they still sought, were good and solid guarantees; that they ought not to refuse, without knowing what they were, those which the king wished to offer; that they owed it to him at least to hear him, and to respect, in his person, the ordinary rules of common justice. Cromwell heard him with rude impatience, moving round and round him, and interrupting him at every word: "At last," said he, "we see what great reason the gentleman had to put such a trouble and disturbance upon us; sure, he doth not know that he hath to do with the hardest hearted man that lives upon the earth. However, it is not fit that the court should be hindered from their duty by one peevish man. The bottom of all this is known; he would fain save his old master; let us, without more ado, go back and do our duty." In vain did Colonel Harvey and some others support the opinion of Downs; the discussion was speedily repressed; in half-an-hour, the court returned to the hall, and Bradshaw declared to the King that they rejected his proposition.—Bogue's edition of Guizot, pp. 425-426.

But the most disgusting evidence of all is his conduct on occasion of signing the death warrant. It was not

alone that he exhibited no sign of pity for fallen greatness, nor of reluctance to shed the blood of one who, with all his faults, had shown himself in his last hours not unworthy of his high station. We can imagine an enthusiastic republican, under the influence of stern duty, carrying out what he felt to be a high and holy purpose with solemn earnestness, or even with fierce fanaticism. But in Cromwell's conduct there is nothing of this. He was the third to sign his name. His manner was marked, not by insensibility, but by actual levity and coarse buffoonery. In rude and clumsy sport he smeared with ink the face of one of his colleagues, Henry Martyn, who returned the unfeeling joke; and when Ingoldsby came into the room, he made a jest of his anticipated reluctance to sign the warrant, and with a coarse asseveration that he should not be allowed to escape, he seized hold of him, forced the pen into his fingers, and actually guided his hand till he had completed his signature!

And this is what Mr. Macaulay describes as sacrificing his own judgment and inclinations! Only conceive with what scathing sarcasm he would have fastened upon such a fact in the life of the unfortunate James II., and with what fearful effect he would have wrought it up into a picture of monstrous cruelty!

However, by far the most interesting portion of M. Guizot's work is that which regards the career of Cromwell, when, after the king's execution, and still more after the final defeat of the royalist party and the "crowning mercy" of Worcester, he rose to what in reality, though not as yet in name, was the supreme power within the realm of England. Such was, in fact, his position at the head of a united and victorious army, thoroughly devoted to his person and his fortunes. The leaders of the Parliament, still nominally supreme, had long been conscious of the weakness of their position, in the presence of a power such as that which they had hitherto sought to use as their instrument, but which they had painfully felt to be, and to know itself to be, their sovereign master. The details of the struggle are narrated with great perspicuity and force by M. Guizot;—the efforts made by the Parliament to reduce the numbers of its formidable antagonist; the discontents and suspicions with which this attempt was regarded by the army; the consummate skill with which Cromwell, while he avoided compromising himself with

either, fermented the jealousies of both; how he yielded to the demands of the Parliament, where yielding practically withdrew nothing from the strength of the army on which he had resolved to rely; how he obtained popularity with the general body of the nation at the expense of both the contending parties; how he secretly kept alive the discontents of the army, and privately abetted their demands, and those of the nation at large, for the speedy dissolution of the Parliament, without, however, unduly urging it forward, until at last the time became ripe for his great master-stroke of policy, as well as daring—the forcible dismissal of that famous assembly. In all this there is hardly anything that is new; but it is narrated by M. Guizot with more vivacity and with better effect than perhaps any other part of the entire history.

With the abrupt and contumelious dismissal of the Long Parliament begins the next great act in the drama of Cromwell's life. Having appointed a State Council of thirteen members, nine military and four civil, (which he notified by a declaration, significantly enough, drawn up in his own name and signed by himself alone), he resolved on summoning an assembly “of known persons, men fearing God, and of approved integrity.” He therefore issued writs in his own name to a hundred and thirty-nine persons; viz., a hundred and twenty-two for England, six for Wales, five for Scotland, and six for Ireland; and it is a circumstance curiously illustrative of the fortune of revolutions, that the name of Fairfax, though suggested and discussed, was formally set aside from the list of members. This was the well-known Bare-bone Parliament. It was the first step in Cromwell's career towards monarchy; but it was not sufficiently pliant for the purposes of its author, and was speedily got rid of. Mr. Carlyle and the other apologists of Cromwell represent the surrender of its powers into the Lord General's hands as voluntary. But M. Guizot is of a very different opinion. As soon as it proved troublesome to him, means were speedily found to abate the nuisance.

“Cromwell was an attentive observer of these disorders and conflicts. It was in the name and with the support of the reforming sectaries that he had expelled the Long Parliament, and assumed possession of the supreme power; and he had very recently combined with them in demanding what they now sought to obtain. But he had quickly perceived that such innovators, though useful

instruments of destruction, were destructive to the very power they had established; and that the classes among whom conservative interests prevailed, were the natural and permanent allies of authority. Besides, he was influenced by no principles or scruples powerful enough to prevent him, when occasion required, from changing his conduct and seeking out other friends. To govern was his sole aim; whoever stood in the way of his attainment of the reins of government, or of his continuance at the head of the State, was his adversary; he had no friends but his agents. The lauded proprietors, the clergy, and the lawyers, had need of him, and were ready to support him if he would defend them: he made an alliance with them, thus completely changing his position, and becoming an aristocrat and conservative instead of a democrat and revolutionist. But he was an able and prudent man, and he knew the art of breaking with old allies only so far as suited his purpose, and of humouring them even when he intended to break with them. He sent for the principal leaders of the sectaries, the Anabaptist preacher, Feake, among others; upbraided them with the blind violence of their opposition which, both at home and abroad, tended only to the advantage of their common enemies, and declared that they would be responsible for all the consequences that might ensue. 'My lord,' said Feake, 'I wish that what you have said, and what I answer, may be recorded in heaven; it is your tampering with the king, and your assuming an exorbitant power, which have made these disorders.' 'When I heard you begin with a record in heaven,' answered Cromwell, 'I did not expect that you would have told such a lie upon earth; but, rest assured, that whenever we shall be harder pressed by the enemy than we have yet been, it will be necessary to begin first with you.' And he dismissed them without further rebuke. But his resolution was taken; and, in his soul, the fate of a Parliament in which such persons had so much influence, was irrevocably determined."—vol. ii., pp. 30-1.

The Lord General himself did not appear in the affair. The party within the assembly devoted to his interests forced on matters to the desired crisis. After a violent debate, in which, though the anti-Cromwell party had been taken by surprise, it had begun to recover itself, and to threaten a serious opposition, Rouse, the Speaker, "suddenly left the chair, and broke up the sitting. The serjeant took up the mace and carried it before him, as he left the hall. About forty members followed him, and they proceeded together towards Whitehall. Thirty or thirty-five members remained in the House, in great indignation and embarrassment, for they were not sufficiently numerous to make a House; but twenty-seven of them,

Harrison among the number, resolved to keep their seats, and proposed to pass the time in prayer. But two officers, Colonel Goffe and Major White, suddenly entered the House, and desired them to withdraw; they answered that they would not do so, unless compelled by force. White called in a file of musketeers; the House was cleared, and sentinels were placed at the doors, in charge of the keys. The Cavaliers, in their ironical narratives of the occurrence, assert that, on entering the House, White said to Harrison: 'What do you here?' 'We are seeking the Lord,' replied Harrison. 'Then,' returned White, 'you may go elsewhere, for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these twelve years.'

Cromwell, however, thought it necessary to put on the appearance of reluctance, and to throw upon themselves the responsibility of the dissolution of the assembly.

"Meanwhile, the Speaker, and the members who had accompanied him, had arrived at Whitehall. They first of all went into a private room, and hurriedly wrote a brief resignation of their power into Cromwell's hands. This they signed, and then demanded an interview with the Lord General. He expressed extreme surprise at their proceeding, declaring that he was not prepared for such an offer, nor able to load himself with so heavy and serious a burden. But Lambert, Sydenham, and the other members insisted; their resolution was taken;—he must accept the restoration of power which he had himself conferred. He yielded at last. The act of abdication was left open for three or four days, for the signatures of those members who had not come to Whitehall; and it soon exhibited eighty names—a majority of the whole assembly. Cromwell had slain the Long Parliament with his own hand; he did not vouchsafe so much honour to the Parliament which he had himself created; a ridiculous act of suicide, and the ridiculous nickname which it derived from one of its most obscure members, Mr. Praisegod Barebone, a leather-seller in the city of London, are the only recollections which this assembly has left in history. And yet, it was deficient neither in honesty nor in patriotism; but it was absolutely wanting in dignity when it allowed its existence to rest on a falsehood, and in good sense when it attempted to reform the whole framework of English society: such a task was infinitely above its strength and capacity. The Barebone Parliament had been intended by Cromwell as an expedient; it disappeared as soon as it attempted to become an independent power."—II., pp. 34-5.

The dissolution of this phantom of representative government naturally consolidated the power of the Lord General. Four days afterwards he was solemnly inaugurated

at Westminster in the office of "Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Ireland, and Scotland." It is said that the original intention of his partizans had been to confer upon him at once the title of King, and that an instrument of that tenor had actually been prepared and drawn up. But the time had not yet come. Whether, M. Guizot adds, from his own instinctive perception of the fitness of circumstances, or from the advice of friends, and perhaps fear of the opposition of the more stern republicans, many of whom were to be found even among his personal confidants, he discountenanced the idea;—content for the time to possess the substance, without the name, of kingly authority, and to watch a more favourable moment for its extension and its perpetuation in his family.

One of the main elements of the strength of his position was the success of his foreign policy, and at no period was it more marked than after the abrupt dismissal of this unlucky assembly. His popularity, too, was increased by the failure of a number of alleged conspiracies against his life; while his ambition was fostered by rumours which had passed into circulation of his intended assumption of the royal dignity. Resolved, however, to bide his opportunity, he ventured upon a second attempt at representative government, the election being in this instance, left comparatively free.

"It was the first time, for fourteen years, that England had been called upon to elect a Parliament, and the electoral system was altogether new; the Constitutional Act had borrowed it almost entirely from the plan which Vane was on the point of getting voted by the Long Parliament, on the very day of its expulsion by Cromwell. There were to be four hundred and sixty members,—four hundred for England and Wales (of whom two hundred and fifty-one were to represent counties, and a hundred and forty-nine, cities and boroughs), thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland; all persons possessing real or personal property to the value of 200*l*, were entitled to vote; no one was eligible for election unless he were a man of acknowledged integrity, fearing God, of unblemished morals, and twenty-one years of age; all persons who had taken part against the Parliament since the 1st of January, 1641, and all Catholics were deprived of the right of voting and of being voted for; this, briefly, was the system. Three parties strongly contested the elections: the adherents of the Protector, the Republicans, and the Presbyterians who made war against the king, but who regretted the abolition of kingship. All the important members of Cromwell's Government, with the exception of Lord Lisle, were

elected ; among the republican leaders, Vane, Ludlow, Sidney, and Hutchinson either did not become candidates, or were rejected ; but Bradshaw, Scott, Haslerig, and others, equally staunch, though less known, were chosen in preference to the Protector's candidates. The Presbyterians were numerous ; they came, not as determined opponents, but as independent and not very friendly neutrals. The same condition was imposed on all, both by the twelfth article of the instrument of Government, and by the form of the writ ordaining their election ; ' That the persons elected shall not have power to alter the Government as it is hereby settled in one single person and a Parliament.' "

The new Parliament met on the 3rd September, 1654, the anniversary of the Protector's memorable victories at Dunbar and Worcester. It soon became apparent, however, that whatever of freedom had been left to the electors by whom the members had been chosen, they themselves were expected to submit without question to the great spirit by which England's destinies were for the time overuled. It is curious to observe how lightly the arbitrary and despotic proceedings of Cromwell towards this and every other nominally free assembly which he convened, are dealt with by those who are most vehement in their denunciations of the tyranny of Charles and of James. The very first symptoms of a disposition on the part of Oliver's new Parliament to discuss the propriety of the existing arrangement, was met by a *coup-d'etat* similar to that under which its unhappy predecessor, the Rump, had ingloriously fallen. One morning, the members, on their arrival at Westminster, found the Parliament House shut, and guarded ; they were ordered by the soldiers on guard to repair to the Painted Chamber, where the Protector would meet them ; and when there assembled, were paralysed by the announcement that the topic which they had ventured to discuss, was one on which no discussion could be tolerated ; that an engagement to this effect would be submitted to each member for signature, and that no one who declined to sign it would be permitted to retain his seat ! And yet, this "purge," sweeping as it may seem, was not sufficient. A hundred and fifty members had been already disposed of at a blow. But even the remnant was too uncompliant for the work which it was required to do ; and, on the 22nd January, 1655, the Protector again presented himself to his lieges,—“I have troubled you,” he told

them at the close of a lengthy harangue, "with a long speech: and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God:—and conclude with this: that I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer, and therefore I do declare unto you, THAT I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT!"

Driven thus to the same expedients which he had himself so often denounced in his ill-fated sovereign, Cromwell next tried the experiment of ruling without a Parliament. It is of this part of his administration that his panegyrists speak with the most enthusiastic admiration. Mr. Macaulay, who is peculiarly sensitive as to the purity of the seats of justice, and who lashes with even more than his characteristic vehemence the corruption of the judicial bench in the ill-starred reign of James II., is eloquent in his commendation of its justice and integrity under the Protectorate. Property, he affirms, was secure under it; even the cavalier, who refrained from disturbing the new settlement, enjoyed in peace whatever the civil troubles had left him. Above all, if we may trust his assurance, "justice was administered between man and man with an exactness and purity not hitherto known." How different M. Guizot's plain statement of facts from these ambitious but vague declamations of Mr. Macaulay!

"Though delivered for a time from plots, he encountered another kind of obstacle, certainly more inconvenient, if not more formidable; he had to overcome attempts at legal resistance. A merchant in the city, named Cony, who had long been on intimate terms with Cromwell, refused the payment of certain custom duties, which, he said, had been illegally levied: as they had been imposed in virtue of an ordinance of the Protector which had not received the sanction of the Parliament. This was on the 4th of November, 1654; on the 6th, Cony was summoned before the Commissioners of Customs; and on the 16th he was condemned to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. On his refusing to pay either the fine or the duties, Cromwell sent for him, 'reminded him of the old kindness and friendship that had been between them, and said that, of all men, he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the Commonwealth.' Cony, in his turn, reminded the Protector of their old principles, and recalled to his memory his own expression in the Long Parliament—'that the subject who submits to an illegal impost is more the enemy of his

country than the tyrant who imposes it.' Cromwell grew angry, and said, 'I have a will as stubborn as yours is, and we will try which of the two will be master : ' and Cony was sent to prison on the 12th of December. He claimed his writ of habeas corpus from the Court of Upper Bench ; and retained three of the most eminent lawyers at the bar—Maynard, Twisden, and Wadham Windham—to plead his cause. They did so, and Maynard in particular is said to have argued the case with such vigour that Cromwell took the alarm ; the argument tended to nothing less than the absolute denial of the legality of his authority, and if Cony had been acquitted, in virtue of the same principles, refuse to pay any taxes at all. On the day after the pleading, Maynard and his two colleagues were sent to the Tower, on the charge of having held language destructive to the existing government. This was an extreme measure, but proved insufficient ; Cony did not give up his point ; he appeared before the Court, unsupported by Counsel, and defended himself so ably that Chief Justice Rolle, feeling embarrassed at his position, and not knowing how to cover the dishonour of the sentence which he was expected to pronounce, deferred judgment and adjourned the case till the next term, leaving Cromwell in anxious suspense, and Cony in prison."—II., p. 138.

One of Mr. Macaulay's worst charges, too, against James, and that on which he dwells with most stinging severity, is his tampering with the judges, compelling them by fear, or seducing them by more disreputable influences, to yield themselves as pliant instruments of his arbitrary and vindictive will. But he cannot find a word of censure for the similar outrages upon justice which disgraced the rule of his adopted hero, Oliver. Not a word for the dismissal of the intrepid Rolle, who refused to try, at his dictation, Penruddock and the Western insurgents ; nor for the appointment of the more manageable Glyn in his stead. Not a word for his deprivation of Thorpe and Newdegate in similar circumstances ; for his coarse and angry assault upon Hale, when he ventured to set aside a packed jury-list, prepared by the sheriff, under the Protector's own orders ; nor for the rude but expressive taunt with which he assailed him, "that he was not fit to be a judge." Not a word, in fine, for the contemptuous disregard of law, privilege, and precedent, with which he flung aside the defence which the judges who tried Cony's case set up from Magna Charta, for their conduct in permitting his counsel the freedom of defence in which they indulged ; "Your Magna Charta," said he, with a vulgar oath, "shall not control my actions, which I know to be

for the safety of the Commonwealth. Who made you judges? Have you any authority to sit there but what I gave you?" Heaven preserve our generation from "purity and exactness" like this, "in the administration of justice!"

Meanwhile, however, Cromwell had been advancing with secret and cautious, but steady steps, towards the great object of his ambition—the establishment of hereditary royalty in his family. In the March of 1654 he had thrown off the mask as far as to establish, in the form of audience accorded to the Dutch ambassadors, a ceremonial hardly less solemn and stately, than that of the great model of kingly etiquette, Versailles—the elevated platform; the triple reverence in approaching the dais and in retiring from the presence; the formal presentation of visitors, solicitous of "the honour to kiss his Highness's hands." The design was suspected not only at home, but in almost every court of Europe. Queen Christina of Sweden, in a most characteristic interview with the English envoy, Whitelock, of which M. Guizot has given a very curious and interesting account (II. 47—8), openly ridiculed Whitelock's protestations to the contrary. "Resolve what you will," said she, with her own abrupt energy, "I believe he resolves to be a king!" M. de Bordeaux, the French ambassador, gave repeated intimations of a similar import to his court; and a still more singular suspicion is recited by M. Guizot from a contemporary MS. diary, preserved in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, (from 1648 to 1657), that "with a view to secure the approbation of all Christendom to his project, he had actually sent two English Catholics to Rome, who were negotiating underhand with His Holiness on his behalf, and endeavouring to persuade him that by giving his consent to the design, he would assuredly bring within the pale of the Church that infinite number of souls who recognize his authority!"

Other subordinate schemes of ambition, too, were passing through his mind. The idea of an alliance with the young King Charles II., was more than once suggested to him, and received by him in a way which plainly showed that it had been a not unfamiliar thought of his own. And whatever may have been his views of this marriage, certain it is, that he prepared the way for the greatness to which he was secretly aspiring, by seeking for his daughters

alliances not unsuited to the rank which he himself hoped eventually to attain. An amusing example of the earnestness and energy with which he pursued this object, as well as of the ready wit and decision which ever marked his character in private as in public life, is given by M. Guizot.

“On the 18th of November, 1657, his daughter Mary married Lord Faulconbridge. Frances, his youngest daughter, had at one time seemed destined to a loftier alliance; Lord Broghill had conceived the idea of marrying her to Charles II., and affecting his restoration on these terms: it is even stated that Charles had signified his willingness to accept such a proposal, and that Lady Dysart (who, according to some authorities, was too intimate a friend of the Protector) had mentioned the matter to the Protectress, who had endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to induce her husband to consent to the match. ‘You are a fool,’ said Cromwell to his wife; ‘Charles Stuart can never forgive me his father’s death, and if he can, he is unworthy of the crown.’ Failing the King of England, it was proposed that the Lady Frances should wed a French prince, the Duke d’Enghien, eldest son of the Prince of Condé; and a sovereignty, won in the Spanish Netherlands, was to be the price of this alliance. But this idea also fell to the ground, and Cromwell was thinking of marrying his daughter to a wealthy gentleman of Gloucestershire, when he was led to believe, by domestic gossip, that one of his own chaplains, Mr. Jeremy White, a young man of pleasing manners; and ‘a top wit of his court,’ was secretly paying his addresses to Lady Frances, who was far from discouraging his attentions. Entering his daughter’s room suddenly one day, the Protector caught White on his knees, kissing the lady’s hand. ‘What is the meaning of this?’ he demanded. ‘May it please your Highness,’ replied White, with great presence of mind, pointing to one of the lady’s maids who happened to be in the room. ‘I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me.’ ‘How now, hussy!’ said Cromwell, to the young woman; ‘why do you refuse the honour Mr. White would do you? He is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such.’ ‘If Mr. White intends me that honour,’ answered the woman, with a very low courtesy, ‘I shall not be against him.’ ‘Say’st thou so, my lass?’ said Cromwell; ‘call Goodwin! this business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room.’ Goodwin, the chaplain, arrived; White had gone too far to recede, and he was married on the spot to the young woman, on whom Cromwell bestowed a fitting portion. A short time afterwards, on the 11th of November, 1657, Lady Frances married Robert Rich, grandson of the Earl of Warwick, and heir to that nobleman’s influence and estates.”

He was careful, nevertheless, not to allow any direct expression of his hopes or wishes to escape him. The project was moved onwards by indirect means, and through the agency of unrecognized, and sometimes of obscure instruments. No man ever possessed, in a higher degree, the power of acquiring or maintaining personal influence over those with whom he came into connection. He knew how to accommodate himself to every temper, and to every variety of character. He could pray with the pious, and ruffle with the roisterer. He could shed tears with a sentimental devotee, and clap a jolly companion on the back. He was equally at his ease conferring on some high point of spirituality with a popular preacher, and smoking tobacco with a troop of old brethren in arms. More than one of his contemporaries and friends relate, that, when he had to deal with vulgar fanatics, with "preachers or popular dreamers," he would send for them to his private apartments, "would enter with them into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door and making them sit down covered by him." He would open his heart to them, as to old and true friends. To them he would profess that he "would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship;" he would assure them, "that he was only anxious to surrender the heavy load lying upon him." He would pray with them; entertain them with edifying discourses, and often carry his pious emotion to downright tears; for he was a very Job Trotter, when weeping was the order of the day. If, on the contrary, he wished to deal with the courtier or soldier class, he would as readily throw himself into their peculiar honour. He could bend himself to the lightest familiarity. He would cap verses with the dilettante, and talk of deeds of arms with the rough soldier. He would call for pipes and tobacco for their entertainment, and would even occasionally indulge in a pipe to keep them company. In all this, he never lost sight of the main object. A few days after Jephson had for the first time brought forward, in the course of a debate in Cromwell's last parliament, the proposal to make him king, Cromwell gently reprov'd him, and expressed his "wonder what he could mean by such a proposition;" and when Jephson protested that he "would always discharge his conscience, even though his opinion should displease," he clapped him on the shoulder, telling him to "get-a-gone for a mad fellow;" but "it soon appeared," says Ludlow,

who relates this story, "with what madness he was possessed; for *he immediately obtained a company for his son, then a scholar at Oxford, and a troop of horse for himself!*"

The financial embarrassments caused by the war with Spain,—one of the most indefensible, perhaps, whether on motives of justice or of policy, in which England was ever plunged by her rulers, forced upon the Protector the unpalatable expedient of calling a Parliament. There can be no doubt, however, that he hoped at the same time to make this Parliament the instrument of his grand ambition; and no pains were spared on his own part and that of his agents to ensure the election of members, on whose pliancy full reliance might be placed. The efforts of James to effect a similar purpose, which Mr. Macaulay has immortalized in his elaborate pages, will almost appear tame beside M. Guizot's more brief and sober narrative of Cromwell's proceedings. And yet, more energetic than James, Cromwell did not stop with the elections. He never liked half measures; and, accordingly, the newly-elected body of members was subjected to a "purge," even before their admission to sit in the house.

"On leaving the Painted Chamber, Cromwell returned to Whitehall, and the members of Parliament proceeded to the hall in which their meetings were held. At the doors they were met by guards who, before admitting them, required each of them to produce his certificate of admission. Most of them did so; but others had no certificate, and were not allowed to enter. Their surprise and indignation were great. What was the certificate thus demanded? By whom, and by what right, was it granted or refused? This was soon explained; the document was in this form:—'These are to certify that _____ is returned by indenture one of the Knights to serve in this present Parliament, for the County of _____, and approved by his Highness's Council. (Signed) Nathaniel Taylor, Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery.' About three hundred members were provided with the certificate; a hundred and two had not received it, and were consequently excluded from the Parliament."

The Parliament was forced to submit, notwithstanding a protest from the excluded members, not only to this arbitrary mutilation, but also to many other indignities and humiliations from its despotic master. At last the moment came for the decisive experiment. By slow but steady steps; by alternate checks and impulses; by reserves and

confidences ; by hints and denials ; the mind of the court, the parliament, the army, and the nation, was prepared for the proposal ; and on the 31st of March, 1657, Widdrington, the speaker of the house, presented to His Highness, the long-projected petition in eighteen articles ; the chief of which were, the restoration of the kingship and of a second House of Parliament, to be denominated the " Other House ; " a new franchise ; a permanent system of revenue, and the establishment of the Protestant religion with " a provision for tender consciences. "

We know few more curiously interesting episodes in the history of intrigue than that which followed this memorable proposition ;—the coquetting of Cromwell with the Parliament and of the Parliament with Cromwell ; the skill and dexterity with which each party, while nominally addressing the other, yet in reality spoke to the nation at large ; the craft with which the Protector intrigued to be forced into compliance, and the awkward and ungracious pride with which the Parliament shrank from forcing its favours on his acceptance ; the manœuvres by which Cromwell tried to disarm the opposition, or silence the scruples of the uncompromising republicans to whose arms he had owed all his greatness ; and the sturdy yet deeply-planned scheme by which they at once forced him to abandon his darling project, and, at the same time deprived him of the merit of the sacrifice.

In no part of the narrative has M. Guizot been more completely successful ; and we deeply regret that the necessities of space compel us to close it abruptly, and to pass over many details on which we had designed to dwell. The last scenes of the Protector's wonderful career are sketched with great power ; nor has any former historian depicted with more graphic force that extraordinary death-bed, the strangest phases of which are wisely disguised under Archbishop Tillotson's epigrammatic phrase, that " religious enthusiasm gained the victory over hypocrisy. "

We shall only add our confident belief that M. Guizot's calm and philosophical estimate of the character of Cromwell and of his career, will do much to restore the equilibrium of historical criticism, in so far as it had been disturbed by the affectation or fanaticism of the Carlyle school. In his pages, Oliver Cromwell appears once more in the light in which contemporary history, through all the smoke and glare inseparable from every picture of

such a time, has truly represented him—a hero in intellect, in practical wisdom, in sagacity,—above all, in iron firmness and energy of will,—but yet in motives, in purposes, in mean ambitions, in the love of crooked and tortuous paths, a man, with all the passions and weaknesses of his kind. That he was capable of great things; that he actually did effect great things; that he was influenced in the main by a sense of public right; that his general policy was directed towards what he believed to be the true interests of his country; all this, and more, it is impossible to deny. But in all this, according to M. Guizot's view, to which we heartily subscribe, he never lost sight of the objects of his selfish ambition. By a strange union of qualities, which are seldom associated together, he was at once impetuous and crafty, adventurous and timid. He never could “go straight forward.” He loved to “plunge into all sorts of indirect, and even contrary paths” (II. p. 313.) He was “influenced by no scruples powerful enough to prevent him, when occasion required, from changing his conduct, and from seeking new friends.” (II. p. 277.) He was ready to ally himself with any instruments where he thought he could use them for his own purposes, and equally ready to fling them aside when that purpose was effected. With all his hatred of popery, he coquetted with Cardinal Mazarin, in order to attain a passing advantage. The apocryphal tale of his secret negotiation with the pope, alluded to above, shows significantly enough what was the opinion which his contemporaries entertained of his duplicity. And we should not do justice to our own feelings if we did not add, that, in our eyes, it is by no means the least revolting among the duplicities which M. Guizot's history reveals, that he was ready to enter into alliance with the Catholic party in Ireland, (I. p. 86.) and to secure them the free exercise of their religion; although, when occasion offered, he persecuted them with a ferocity for which their long history of suffering, all bloody as it is, cannot furnish a parallel.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Translation of the Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri.* By the Rev. E. O'DONNELL. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

The "Divina Commedia" of Dante is the first great poem of which we can say that it is the creation of the Catholic mind. In the Catholic literature of the middle Ages it occupied the position which the Iliad of Homer held with respect to the literature of Greece in the pride of its ancient glory. Much as the personal feelings and the local history of the author, of his beloved Beatrice, and of Florence itself are mixed up in its composition, still it easily bears the palm among all modern poems for its grandeur of conception, its boldness of poetical figure, the richness of its ornament, and above all, for the splendid sublimity with which it lays open to our eyes the mysteries of another world. And yet, with all its simplicity and grandeur, the "Divina Commedia" has peculiar difficulties of its own which stand sadly in the way of every translator. The continual mixture of heathen and Christian philosophy, the utterly incomprehensible character of the description which he gives of Astronomy in his "Purgatory" and "Paradise," the mysterious allegories with which the poem is interspersed throughout, the author's continual allusion to the most illustrious men of his own day in brief and obscure phraseology—all contribute to present innumerable difficulties to the mind and pen of the translator, as Mr. O'Donnell very justly warns us by way of apology. Not that we think an apology is due from one like Mr. O'Donnell, who has been devoting himself for years to the study of his author, and has left untried no means of ascertaining that author's meaning, and of illustrating it from extraneous sources. We have lately seen several translations of Dante; but we are obliged to confess that from the perusal of one and all we have risen up but half satisfied; and perhaps we may feel obliged to confess after all that, like the Iliad, the "Divina Commedia" never can be adequately rendered in English. This, however, does not forbid the making of attempts to

translate the immortal poem of Dante, as is shown by the fact that several such attempts have been made, with great success, quite recently: and among the rest, we must be allowed to plead for Mr. O'Donnell the character of a most careful and accurate translator. Yet he does not adhere so closely to the phrases of the original Italian as to make his book unreadable as an *English* volume. He has happily avoided that fault, which, we regret to say, is so common in Catholic writers of the present day—(doubtless the result of their constant study of books of devotion or dogmatical teaching in the original)—the fault of interlarding their English with Latin words and Latin phraseology, instead of adhering to that good old Anglo-Saxon element, which happily still composes the “better half” of our language.

We should, perhaps, add that owing to the sharp and sometimes indiscriminating censures of various ecclesiastical rulers, with which the *Divina Commedia* abounds, it is not a book to be placed in every young person's hands without a guide. This guide Mr. O'Donnell has supplied in the shape of some excellent foot-notes, illustrative of historical allusions and cotemporary customs. To each canto also he has subjoined its allegorical signification in a few plain and terse lines, just sufficient to enable the reader to realize Dante's religious meaning, which, we fear, is sadly obscure to, and consequently much perverted by, the average run of English readers. We have, therefore, great pleasure in recommending the present volume to our friends.

II.—*Lecture on Jesuitism*, Delivered in the New Hall, Leicester, May 3rd, 1854, By WILLIAM HENRY ANDERDON. Leicester: Fieldwick.

We have before had occasion to notice lectures delivered by Mr. Anderdon. This gentleman has an evident talent for this kind of public speaking, and the lecture before us is an excellent specimen of his style; his train of reasoning is suggestive and interesting. And his perfect command of his subject, of his language, of his temper, and of the attention of his hearers; the keenness of every point that he takes, and the quiet irony that runs through the discourse, cannot fail to produce a strong effect upon the mind.

III.—*The History of the Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary Mother of God.* Translated from the French of M. L'ABBE ORSINI, by the REV. PATRICK POWER. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1854.

We have read and recommended with pleasure many excellent works, tending to encourage and facilitate devotions to our Blessed Lady. The present is on a new plan; it is a rapid summary of the history of the Devotion itself, as it has existed in the Catholic Church from the beginning; showing, in the first place, the universality, the fervour, and the continuance of this devotion over the whole of Christendom; in the second, how invariably it has been connected with all that was beautiful, refined, and good; lastly, that wherever it has been rejected, it has been in company with fundamental doctrines. The Book concludes with a short justification of Catholic veneration for the Mother of our Redeemer: in which the chief novelty is the multitude of the quotations which the author has collected from amongst the most remarkable of our opponents, in justification of our opinions; showing how strongly great minds are attracted to this devotion, even from the depths of error. Perhaps no logic could have been more effectual for the defence of the cause so dear to every Catholic, as that which M. l'Abbé Orsini has here adopted. The weight of the *popular voice* is recognized; its power over the human heart is amongst the traditions of universal humanity; the consent of the wise and good must act powerfully upon every intellect not blinded by pride. The difficulty is to concentrate, and make evident this general consent, as to bring it to bear upon all classes of thinkers. The summary of history which can effect this must be brief, graphic, and forcible; combining broad generalization with something of the interest of narrative. Such a summary, we think, the Abbé Orsini has succeeded in giving. "God created the lily as an ornament to the earth, and for His own pleasure," say the Hebrews. "True religion," our author continues, "crushes not the arts, which are the flowers of intelligence; on the contrary, it cultivates them, and, with a maternal affection, directs their tendency."—p. 161.

Volumes might be written to illustrate the influence which the love of Mary has exercised upon the intellect and arts of Christendom. In so limited a space only a few instances could be touched upon.

“Music,” says M. Orsini, “which, according to the expression of an ancient writer, had produced only monsters, became of itself simple in its strains, under the chaste and inspiring look of the descendant of David.....In the west, when music, long forgotten by nations who scarcely had taste for anything save the clash of lances, awoke suddenly as if from a long sleep, it was under the auspices of Mary. The celebrated canticle to the Mother of God, the *Boga Rodzica* of St. Adalbert, succeeded in Poland, to the wild chant of the Waidclotes. The *cantadors* of Guienne, the *troubadours* of Provence, the minstrels of England and of Neustria, essayed their first notes in honour of the Blessed Virgin. In the classical land of Harmonia, for a long series of years, the Venetian gondolier knew no other ballad than the *Madriale*, a hymn to Mary, and the *cantadino* of the country round Naples played or sung no other when accompanying his guitar.”—p. 16.

Of poets, we are told that “it was a pious belief in the early days of Christianity, that the Blessed Mother of the Redeemer took under her special protection those whose verses were pure; she was, it was then said, ‘*bonorum poetarum magistram.*’”

“In Brittany, where the Gallican bards survived longer than in any other place, the canticles to the Virgin Mary were substituted without a perceptible transition for the terrible and mysterious chants of the Druids. Colloquial ballads, popular odes on religious subjects, were the foundation of the national music of the people, who seemed to awaken with hands joined and on bended knees to an artistic feeling. Each Breton ballad included an invocation to the Virgin, a pious reflection, or a beautiful moral; for, in the Catholic system at that time, everything was so closely linked as to infuse into the minds of the people a high tone of morality, and to give them a taste for that quiet domestic happiness which was within their reach.

The Christmas Carols, those joyous tunes, so full of the sweet remembrances of the Virgin of Bethlehem—the Christmas carols sung at night by torch-light across the country whitened with snow, or by the antique mangers ornamented with evergreens and December flowers, had been the favourite melodies of every province in France, up to the time of that frightful revolution which swept before it so many sweet and beautiful practices of faith. Our Church hymns have impressed music with a noble and serene character, which fills and overpowers the soul, and plunges it into infinity. The Christmas carols, though simple in their arrangement, have given music a colouring altogether Arcadian. It is the bird’s warbling gaily rising towards God, to celebrate the mystery of joy; it is the woody perfume embalming the altar of the youthful Mother of our Redeemer. The sweet and rural poetry set to

those delightful airs, breathes the coolness of the grove, the scent of the white thorn, the sweetness of the beehive, and the bleating of lambs. It is the music of the people, the music of the shepherds, the music of nature itself. In the Christmas carols Mary is always described as a young, beautiful, and artless virgin, who swathes in poor clothes the King of angels, and who is too absorbed in joy to bestow a thought on the poverty of the stable, or on the straw of the cradle; the people, who were inured to privation of every kind, have dwelt not on the indigence, but on the happiness of the Mother of Christ. It is a picture of Claude Lorraine, in which every figure glows. In the *Stabat*, poetically named by the Italians *Il pianto di Maria*,—the wailing of Mary—we do not find the joys of the nativity, but the terrors of Golgotha. It is an agonizing chant, throughout which pervades deep, gloomy dejection, mingled with outpourings which pierce the soul like a thousand swords. It is the poignant recital of the sufferings of a mother, who beholds a son, loved with an only love, expiring before her eyes.”—p. 165.

Mary had her part, though a less apparent one, in architecture, in those days when

“The poor unpretending workmen made *their tour of France*, offering their trowels and hammers wherever the piety of the faithful was erecting churches. The greater number demanded no wages; bread and some vegetables were all that they required, and for a sleeping place, they were content with the bare ground. During two centuries, a hundred thousand men were seen winding their way, at different times, to the cathedral of Strasburg, which Werner, the bishop, dedicated to Mary.
Under the shadow of the sacred walls, slept, too, the innumerable workmen who attended them. From age to age, the Church prayed for and blessed them, in their plain and unpretending stone graves. And this was a recompense worthy the ambition of spiritual men, who rated life at its just value.”—p. 186.

Sculpture received a new impulse from this devotion.

“Sculpture is under many obligations to Mary. Greece has statues in a sitting, erect, and reclining posture; but it could not represent the divine, suppliant posture of our Lady of Dolours; it had not placed innocence and purity on the knees before God; the Bacchantes, or the ancient Silenus, had almost exclusive possession of its beautiful creations of marble. Mary, bearing the infant Jesus in her arms, revealed, both to art and to society, the religion of maternity, and opened to sculpture a career of moral subjects hitherto unknown.”—p. 184.

How impossible would it be to tell the heights to which

painting has attained in the attempt to delineate the glories of Mary, whether as Virgin, as Mother, or as Queen. We admit that this is the flowery and imaginative portion of the argument, which all minds cannot well appreciate, and to which, therefore, we have, perhaps, given undue prominence; that which follows is more important, and might receive great amplification. It consists in showing how completely this devotion is interwoven in the whole Catholic theory, and how invariably where it has been rejected, other doctrines one after the other have been given up. How rightly, therefore, and how fervently should we enforce and practise the devotion to the Mother of Our Lord, and of "His brethren."

IV.—*Probable Origin of the American Indians, with particular reference to that of the Caribs.* A paper read before the Ethnological Society, the 15th of March, 1854, by JAMES KENNEDY, Esq., L.L.B. Late her Britannic Majesty's judge in the *Mixed Court* at Havanna. London: Lumley, 1854.

Mr. Kennedy has had peculiar advantages for prosecuting the study to which he has given so much of his attention. He has been long a resident abroad, a traveller, accustomed to bring the results of his own observations to bear upon his extensive acquired information; and his remarks upon the interesting subject he has undertaken to investigate will be found well worth the attention of the curious, and of the learned reader.

V.—*Catholic Tracts of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.* From the French. By Episcopal Authority. Published for the Council of Direction of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

The present is emphatically the age of cheap literature. We had almost said of cheap "books," but really it is our firm belief that while "books" are bought, it is cheap and popular magazines that are read, and that serials are rapidly gaining the day, and continually increasing their sphere of usefulness. The sects of Protestantism, all more or less opposed to us, are sharp enough to see this fact, and to act accordingly. They are "wiser in their generation than the children of light," and they show their wisdom in their deeds. We suppose that the Catholic world in general has no conception of the indefatigable energy and industry which is brought to bear against our holy faith by

the light literature of this country. What the amount of it must be is a calculation which can scarcely be made from the existing data. One fact, however, we will mention; and that is that the "Religious Tract Society," which is patronised by the "evangelical" section of the Established Church and the less violent parties of dissenters, professes in its published report to have circulated during the course of last year, no less than 150,000 tracts, besides larger publications: and it is well known that a larger proportion of these tracts are controversial, and that their chief object of attack is Popery.

It is clear that the movements of the enemy must be met upon their own ground, if they are to be met at all. A cheap popular literature is probably, if we analyse it, a Protestant creation; but it would be the height of folly on that account to neglect to make use of a weapon which our antagonists know how to wield with such effect.

Now, although several very praiseworthy efforts have been made in several quarters to provide a series of cheap Catholic tracts to counteract the above-mentioned evil, there is no doubt that Catholics, as a body, secure in their position upon the rock of infallible truth, do sadly forget the great necessity which lies upon them, to supply the wants of their poorer brethren in this respect. The "Clifton Tracts," brought out, as they have been, under able editors, and great as the credit which they reflect upon the Brotherhood of St. Vincent of Paul at Clifton, still shoot above the heads of the common herd; and therefore, while they do great and extensive good among thoughtful shopkeepers and clear, strong-headed, argument-loving mechanics, and among a class considerably above them in position, fail to meet the great want of the age—food for the poor man's soul and mind.

Now in France this same society has for some time past been engaged in a laudable endeavour to spread among the masses a cheap and humble literature based on sound Catholic principles, and inculcating every duty in its relation to the Catholic Faith. An effort has been made to reproduce in an English form a part of the Tracts which the Society has published in France with such success: and the Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul at Belfast has taken the effort under its especial care and protection. It has brought out seven little monthly tracts, at the low price of one halfpenny apiece, and will distribute

advancement in the higher stages of the Christian life can be placed before persons, equally persuasive with the arguments to be learned from the *sight* of what others, perhaps equally weak and frail as ourselves, have been enabled to perform by the all-powerful grace of God. The "Catholic Biography" is an attempt to set before the eyes of the Catholic public certain examples of practical excellence, which have appeared in these latter days upon the stage of Christian life; and we can safely recommend it to the attentive perusal of our Catholic friends, and especially of the young. The narratives contained in this volume, as we have already stated, are taken from every state and condition of life: we have here set before us the religious inmates of both monasteries and convents; we have the lives of gentlemen, tradesmen, merchants, lawyers, widows and matrons; and we scarcely know which to single out as the most edifying to the devout reader. To the end of the volume are subjoined a few pages discussing "the means of perfection, and the interior life," by Surin,—pages which give us a key to the entire volume, as furnishing us with the rule, in accordance with which, each follower of Christ, whose biography is given here, was careful to shape his or her spiritual life. The "biographies" are each of them told in a simple and homely style, in just such a way, we think, as will serve to make them great favourites with thinking persons of the middle classes. We feel sure that with these persons,—scarcely able as they are to appreciate the weight of abstract arguments, or to follow out the deductions of reasoning,—the plain practical method of teaching by example will be the most cogent argument, after all, in favour of leading a devout and holy life, according to their state; and we shall be much mistaken if the *practical, historical, matter of fact* pages of this little work, will not be found to bear fruit in due season, and to be blessed to the conversion of souls to the *one true Faith, which can nourish and rear Saints.*

VIII.—*The Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, vol. II. London, Dublin, and Derby; Richardson and Son, 1854.

This volume concludes the wonderful life of this seraphic and most glorious Saint. Particular care seems to have been bestowed upon this Life, and the notes by which it is enriched are full of learning and piety. The book is a treat-

sure of edification, which cannot be too highly recommended for the reading of all Christians.

IX.—*The Odes of Horace*; translated into Unrhymed Metres, with Introductions and Notes. By F. W. NEWMAN, Professor of Latin, University College, London. London: Chapman, 1853.

This is the work of a complete scholar: and we think that its value will be appreciated by scholars chiefly, rather than by the “*unlearned* English reader,” for whom the author has intended it. Those who know the Odes of Horace in the original will feel pleasure in observing the learning and ingenuity which the translator has brought to bear upon difficulties, in our opinion insuperable. Such readers as these will appreciate the skill with which Mr. Newman has laboured to render the Latin language, literally, *bodily*, as it were, into ours, so different as it is in spirit and construction. A scholar would also do justice to the treatise upon the Latin and English metres, which Mr. Newman has prefixed to the work, and to the valuable notes with which he has enriched it. But the *unlearned* reader will require, as the result of all this skill and trouble, poems such as a poet might have written; easy, harmonious, *readable*,—and we do not think this result has been attained.

Setting aside all theories as to the duties of a translator in general, or the difficulties of his task in this instance, these little poems, as they stand, are crabbed, ungraceful, and obscure; faithful they certainly are, but the subtle beauties of Horace have evaporated. We are sadly afraid we might deserve Mr. Newman’s indignant charge against the English public,—of finding Dickens and Thackeray more amusing.

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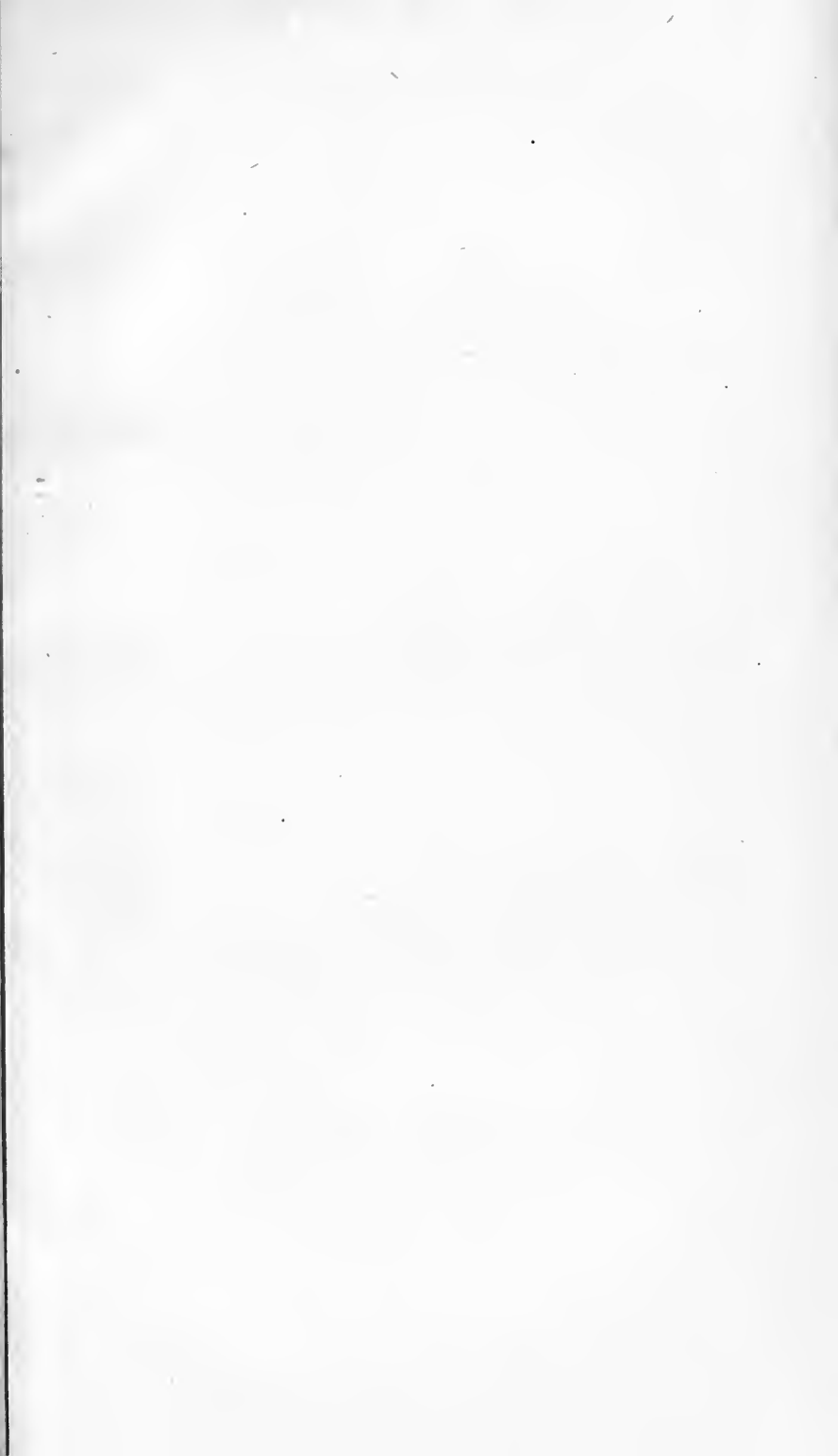
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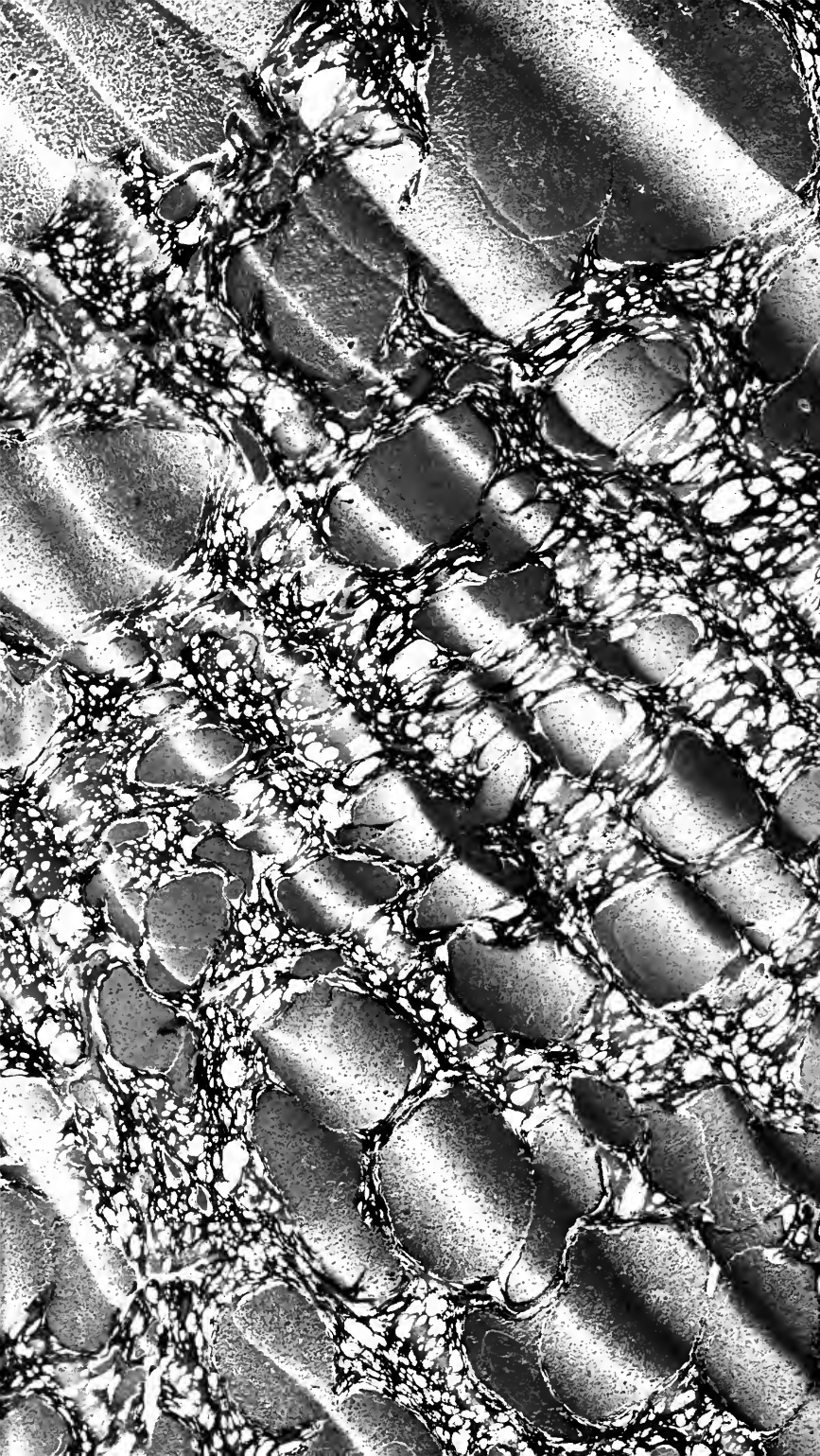
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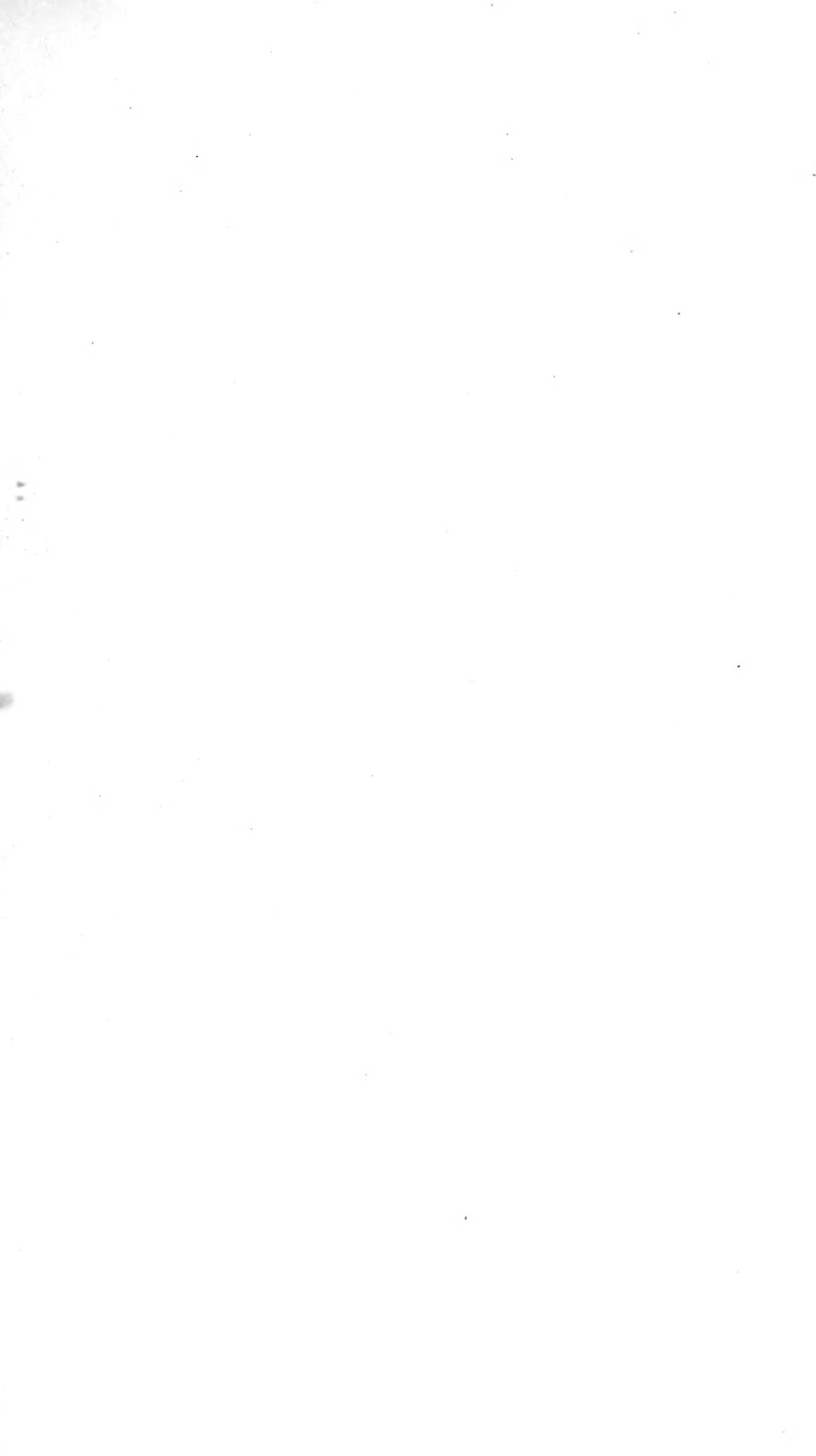
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