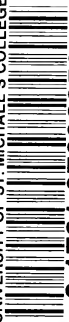
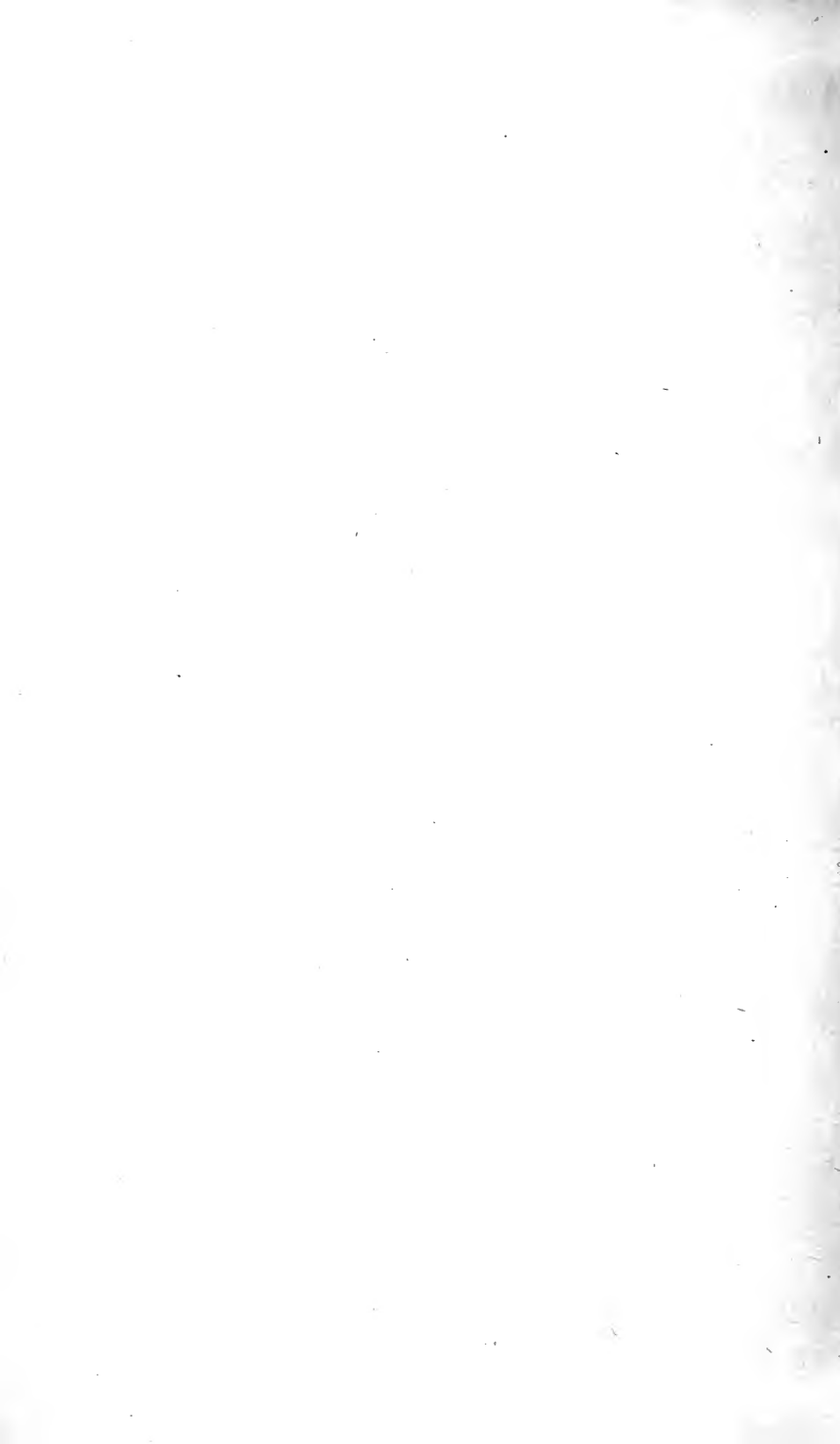
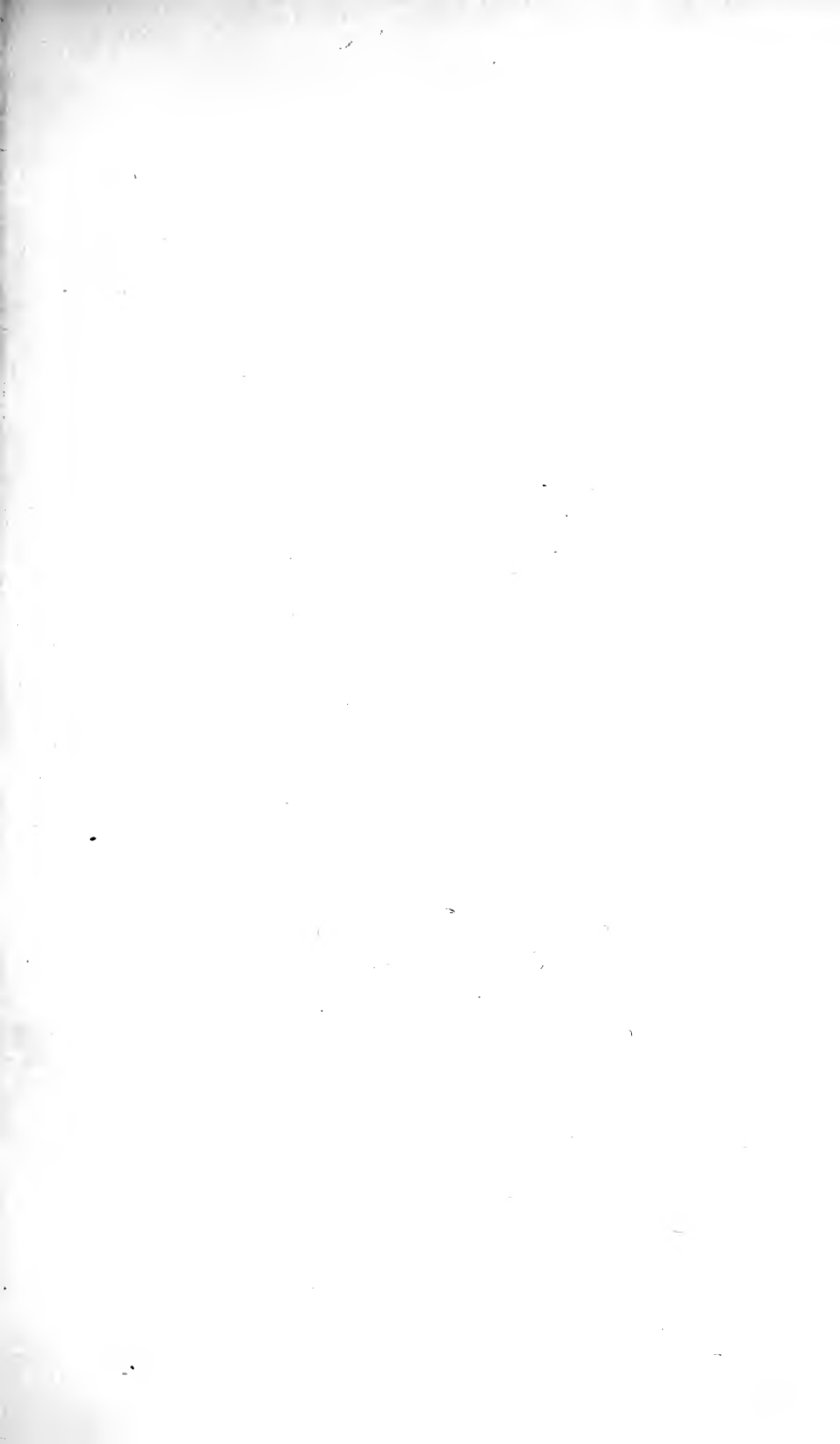


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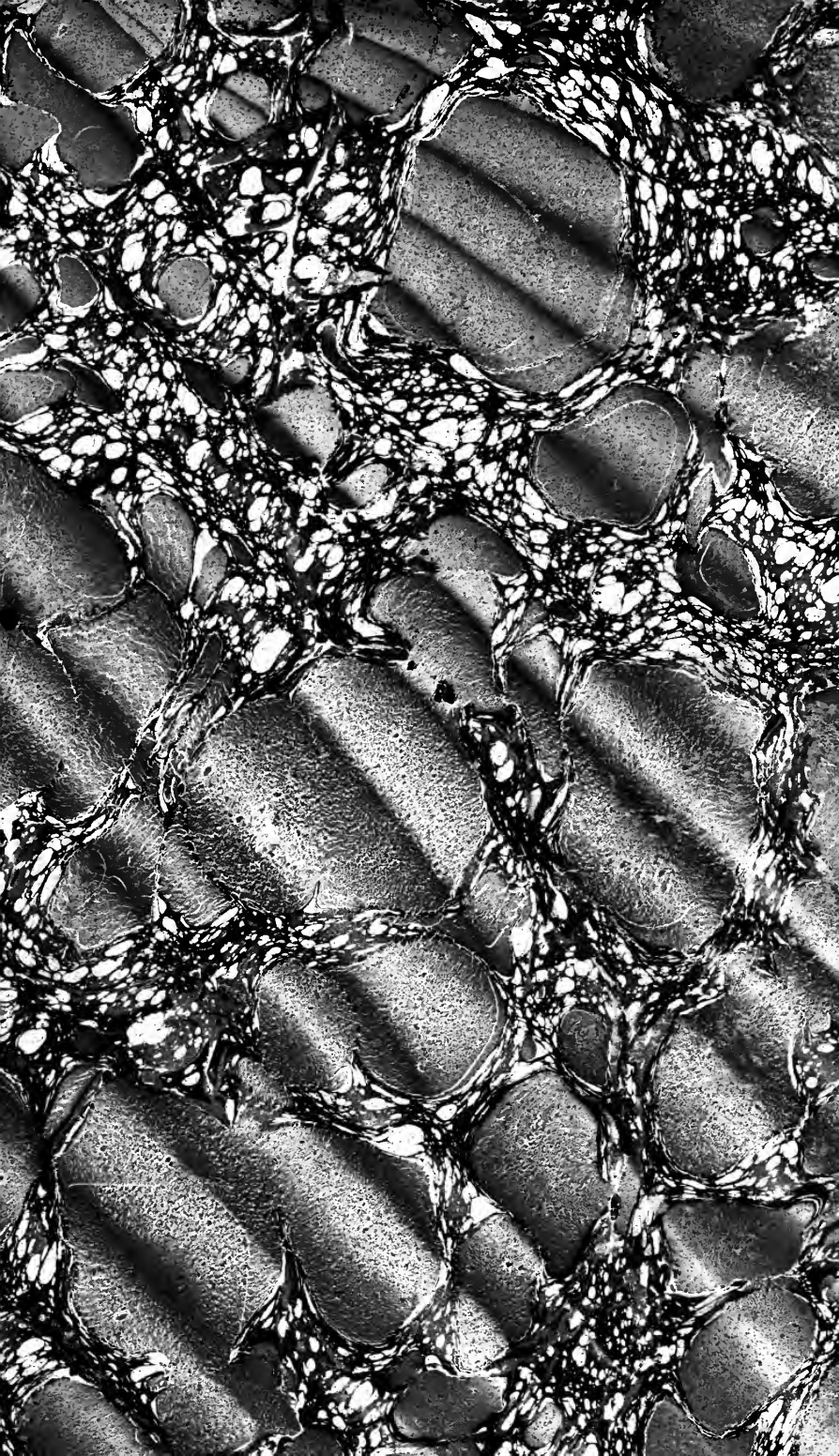


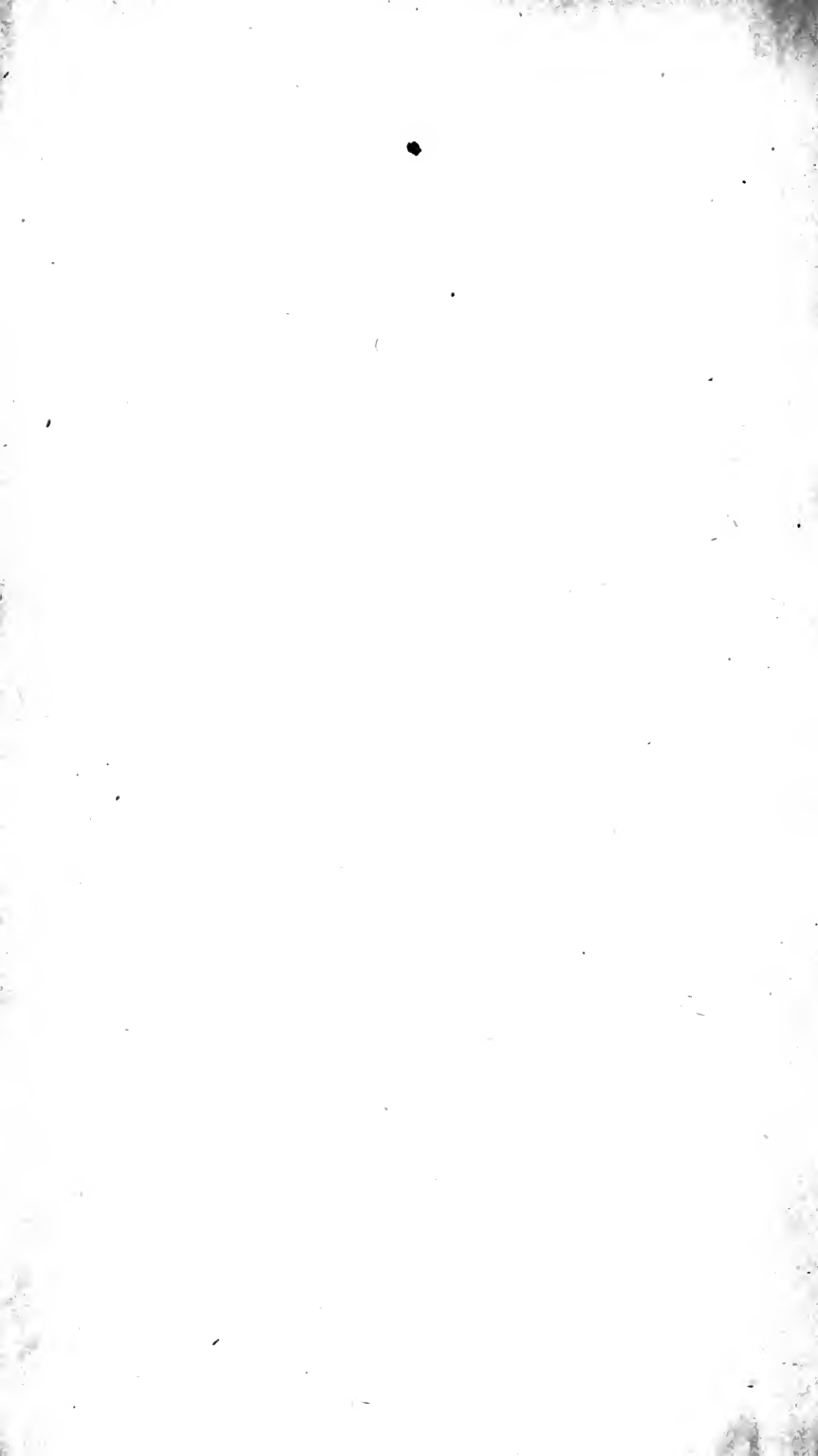
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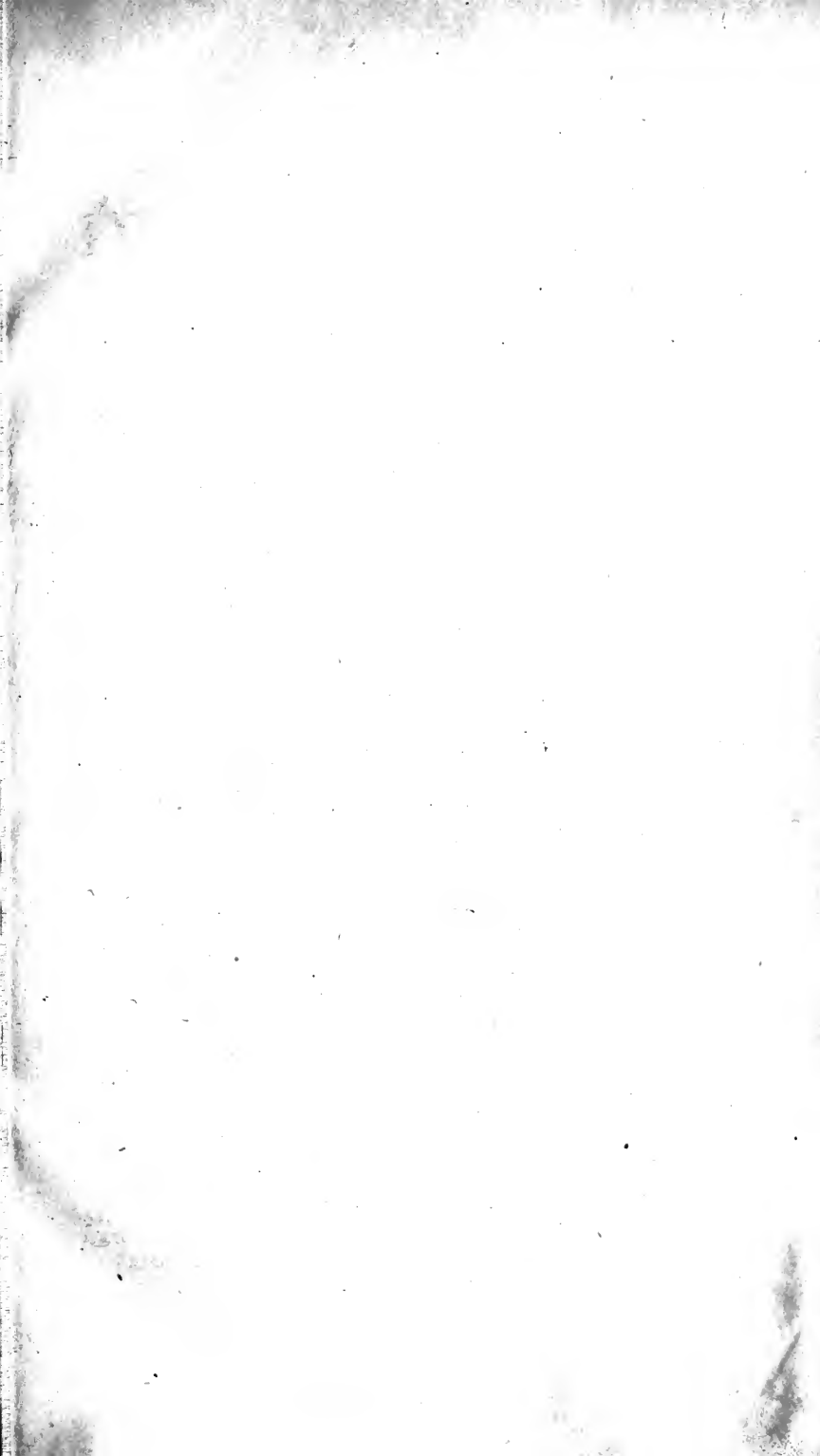


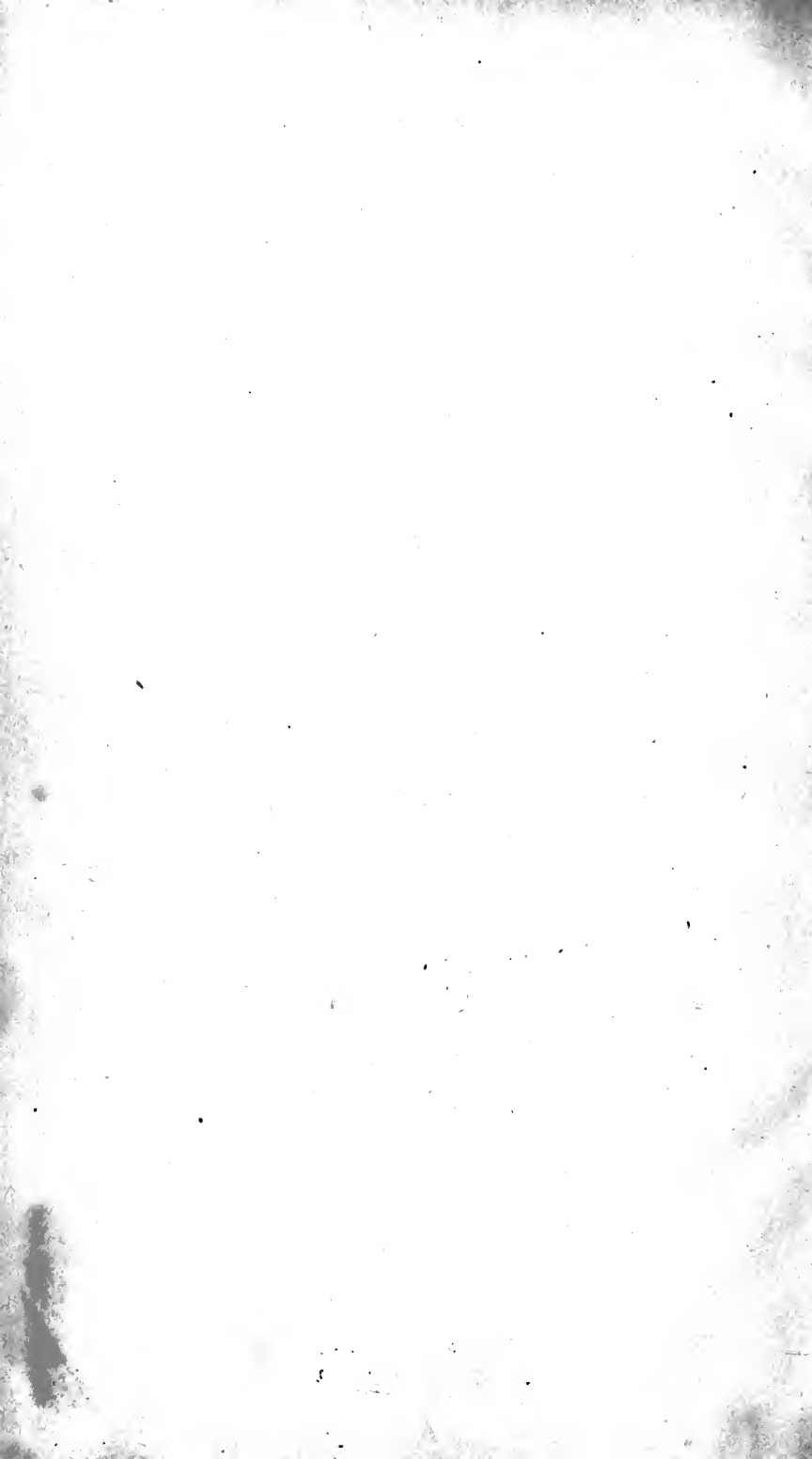


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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

VOL. XXXVII.

PUBLISHED IN

SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1854.



LONDON:
THOMAS RICHARDSON AND SON,

172, FLEET STREET; 9, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN; AND DERBY.
MARSH & BEATTIE, EDINBURGH; HUGH MARGEY, GLASGOW.
NEW YORK: EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER, 151, FULTON STREET.
PARIS: 9, RUE DU COQ, NEAR THE LOUVRE, STASSIN AND XAVIER.

1854.

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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1854.

ART I.—*Memoirs of the Whig Party during my Time.* By HENRY RICHARD LORD HOLLAND. Edited by his Son, HENRY EDWARD LORD HOLLAND. Vol. I. London: Longman, 1852. Vol. II. 1854.

THE memory of the late Lord Holland is dear to us as the nephew of Fox and the zealous and consistent advocate of the rights of Catholics in the most bigoted times and under the most disheartening circumstances. He was, moreover, a kind and generous man, bountiful to a proverb, and if not the sun, at least the centre around which wit and genius revolved in Holland House. Often and truly have many who were poor in this world's gifts, but rich in genius, said to him with grateful hearts:

O et præsidium et talce decus meum.

Though neither a great statesman nor a great orator, he was not despicable in either capacity, and especially in the latter he possessed not a little of the traditionary quickness of his house in "reply." In "statement" his oratory never surpassed and sometimes scarcely attained to mediocrity. Nor should it be forgotten that the exiled of other lands who had often nothing but their misfortunes to recommend them, found in Lord Holland a generous protector. It is not strange, therefore, that we have felt great reluctance in expressing our opinion of Lord Holland's works when truth and justice alike compel us to condemn them. In this spirit we allowed his "Foreign Reminiscences" to pass without notice, because that volume contained many things of which we could not have spoken but with the strongest reprobation. But now that this second work, in

which all the errors and mistakes which *characterized* his first, have been repeated, has been published, and we are, in a manner, forced to notice his writings, we feel it to be a duty to express our scorn and contempt for the attack, which his Reminiscences contains, on the conjugal fidelity of the beautiful, affectionate, and unfortunate Queen of Louis XVI. Like all other weak mortals, she had her failings, but there never was a more affectionate and devoted wife than Marie Antoinette. Chastity is to a woman what charity is to a Christian—without it all other virtues are worthless. However beautiful or accomplished a woman may be, without spotless purity she is but a whitened sepulchre, fair to the eye of the body, but filled within with all kinds of filth and abominations.

“’Tis chastity, my brother, chastity:
 She that has that is clad in complete steel,
 And like a quiver’d nymph, with arrows keen,
 May trace huge forests and unharbour’d heaths,
 Infamous hills, and sandy perilous wilds,
 When, through the sacred rays of chastity,
 No savage fierce, bandit, or mountaineer
 Will dare to soil her virgin purity.
 Yea, there where very desolation dwells
 By grotts and caverns shagged with horrid shades,
 She may pass on with unblemished majesty.
 No goblin, or smart fairy of the mine,
 Hath hurtful power o’er true virginity.
 So dear to heaven is saintly chastity,
 That when a soul is found sincerely so,
 A thousand liveried angels lackey her,
 Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,
 And in clear dream and solemn vision,
 Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,
 Till oft converse with heavenly habitants
 Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,
 The unpolluted temple of the mind,
 And turns it by degrees to the soul’s essence,
 Till all be made immortal: but when lust
 By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,
 But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,
 Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
 The soul grows clotted by contagion,
 Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
 The divine property of her first being.’”*

* Comus.

Lord Holland's views are all so grovelling, so purely and entirely of this world, that even on the subject of woman's chastity he cannot raise his standard of morality above the conventionalities of Belgravia. Like theft among the Lacedemonians, the sin of impurity does not consist in the act, but in being detected. And in this miserable spirit he mocks with excuses the unhappy queen whom he falsely charges with the abominable crime of conjugal infidelity. There is but one defence for a woman charged with such a crime, and that is innocence, complete and perfect. If Lord Holland's foul aspersion of Marie Antoinette—that she was guilty of criminal intercourse with the Duc de Coigny and others—could be sustained by one particle of evidence, his palliation of "*her amours*" on the ground that they were not *numerous, scandalous, or degrading*, is not one whit better than that of the lady, who excused herself for having given birth to an illegitimate child, because it was "a very little one." What must be the standard of morality, according to which a married lady, a mother, and a queen, may be guilty of amours with various men which are neither *scandalous* nor *degrading*? Our ideas are entirely different. Right and wrong, vice and virtue, do not depend on the publicity of the action, or on the opinions of the fashionable world. An adulteress is degraded—is utterly and irretrievably degraded, no matter how seldom or how secretly she may have sinned. She is degraded in the eyes of all who know her to have been guilty of that damning sin, in the eyes of her very paramour, and, above all, in her own eyes, and in the eyes of Almighty God. All the waters of the ocean could not wash out that damning spot from her guilty and degraded soul. From God she may obtain mercy and pardon, but amongst virtuous women she has voluntarily made herself an outcast and a reprobate. Not only charity, but common justice requires that such a charge should not be preferred, but on the gravest and clearest evidence. A man who is not malicious, as Lord Holland certainly was not, must have an enormous appetite for scandal, when he employs himself in making history out of the infamous gossip of servants' tea parties. In all conversation which has for its object the gibbetting of our neighbour's character, the proportion which truth bears to falsehood may be about as one to a thousand. When, therefore, the puzzling problem is presented to us, on such authority, of a noble lady and a queen,

who was withal an attached wife and an affectionate mother, occasionally indulging in criminal intercourse with her own lacqueys, we can only answer in the words of Dr. Parr: "'Tis a lie, Sir :'" and that is the solution of it.

Lord Holland appears to have believed that a perfectly virtuous woman was almost as great a curiosity as a black swan. Certainly his Memoirs do not contain a detailed notice of any woman, subject or sovereign, whom he does not represent as a bawd. The Queens of France, of Spain, and of Naples, the Princess of Wales, Lady Herbert, Lady Jersey, Mrs. Fitzherbert, and Lady Hamilton, are the chief representatives of the gentler sex in these volumes, and they, if we are to believe his Lordship, only differ in the degree and multiplicity of their amours, for they were all unchaste women. Strange to say, with an obliquity of intellect which is hard to be conceived, Lord Holland, whilst asserting on no evidence at all that Marie Antoinette had given herself up to several lovers, and that Charles IV. of Spain circulated his wife's infidelities about his own court, which the noble author thinks *too dramatic* to be true, expresses himself doubtfully as to the existence of an amour between Nelson and Lady Hamilton.* Had she been a queen, his Lordship would not have been troubled by any such scruples.

The volumes of Lord Holland which we have under review may be said to be entirely occupied, by two subjects—female morality and politics. We do not mean that Lord Holland has made any such division of his labours, or that the former of these topics was even prominently before his own mind when he commenced his Memoirs, but simply that they constitute the most prominent features of his writings. Indeed, the ladies are introduced on account of their connexion with politics, politicians, or warriors, but at the same time it is not less true that the tone of Lord Holland's work is calculated not to lessen, but utterly to destroy our faith in woman's virtue, especially if she has the misfortune to be a noble or a royal lady. Following the division of topics which we have just indicated, we shall, first, examine how far Lord Holland's opinions and statements are to be trusted on the subject of female chastity ; and secondly, we shall briefly indicate his sentiments

* Lord Holland's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 30. "His (Nelson's) amour with Lady Hamilton (if amour it was)," &c.

regarding politics and the character of some of the leading politicians with whom he was acquainted in his early days, when George the Third was king.

The surest way to test the truthfulness of Lord Holland's opinions and statements on the subject of female chastity, will be to select a case with which he professes to be thoroughly acquainted, and the minutest circumstances of which he fully details. His account of the connection which existed between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the Prince of Wales will furnish us with such a case, and will at the same time afford us an opportunity of vindicating the fame of that lady from Lord Holland's unjust aspersions. On this subject he betrays an amount of credulity and ignorance, as well as a looseness of morality, which we did not expect to find in the writings of a nobleman, who was not deficient in abilities, in information, or in the polished conventionalities which, even in the absence of higher and better motives, make spotless purity the highest charm of woman. Sentiment is substituted for religion, and though it be a very bad substitute, yet is it infinitely better than to leave the intercourse between the sexes to be regulated, as amongst the Mahommedans, by beastly passion alone. Lord Holland has so intertwined in his narrative the union of the Prince of Wales with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and his subsequent marriage with the Princess of Brunswick, that in order to allow him to tell his own story, it will be in some measure necessary to give a few details regarding the latter event, which will be found to be not uninteresting in themselves, independently of their connection with the subject which we are about to investigate.

"It was," he says, "about this period, 1787, that the Prince was induced, by the artifices of his father, and against the better judgment of Mr. Fox, to promise parliament never again to incur any debts. When fresh debts had accumulated, this incautious promise seemed a bar to all further application to Parliament. Mr. Pitt so considered, or affected so to consider it; and either the Court or the ministry, possibly the latter only, suggested a marriage as an indispensable condition to the only effectual removal of the Prince's embarrassments, viz., an augmentation of his revenue. Among the unmarried Princesses who awaited his choice, the Princess of Brunswick, and the Princess of Mecklenburg, afterwards Queen of Prussia, were the two who most naturally occurred, if they were not actually submitted to him by the Government. In beauty and youth the latter had infinitely the advantage. Perhaps those very qualities were objections in the mind of the adviser, by whose sug-

gestions he was at that time most guided. Lady Jersey is supposed to have promoted a *public* and legal marriage as a security against any renewal of intimacy with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a purpose which it did not accomplish. And she may have decided his preference of a woman of indelicate manners, indifferent character, and not very inviting appearance, from a hope that disgust with a wife would secure constancy to a mistress. All well-informed persons agree that the preference of the Princess of Brunswick was the choice of Lady Jersey and Lady Harcourt; though some suppose that a reluctance to gratify his mother by raising a second Princess of Mecklenburgh to the throne of England, was an ingredient in that determination."

When the Prince told his father that he had chosen for his bride the daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, George the Third replied that to his own niece he could make no objection, but recommended his son to make more circumstantial enquiries about her person and manners.

"The Prince pretended to have done so, though his brothers, or indeed, *every young* English traveller in Germany would, if asked, have told him that even in that country, where they were not at that period very nice about female delicacy, the character of his intended bride was exceedingly loose.....Unfavourable reports of the person, and yet more of the manners and character of the destined bride, came pouring in from Germany after the articles were signed, and it was too late to recede. The latter circumstance had allayed all Lady Jersey's disposition to soften or contradict; and it is most probable that she encouraged and exaggerated such gossip and scandal. If the Prince gave any credit to them, all that he afterwards heard or suspected must have appeared a natural sequel to his bride's early life."—Vol. ii. pp. 142—147.

No amount of scoundrelism will render a tale improbable which relates to George IV., who was undoubtedly the most immoral man in Europe. But still we cannot believe that at the time when he selected the Princess of Brunswick for his bride he believed her to be an immoral character, and thus to have deliberately resolved to propagate his race through a notoriously infamous woman. That he was averse to the fulfilment of his marriage contract, is, however certain, and we have the testimony of the Duke of Bedford, one of the two unmarried dukes who supported the prince at the ceremony, that he was so drunk as to be scarcely able to be kept from falling:—"And few days had passed before many coarse and indelicate strictures on the person and behaviour of his bride

were currently reported, as coming directly from the Prince, in every society in London."

This hatred of the prince for his wife never changed, and when, in 1820, on the death of Napoleon, some officious courtier ran up to him (then George IV.) to apprise him of the news in these words, "Sir, your greatest enemy is dead!" he exclaimed, "Is she, by God?"—Vol. ii. pp. 147—9.

We have no intention of polluting our pages by a detail of the various charges which were preferred at different times against the consort of George IV. The first of these was made as early as 1806 by Sir J. and Lady Douglas, the latter of whom according to Lord Holland was supposed to be actuated by motives of jealousy. They made affidavits, charging the Princess of Wales with adultery, with pregnancy during her separation from her husband, and with the concealment of the delivery of a male child. This occurred during the ministry of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, and before the former, then Prime Minister, the Prince laid the affidavits impugning the conduct of his wife. With the consent and probably at the suggestion of the king, Lord Chancellor Erskine, Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer, who were all cabinet ministers were named Lords Commissioners to investigate the charges against Her Royal Highness. Mr. Fox declined being named of the commission. The Solicitor General Sir Samuel Romilly was the legal adviser of the commissioners. The report made by the commissioners is matter of history. It acquits the princess of the main charge, and there it should have stopped. It does not do so, but dwells on levities and indiscretions for which there could be no legal punishment. The commissioners very properly investigated these things so far as they could be considered evidence of the criminal actions of which the princess was accused, but judges who acquitted her of all legal guilt had no right to advert on indiscretions which constituted no crime in the eye of the law. The answer of the princess was ably written by Lord Eldon, Mr. Percival and Mr. Plomer. It prayed that Her Royal Highness might be restored to the comfort and honour of His Majesty's presence. The king referred the matter to his ministers the majority of whom adhered to "the Report." Mr. Grenville and Lord Sidmouth thought justly that after so broad an

acquittal of all criminal charge, the commissioners had exceeded their power in speaking of levities at all, and they consequently wished the cabinet to decline giving any opinion whatever. Ultimately, however, the whole cabinet, except Mr. Wyndham, acquiesced in the decision of the majority, which was to the effect that the king should admit the Princess of Wales to his presence; but should convey to Her Royal Highness, through the Lord Chancellor, a strong admonition to be in future more circumspect and discreet in her behaviour. Lord Holland says that when this decision was arrived at, the Chancellor made some remarks unfit to be recorded, but which very forcibly exemplified the strange incidents of public life by which it became the duty of Lord Erskine to reprimand a lady of high station for levity and indecorum.

We are not sorry to turn from the Princess of Wales, who, in spite of the injustice and the persecutions to which she was subjected, must ever be regarded as a "very worthless woman," to Mrs. Fitzherbert, against whom the breath of calumny never uttered a charge except in the matter of her connexion with the Prince of Wales. On the nature of this connexion her character must depend. She must have believed herself to be either his wife or his concubine. In the latter hypothesis she was an infamous character. The law of God does not allow a woman to prostitute herself to a prince any more than to a peasant. If Mrs. Fitzherbert was not married, and validly married in her own opinion, and according to the teaching of the Catholic Church of which she was a member, she was a habitual fornicator and adulteress. These are coarse expressions, but when the deformity of vice is attempted to be covered over by silken phrases—when men are told that a married lady may indulge in amours, which, provided they be not too numerous, are neither scandalous nor degrading—we conceive ourselves to be justified in consulting, in the selection of our language, plainness and directness of speech even at the expense of conventional elegance.

Mrs. Fitzherbert's case involves these two questions: First, Did any marriage ceremony take place between that lady and the Prince of Wales? Secondly, was that ceremony sufficient to constitute a valid marriage according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church of which Mrs. Fitzherbert was a member? We do not pause to consider

the prudence or propriety on Mrs. Fitzherbert's part, of contracting a clandestine and illegal marriage with the heir to the throne. Fox in a letter to the prince tells him truly that to marry Mrs. Fitzherbert would be a desperate measure. "In the first place," he says, "you are aware that a marriage with a Catholic throws the prince contracting such marriage out of the succession to the crown. The king not feeling for you as a father, ought the Duke of York professedly his favourite, and likely to be married agreeably to the king's wishes; the nation full of its old prejudices against Catholics, and justly dreading all disputes about succession; in all these circumstances your enemies might take such advantage as I shudder to think of....If there should be children from the marriage, I need not say how much the uneasiness as well of yourselves as of the nation, must be aggravated." Fox urges many other arguments to dissuade the prince from this marriage, which must have occurred to his own mind even without a prompter: but the more powerful the reasons are, the more desperate the risk which the prince incurred, so much the more indisputably would a marriage which the whole Catholic Church must regard as valid, establish the determination of the lady to surrender herself to no man but her wedded husband.

First, that a marriage ceremony did take place between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the prince cannot be doubted. Lord Holland says, that the manifest repugnance of the prince to marry the Duchess of Brunswick "was attributed by many at the time to remorse at the recollection of a similar ceremony which had passed between him and Mrs. Fitzherbert. The subsequent conduct of all parties, and the treatment of Mrs. Fitzherbert by all branches of the royal family, even when separated from the prince, have long since confirmed the suspicion. In truth, that there was such a ceremony is *now* (I transcribe my narrative in 1836) not matter of conjecture or inference, but of history. Documents proving it (long in the possession of Mrs. Fitzherbert's family) have been since June 1833, actually deposited by agreement between the executors of George IV. (the Duke of Wellington and Sir William Knighton), and the nominees of Mrs. Fitzherbert (Lord Albemarle and Lord Stourton), at Coutts's bank, in a sealed box bearing this superscription, 'The property of the Earl of Albemarle; but not to be opened by him

without apprizing the Duke of Wellington,' or words to that purport."—Vol. II. pp. 123, 124.

The circumstances which induced the prince to hazard the desperate step of marrying Mrs. Fitzherbert, are thus explained by Lord Holland, (pp. 125-6.) "In 1784, or early in 1785, the Prince of Wales was so deeply enamoured of Mrs. Fitzherbert, that he was ready to make *any sacrifice* to obtain from that lady favours which she, either from indifference or scruple, persisted in refusing him. He did not conceal his passion, nor *his despair* at her leaving England for the Continent. Mrs. Fox, then Mrs. Armitstead, who was living at St. Anns, has repeatedly assured me that he came down thither more than once to converse with her and Mrs. Fox on the subject, that he *cried by the hour*, that he testified the sincerity and violence of his passion and his *despair*, by the most extravagant expressions and actions, *rolling on the floor, striking his forehead, tearing his hair, falling into hysterics, and swearing that he would abandon the country, forego the crown, sell his jewels and plate, and scrape together a competence to fly with the object of his affections to America.*" This passage proves indisputably that Mrs. Fitzherbert would not consent to become the mistress of the Prince, and that she was determined to have no intimate connection with him, unless he made her his wife. It also proves that he was not blind to the desperate consequences which might follow from such a marriage.

Mrs. Fitzherbert had fled from his importunities to the continent, from which she was induced to return in the autumn or winter of 1785. That the inducement held out to her was a promise of marriage, on the part of the prince, there can be no doubt. Mr. Fox wrote to the prince on the 10th December, 1785, the letter from which we have already quoted a few sentences. In this letter he says, "I was told just before I left town yesterday, that Mrs. Fitzherbert had arrived, and if I had heard only this, I should have felt the most unfeigned joy at an event which I knew would contribute so much to your Royal Highness's satisfaction, but I was told at the same time, that from a variety of circumstances which had been observed and put together, there was reason to suppose that you were going to take the very desperate step, (pardon the expression,) of marrying her at this moment." He then pro-

ceeds, as we have already seen, to point out to the prince the consequences which might result from this marriage. The prince replied in a letter dated Carlton House, Sunday morning, two o'clock, December 11th, 1785. "My dear Charles, your letter of last night afforded me more true satisfaction than I can find words to express, as it is an additional proof to me, (which I assure you I did not want,) of your having that true regard and affection for me, which it is not only the wish, but the ambition of my life, to merit. Make yourself easy, my dear friend. Believe me, the world will now soon be convinced that there not only is, but never was, any grounds for those reports, which of late have been so malevolently circulated." It is almost, if not quite, certain that the marriage had actually taken place at this time, for it is manifest that the lady would not yield to the wishes of the prince on any other condition, and the prince having made up his mind to this desperate measure, was not the man to delay the gratification of his appetites. Mrs. Fitzherbert certainly did not live with the prince until after the marriage ceremony had been performed, had she done so, no ceremony would ever have taken place. We shall have to dwell on this point somewhat more fully a little further on; but whether the marriage had actually taken place when the prince wrote to Fox, or was merely decided on, the conduct of his Royal Highness was equally false and treacherous.

Second, was the ceremony which took place between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the Prince of Wales sufficient to constitute a valid marriage in the opinion of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, of which she was a member? Those who believe that the lady was actuated by conscientious and virtuous motives in insisting on the ceremony, will have no difficulty in answering the question, and Mr. Fox bears the highest testimony to her character in his letter to the prince. "With respect to Mrs. Fitzherbert," he says, "she is a person with whom I have scarcely the honour of being acquainted, but I hear from *everybody* that her character is irreproachable, and her manners most amiable." Yet he declares in the very next paragraph, "If I were Mrs. Fitzherbert's father or brother, I would advise her not by any means to agree to it, (the marriage,) and to prefer any *other species* of connection with you, to one leading to so

much misery and mischief." We regret that Lord Holland has thought proper to publish this letter of his uncle, for it certainly leaves a stain on the memory of that great man. Mr. Fox had a perfect right to dissuade the prince from marrying Mrs. Fitzherbert, nay, he was bound to do this as a sincere friend. But he should have urged him to break off all connection with the lady, whom everybody declared to be of a most irreproachable character. It was base and cowardly to advise the prince to make her his mistress instead of his wife. That Mr. Fox would have advised his *own* daughter or sister to become any man's prostitute we cannot for a moment believe. The more exalted the rank of her paramour, the more flagrantly conspicuous would be her shame, and every honour conferred upon her would be an additional disgrace, because it would be the wages of her degradation. Mr. Fox has, indeed, a due regard for public decorum. "If there was no marriage," he tells the prince, "I conclude your intercourse would be carried on as it ought, in so private a way," &c. The amour should not be carried on in a way which would be scandalous or disgraceful, but according to the gentlemanly and decorous rules of decalogue breaking. This is the way in which a sister or daughter should be prostituted. In fact, the intercourse between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert was at first carried on in the most secret way, and yet Lord Holland tells us, "It was soon obvious to the world that, for some reason or other, the lady was no longer so obdurate as her lover had hitherto represented and found her." But such was the faith entertained of the lady's virtue, that it was universally believed that a marriage ceremony must have taken place between her and the prince. The homely sarcasm of old Sedley, whose daughter Catherine was the mistress of James the Second, is far more noble, putting aside morality altogether, than the cold-blooded advice of the great Whig statesman. The sturdy old man did not prefer that species of connection for his daughter, nor did he feel grateful to the king for having ennobled her. On the contrary, he allied himself with the king's son-in-law—William, Prince of Orange—when he invaded England, alleging, as his reason, that as the king had made his daughter a countess, the least he could do was to help to make James's daughter a queen.

In accordance with the sentiments of his uncle, which

unluckily for his fame his nephew has recorded, Lord Holland asserts that it was *not at Mrs. Fitzherbert's request, but at the prince's own repeated and earnest solicitations that any ceremony was resorted to.* According to his lordship, the lady was quite of Mr. Fox's opinion, that any other species of connection would have been preferable to marriage. She decidedly preferred respectable concubinage.

"The exact date and circumstances," Lord Holland informs us, "of that ceremony between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the prince have not come to my knowledge, but the account given of some part of the transaction by Mrs. Fitzherbert herself to a friend of mine, a man of strict veracity, is curious, and I believe correct. It was at the prince's own earnest and repeated solicitations, not at Mrs. Fitzherbert's request, that any ceremony was resorted to. She knew it to be invalid in law; she thought it nonsense, and told the prince so. In proof that such had been her uniform opinion, she adduced a very striking circumstance, namely, that no ceremony by a Roman Catholic priest took place at all, the most obvious method of allaying her scruples, had she had any. I believe therefore, she spoke with truth when she frankly owned 'that she had given herself up to him, exacted no conditions, trusted to his honour, and set no value on the ceremony, *which he insisted on being solemnized.*' It was performed by an English clergyman. A certificate was signed by him, and attested by two witnesses, both, I believe, Catholic gentlemen, and one a near relation to Mrs. Fitzherbert, Mr. Errington. Mrs. Fitzherbert, from mixed feelings of fear and generosity, tore off the names of the witnesses at some subsequent period, lest they should by possibility be involved in any legal penalties for being present at an illegal transaction. Before George the Fourth's accession to the throne, or, as I believe, his appointment to the Regency, the clergyman was dead, (for it was not, as often surmised, Parson Johnes, who married them,) and his name, I understand, remains annexed to the instrument purporting to be a register or certificate of the ceremony. If any corroboration were necessary to substantiate facts of which such proofs are extant, and to which there are so many unexceptionable testimonies, it would be found in the behaviour of Mrs. Fitzherbert on many subsequent occasions, and in the uniform respect and attention which she has received from nearly all the branches of the royal family."—Vol. ii. pp. 140-2.

What a pity it is that Lord Holland has concealed the name of his friend, who was a man of such strict veracity. But at all events, as in the case of the queen of France, Lord Holland has rendered himself accountable by circu-

lating and vouching for the veracity of the story. So then Mrs. Fitzherbert fled to the continent not to avoid the dishonourable proposals of the prince, but because that good moral man insisted on the performance of a ceremony which *he knew* might endanger his accession to the throne. Lord Holland himself states, on the authority of Mrs. Fox, that the prince "did not conceal his passion, nor his despair, at Mrs. Fitzherbert's leaving England for the continent;" that he fell into hysterics, tore out his hair, swearing that he would forego the crown, sell his jewels and plate, and fly to America with the object of his affections. All this was caused, not as ordinary mortals would imagine, because the lady was inexorable, quite the contrary, it was the prince who inexorably insisted on the performance of a marriage ceremony. We confess ourselves to be so stolid as not to see any meaning in these wild ravings of the prince, in which he indulged when Mrs. Fitzherbert went to the continent, except by supposing that the lady had refused all intimate connection with him unless he made her his wife, and that in order to gain her favours he declared his determination to marry her, to give up the crown, and fly to America. The prince was most probably, or rather certainly, insincere in these declarations, but this has nothing to do with the matter, for they indisputably prove that the only condition on which the lady would consent to live with him was that he would make her his wife.

At length Mrs. Fitzherbert returned from the Continent, having "exacted no conditions," and resolved to give herself up to the prince. But that innocent lamb, who had never brought disgrace and ruin upon a woman, *earnestly solicited* her to allow a marriage ceremony to be resorted to. She would not consent, for she declared "that she had given herself up to him, exacted no conditions, and that she trusted to his honour." We do not in the least understand what she meant by trusting to his honour, but at all events the prince knew better than to trust to it himself. He "repeated his solicitations;" she declared that she "set no value on the ceremony." But he proved the more obstinate, and finally *insisted* on having the marriage *solemnized*. We are, moreover, required to believe that this is Mrs. Fitzherbert's own account of her marriage with the prince. That is, that a lady, whom everybody declared to be of a most irreproach-

able character, voluntarily, and without any cause whatever, strove to prove herself a strumpet. If Lord Holland had taken the trouble to render his own narrative, even in a slight degree, consistent with itself, he would never have inserted this foul and malignant calumny of his strictly veracious friend.

Every one knows that Mr. Fox distinctly denied in parliament that any marriage had ever taken place between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the prince. This denial was not founded, mainly, on the letter which we have already quoted, for Mr. Fox distinctly assured the house that he made the statement "on the word of a prince." He would not have dared to have made this statement in his place in parliament, if he had not been assured at the time that no marriage had taken place, and we willingly acquit him of all complicity in propagating a story which he knew to be false. He was quite incapable of such conduct. It was universally known that Mrs. Fitzherbert had gone to the Continent to avoid being persecuted by the dishonourable proposals of the prince, and we learn from Mr. Fox's letter, as well as from other sources, that the moment her return to England was known, it was believed that she had been induced to come back because his Royal Highness had promised to make her his wife. The prince, therefore, must have known, even without Mr. Fox's warning to this effect, that his marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert would be suspected, and consequently that it would be inquired into in parliament. Will any one, therefore, believe that it was the prince, and not the lady, who insisted on the performance of a ceremony, the existence of which he denied to his most trusted friends, and which with almost unparalleled falsehood, baseness, and meanness, he caused the most eminent amongst them to deny, on the very first occasion that it was mentioned in parliament?

What was Mrs. Fitzherbert's conduct as soon as she heard that her marriage with the prince had been denied by Mr. Fox? Was it that of a scarlet woman, who "had given herself up to him, exacted no conditions, trusted to his honour, and set no value on the ceremony which he insisted on having solemnized?" The story, as we have always heard it, is substantially proved by Lord Holland's narrative. He is not an affecting writer, and has therefore very properly omitted the affecting scene which *must*

have occurred between the prince and his wife on their first meeting after this heart-breaking occurrence, which was calculated at once to impeach her honour and to destroy her happiness, became known to her. She would not believe those who told her that the prince had authorized Fox to deny his marriage, until she was shown the newspaper in which his speech was reported. The moment she read it she fell into violent hysterics, from which she was with difficulty recovered. The prince found her in a flood of tears, and when he inquired the cause she pointed to the newspaper. He assured her that he had never denied his marriage, that he had never authorized Mr. Fox to make such a statement. The lady told him that there was but one way in which the injury she had received could be repaired, and her honour vindicated, and this was to have the statement of Mr. Fox publicly contradicted in parliament on the authority of the prince. He endeavoured in vain to appease her anger by any other means; in vain he represented to her the ruin which must ensue if he publicly avowed his marriage with a Catholic. But the lady was inexorable; she insisted that the contradiction should be *immediately* and *publicly* made, and the prince was obliged to comply. She would never afterwards *speak* to Fox, or *remain* in the same company with him. Here is Lord Holland's account of this occurrence.

“There is the strongest reason to suppose that neither the above correspondence, (between the Prince and Mr. Fox,) nor the subsequent assurances, (that no marriage had taken place between the former and Mrs. Fitzherbert,) in whatever terms they were conveyed, were ever acknowledged to Mrs. Fitzherbert by the prince.” [He would not have had much difficulty in avowing these things to a woman “who had given herself up to him without exacting any conditions, and who set no value on the ceremony. But to proceed with our extract.] “That lady, by *her conduct on the denial*, and in her subsequent *account* of those transactions, has uniformly implied, first, that a ceremony had taken place previous to Mr. Fox's denial, in which she is indisputably correct; and, secondly, that Mr. Fox had no authority to deny the marriage in the way he did, which false impression she no doubt received from the prince, who was naturally though weakly ashamed to avow his own disregard of truth, by insinuating a want of accuracy, if not of veracity in another. Mrs. Fitzherbert at the time did not disguise her resentment. She would not speak to Mr. Fox. There can be little doubt that *she urged* the prince to take some step to procure a *pub-*

lic disavowal of a declaration which he knew to be false, and had, according to all probability, *assured her was not authorized by him.* The prince certainly not only abstained from remonstrance or correction of the statement to Mr. Fox himself, but never ventured to hint to him that he had exceeded his authority, or even been indiscreet in alleging it. But he spoke in some such strain to others; and he actually sent the *next morning* for Mr. (afterwards Earl) Grey, who was then in high favour with him, and after much preamble, and pacing in a hurried manner about the room, exclaimed, 'Charles,' (he always so-called Mr. Fox,) 'certainly went too far last night. You, my dear Grey, shall explain it;' and then in *distinct terms*, (as Grey has, since the prince's death, assured me,) though with *prodigious agitation*, *owned* that a ceremony had taken place. Mr. Grey observed that Mr. Fox must unquestionably suppose that he had authority for *all* he said, and that if there had been any mistake, it could only be rectified by his Royal Highness speaking to Mr. Fox himself, and setting him right on such matters as had been misunderstood between them. 'No other person can,' he added, 'be employed without questioning Mr. Fox's veracity, which nobody, I presume, is prepared to do. This answer *chagrined, disappointed, and agitated the prince exceedingly, and after some exclamations* of annoyance he threw himself on a sofa, muttering, 'Well, then, Sheridan must say something.'"

Accordingly Sheridan *did express the displeasure of the prince* at what had passed in parliament. All the circumstances here related manifestly prove that Mrs. Fitzherbert never surrendered herself to the prince until she became his wedded wife. The prince did not dare to tell his wife that he had authorized any person to deny the marriage, which he would readily have done, when a great purpose was to be gained, had the lady looked upon the ceremony as a sham, to the performance of which she had not only been indifferent but opposed. And it was for denying the existence of this farce, "which she thought to be nonsense, and *told the prince so,*" on which "she *frankly owned*" *afterwards* that she "set no value," because she had given herself up to the prince without exacting any conditions; that the lady would never afterwards speak to Mr. Fox, or remain in the same company with him. It was the denial of this same farce which caused the prince to send for Grey on the very morning after it had been uttered, for the purpose of having it publicly explained away—it was this which wrung from the prince, though with prodigious agitation, an acknowledgment of his marriage—it was this that caused him to be "chagrined,

disappointed, and agitated exceedingly," when Grey refused to make the explanation, and which finally caused him to send Sheridan to the House of Commons publicly to express his displeasure with what had been stated by Fox. No one can doubt that Fox had the authority of the prince for making the statement, and it certainly, therefore, was not the prince, but the lady, who insisted on its immediate and public contradiction. Yet she *uniformly*, and therefore at this very time she thought the ceremony nonsense, *told the prince so*, and adduced a very striking circumstance to her friends to prove that such had been her uniform opinion. We repeat his lordship's words, (vol. ii. p. 141,) "she thought it (the ceremony) nonsense, and told the prince so. In proof that such had been her uniform opinion she adduced a very striking circumstance." It is equally strange that Mrs. Fitzherbert should have been the only one of those who were deeply interested in this matter, who looked upon the ceremony as of no value. Yet according to Lord Holland this must be the case, for the violent agitation of the prince proves that he looked upon it as a very serious affair—so serious, indeed, that "his manifest repugnance to the marriage with the Princess of Brunswick was attributed by many persons, at the time, to remorse, at the recollection of a similar ceremony which had passed between him and Mrs. Fitzherbert"—and his lordship proves the existence of a marriage contract between this lady and the heir to the crown, "by the subsequent conduct of *all* parties, and the treatment of Mrs. Fitzherbert by *all* branches of the royal family, even *when separated* from the prince."* He again repeats this argument, which he justly considers of great importance, declaring that if any corroboration were necessary to prove the existence of a marriage contract, "it would be found in the *behaviour* of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and in the *uniform respect* which she has received from nearly all the branches of the royal family."† There is no other instance of a mistress, and least of all, the mistress of a royal personage, having been treated with "uniform respect" by all the branches of the royal family, after she had been separated from her paramour. They, in fact, manifested towards her, without the

* Vol. ii. p. 123.

† Ibid. p. 142.

smallest abatement, the treatment which is due only to a virtuous wife, whilst, according to Lord Holland, and his strictly veracious friend, she not only believed herself to be an abandoned harlot, but adduced a striking circumstance to prove to others that such was her proper character. So much for Lord Holland's credulity, when the reputation of a lady of "unimpeachable character" is at stake. The "striking circumstance" will give us an insight into his morality, and will, at the same time, show us the amount of information he possessed on a subject which he disposed of so dogmatically.

The striking circumstance is, "That no ceremony by a Roman Catholic priest took place at all, the most obvious method of allaying her scruples, had she had any."* The meaning of this is, that Mrs. Fitzherbert felt no scruple in living with a man who was not her husband. No one has ever doubted that Mrs. Fitzherbert was a sincere Catholic—that she believed the teaching of the Catholic Church, which declares all fornication to be a sin, hateful and abominable in the eyes of the God of purity and holiness. The meanest and most degraded member of the Catholic Church could not, without abandoning her teaching, embrace the hateful doctrine which Lord Holland attributes to a lady of unimpeachable character. Such opinions make us thank God that we have a church to guide us.

Had Lord Holland not been as ignorant of the teaching of the Catholic Church regarding matrimony, as on the subject of immorality, he would not have been guilty of the absurdity of making Mrs. Fitzherbert adduce, to prove her own infamy, a striking circumstance, which it is simply impossible that she could have used for the purpose mentioned by his lordship. The marriage of Mrs. Fitzherbert with the prince did not take place in a hurried manner. They both had ample time for deliberation. There were present at the ceremony two Catholic gentlemen, one of whom, Mr. Errington, was a near relation of Mrs. Fitzherbert's. The lady herself was intelligent and well-informed in everything which concerned her religious profession. It is, therefore, utterly impossible that she should have been ignorant of a matter which so nearly concerned herself, as the validity of her own marriage. Now the presence of a Catholic priest neither is at present,

* *Ibid.* p. 141.

nor was it *ever* necessary in England, to render the marriage contract valid, when it takes place between a Protestant and a Catholic. This is no mystery, but a plain fact, which is known to every priest without exception, and to every Catholic layman of the smallest information. It is a matter which has never changed—at no period was the presence of a priest required when one of the contracting parties was a Protestant. How, therefore, could such a false impression have got into Mrs. Fitzherbert's head? But suppose it had got there, it is utterly impossible that she should herself have contracted marriage with a Protestant without previously inquiring whether the presence of a priest was or was not necessary for the validity of such contract. Lord Holland and his strictly veracious informant require us to believe not only this, but, moreover, that after her marriage, and to the end of her life, she continued to live in ignorance of its validity, although every one of her Catholic friends could have removed this false impression. Besides, she regularly attended to the duties prescribed by her Church, and when she went to confession, as it was notorious that she was living with the prince, she must have accused herself of this crime if she had not believed herself to be his wife. Had she so accused herself, she would have been at once informed that her marriage was as valid as if it had been celebrated by the Pope, with the approbation of the king, and that no power on earth could annul it.

The performance, therefore, of the ceremony by a Roman Catholic priest would not have been the most obvious method of allaying Mrs. Fitzherbert's scruples, because it was quite unnecessary, and this being the case, there were many obvious and most cogent reasons to prevent a priest from being present. Any Catholic priest performing the ceremony would, considering the temper of the nation at that time, not only have subjected himself, in case of discovery, to severe punishment, but might, moreover, have caused a general persecution of his co-religionists. Besides, Mrs. Fitzherbert and her friends would justly consider that the royal family and the nation would be more inclined to regard her contract with the prince as a real marriage, and that, in case she had issue, there would be more chance of its being afterwards legalized, if the celebrant were a minister of the established Church, than if he were (to use the language of Protestants) a Popish priest. The truth is,

that the marriage of the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert, which took place before a minister of the Church of England and two witnesses, was not only valid in the estimation of that lady, and of every member of the Catholic Church, but moreover, the mode of its celebration was the very best and most prudent which could have been adopted under the circumstances.

Lord Holland, indeed, says that Mrs. Fitzherbert knew the marriage to be invalid in law, and thought it nonsense. Begging his Lordship's pardon, the conclusion is not logical. The Catholic Church does not regard the marriage contract as a mere temporal thing, but as a spiritual sacrament. The State has a right to regulate the temporal effects of marriage, but she cannot institute impediments which would render the contract invalid in conscience and before God. If the State could impose conditions, the non-observance of which would render the subsequent contract void, she could force all her subjects either not to marry, or to adopt her faith. Thus a person might be required to profess the thirty-nine articles in England, and transubstantiation in France, before he could contract a valid marriage. This is no imaginary case; for until a very recent period, two Catholics could not intermarry in England except in a Protestant church, before a Protestant minister, and according to the Anglican ritual. We presume that no person, either Protestant or Catholic, is prepared to acknowledge in the State a disjunctive power of imposing its own faith on its subjects, or of preventing them from marrying validly. It would be rather inconvenient to admit that the Sultan possessed the right, if he pleased to exercise it, of imposing the Koran on his numerous Christian subjects, before they could contract a valid marriage. In the very next sentence after that which contains the statement at the head of this paragraph, Lord Holland asserts that "the most obvious method of allaying Mrs. Fitzherbert's scruples, would have been to have had the marriage ceremony performed by a Roman Catholic priest," but surely his Lordship cannot have imagined that it would have rendered the contract more legal had it been celebrated by a Catholic priest instead of a Protestant parson.

The doctrine of the Catholic Church regarding marriage is plain and simple. She teaches that the marriage contract itself, which is perfected by the words, "I take thee

for my wife," on the part of the man, and "I take thee for my husband," on the part of the woman, or by any other words or signs by which the contracting parties manifest their intention of taking each other for man and wife, is a sacrament. Protestants are apt to fall into the mistake that it is the priest who administers the sacrament to the wedded pair. He does no such thing. As far as the validity of the contract and of the sacrament is concerned, even when the contracting parties are both Catholics, the priest need not utter a word. His presence is only necessary as a *witness* to the contract between the parties. Up to the time of the Council of Trent, the presence of a priest was not necessary for the validity of either the contract or the sacrament. Nor was it by any means to confer the sacrament that the Council enacted a law requiring his presence. The law was made in consequence of the abuses which arose from clandestine marriages, because an immoral person who had married without witnesses could afterwards deny the existence of the contract, and wed another publicly, and in the face of the Church. To prevent this abuse, the Council of Trent enacted that the parish priest of one of the contracting parties, or some other priest deputed by him, and two other witnesses should, *for the future* (in posterum) be present (præsente parochi) at the marriage contract. The presence of the two other witnesses is required exactly in the same way as that of the parish priest. The law is simply that marriage should be contracted in the presence of three witnesses, one of whom should necessarily be the parish priest. Nor was this law made at once obligatory even on Catholics. By an ordinance of the Council it was not to have effect in *any parish* until thirty days after it had been published there. This allowed a large discretion to each bishop with regard to the time of its publication in his diocese, and, in fact, it is not long since it has been introduced into England. But it does not, and never did apply to any marriage in these countries, where one of the parties is not a Catholic. Neither in such marriages which are called mixed, nor in those contracted between parties, neither of which belong to the Catholic Church, is the presence of any priest required for the validity of either the contract or the sacrament. It is not even necessary that the contracting parties should *know* that marriage is a sacrament. The sacrament exists wherever Christians marry as Christ intended; and if they be pro-

perly disposed they will receive grace to live happily together, and to bring up their children in the fear and love of God. Mrs. Fitzherbert's marriage was, therefore, perfectly valid, both as a contract and as a sacrament, in the eyes of the whole Catholic Church, and to imagine that she alone, of all those who professed the same faith, should look upon it as invalid, is monstrously absurd. Neither the Pope nor the whole Church could have annulled it, nor allowed her to marry another. But it was illegal! Why, so was the whole Catholic religion at the same period. It was, not very long ago, unlawful to celebrate Mass, but the sacrifice was not therefore invalidly offered. To say that Mrs. Fitzherbert considered the marriage ceremony to be nonsense because it was illegal, at a time when the penal code against Catholics—and especially that part of it which regarded matrimony—was in full operation, is about as reasonable as to prove that she did not believe in transubstantiation, because the law declared it to be damnable and idolatrous.

We now take up our second topic which relates to Lord Holland's opinion on politics and politicians. As far as regards domestic policy Lord Holland's views were large, liberal, and benevolent. He was at all times, and under all circumstances, a strenuous advocate for the emancipation of the white slave at home as well as of the black slave in the colonies, and by his votes and speeches contributed in no small or mean degree to the accomplishment of these great objects.

Lord Holland's foreign politics seem to have consisted, in a great degree, in hatred of all constituted authority, and in a consequent desire to see it overthrown. He appears to have embraced in all its integrity, the opinion which is so popular amongst Englishmen, that self-government is not only the most perfect in theory, but moreover that it is practically the best at all times and in all countries. It is really ludicrous to hear us congratulating each other on "the progress of free institutions" when the people (this is the name we give them so long as they confine themselves to foreign countries, if they did the same thing amongst ourselves we would call them rebels and hang them) take up arms against constituted authority. We forget that our own government can be called popular only in a very limited sense, the great majority being governed by the will of others. "You make a lady," a

foreigner once remarked to ourselves when we were dis-canting on the horrors of despotism, "one of the three estates of the realm, and yet you would not allow her to vote at a borough election." We are ardent in our admiration of free institutions, we wish to see them introduced wherever the people are fit for them; but we do not think that they are suited to all times and circumstances. The first essential requisite for self-government is that the people should know how to subdue themselves, otherwise the majority will inevitably persecute the minority, and the legislation will not be for the common weal, but for the purpose of exalting one faction and destroying another. We would prefer the despotism (if it must be so called) of Louis XVI. to the popular government of the revolutionary clubs which succeeded to it. We have no notion of entering into a discussion on the merits of the different forms of government, but shall content ourselves with saying that each of them may be good or bad—that the selection greatly depends on circumstances, and that the form of government most in accordance with the temper and circumstances of the people for whom it is intended is the best, because under it they will be most happy.

We make these remarks for the purpose of protesting against Lord Holland's estimate of those eminent statesmen who considered themselves bound at all hazards to *oppose* the principles and progress of that French Revolution which has rendered the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century so memorable an epoch in the world's history. Amongst those who espoused or opposed the principles of that revolution, the name of Edmund Burke, must ever remain pre-eminently conspicuous. Whatever were his faults of temper, whatever the overstrained views into which he occasionally allowed himself to be betrayed, he is, whether we consider power of reasoning, beauty of style or fertility of illustration, far the most eminent of those who have written on the subject. Although Lord Holland calls his reflections on the French Revolution by the contemptuous name of "Mr. Burke's pamphlet," few polemical works have ever produced, a more sudden, a more profound, or a more lasting impression on the minds of those to whom it was addressed. The following is his Lordship's opinion of Burke's motives and conduct on this momentous question.

“His intemperate view of the French Revolution is well known. Its effect on the political party to which he belonged, and of which the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox were the leaders, was to dissolve that connexion, and ultimately to unite the Duke of Portland and his immediate friends and followers with the administration which he had, in conjunction with Mr. Fox, for nearly ten years opposed. . . . Till the ecclesiastical revenues were suppressed, Burke was far from disapproving the French Revolution. . . . The seizure of the property of the clergy in France, might then excite alarm in breasts less predisposed to sensibility on such subjects. It was, in the judgment of many, an outrageous violation of property ; when, therefore, it professed to be the result of a philosophy which denied the usefulness of all ecclesiastical institutions, rather than the desperate resource of an exhausted exchequer, it suggested a train of apprehensions in the mind of Mr. Burke, who, from the habitual tenor of his opinions, was prepared to receive such impressions. He was too, as rational friends of liberty are apt to be, a supporter of aristocracy, in the favourable sense of that word. . . . With all the extent of knowledge, and all the depth of thought, which he could apply to more important subjects, he was on them as in trifles, equally peremptory, extravagant, impetuous, and overbearing. His principles led him to condemn the French Revolution, his temper to discard *all candour* and moderation in speaking of those who promoted or approved of it. Accidental circumstances conspired with his natural violence to direct his alarms at its progress to his own country, and to convert what at first appeared a speculative censure of a foreign event into distrust and suspicion of those with whom he had hitherto acted. It was not long before he charged many of them with disaffection, and united himself and some few who followed him, with those whom he and they had constantly opposed. He shortly afterwards made up his mind to the necessity of involving the governments of England and of the rest of Europe in a war of aggression against France, and of extermination against those principles of resistance which he had frequently and warmly defended, to which our constitution owes its stability, if not its origin, and on the acknowledgment of which all free governments whatever must ultimately depend. . . . Burke's ill-humour broke out on the first mention of the French Revolution in the House of Commons by Sheridan. It was stifled but not extinguished, by the temper and moderation of Mr. Fox ; but it blazed out afterwards, on the question of the Canada Bill in a way that made it manifest to friends and foes, and though it grieved the one and in some senses gratified the other, was acknowledged by both to be unfeeling and disgusting. I was present at that painful scene ; to me Burke appeared all fury and unreasonableness ; but perhaps I was too young to be a competent judge, and too affectionately attached to Mr. Fox to be an impartial one. More than one person present, however, whose partialities, at least political partialities, leant to

Burke, assured me that they were touched by the tenderness and affection of Mr. Fox to an old friend, and hurt and disgusted by the coarseness and virulence of Mr. Burke.....Burke from that time had no intercourse with the Whigs, but for the purpose of disuniting them. 'It is hard,' said Sheridan on some occasion in 1793, 'that he whom we had drummed out of the regiment as a deserter, should be lurking within our lines as a spy.' Mischievous as his conduct was, I acquit him of dishonesty. He had, indeed, little of that noble pride or dignified affectation, (sic) which disdains to reap all the fruits in private advantage, to which public opinions and connexions might help, or services entitle; but the hope of such advantage did not bias his opinions or his actions. He would, perhaps, have judged better for his fame, had he accepted no pension; but though that pension was the reward of his conduct, his conduct, I am convinced, was not actuated by the hope of attaining it. If his gratitude somewhat softened, it did not *entirely* suppress his subsequent disapprobation of those from whom he had accepted it. On the whole, if greatness consists in comprehension of mind and fertility of genius, rather than in wisdom of design and judgment in action,—and if, by goodness, we mean rectitude of intention and disinterestedness of conduct, rather than justice, affection or moderation,—Burke may pass for a good and great man. His chief defect was an impetuous and uncontrollable temper. This disfigured his manners, clouded his judgment, and sometimes *corrupted* his heart; yet none could sacrifice more to public honour and private friendship....Examine his motives, he might pass for a patriot; look to his opinions, and, with all his powers, he was almost a bigot.*

Regarding the scene which occurred in the House of Commons during the memorable debate in the course of which Burke separated himself from Fox and the Whigs, we think Lord Holland does not even do justice to the memory of his uncle. Fox's conduct and temper extorted the admiration of Mr. Pitt. The great Whig statesman was affected even to tears, and when Burke said that he regretted the breaking up of an old friendship; he remarked, almost sobbing, "there never was any." But all the rest of Lord Holland's censure is undeserved and unjust.

It is quite true that Burke had experienced ill-treatment and ingratitude at the hands of the Whigs, both in his own person and in that of his son, but the man must be blinded by prejudice who could suppose that "dishonesty" or "private advantage" influenced his conduct

* Memoirs, vol. i, pp. 4-13.

or writings regarding the French Revolution. Sincerity is stamped in every line he wrote, and on every word he uttered on that subject. Lord Holland acquits him of these motives, but in language which implies that his character stands in need of defence. He thinks that he would have consulted better for his fame had he not accepted a pension as the reward of his conduct. Fortunately this charge was preferred during the lifetime of Burke, and to it we are indebted for one of the noblest pieces of prose composition ever written in any language. He has rendered this imputation, which would otherwise have been long since forgotten, immortal by mentioning it in that matchless vindication of his character, which he has left in "A Letter to a Noble Lord." Not even Plato's defence of the memory of Socrates, can bear comparison with it. Had Burke never written anything else, it would not only vindicate his fame, but render it immortal.

His conduct was certainly "mischievous" to the Whig party for a time, and would therefore have been base had it been dictated by private advantage. But there are occasions when an honest man must break with his party, when he conceives its views to be opposed to the interests of mankind, or to the unchangeable principles of truth and justice. A man cannot sacrifice his principles without sacrificing his honour and his conscience. There are also occasions on which he must change his opinions, and these are, when, on solid grounds, he believes them to be wrong. It is arrogant folly for any man to suppose that he cannot err in his political doctrines, and it is equally mischievous and mean in him to adhere to them after he has discovered them to be false. It is made a charge, not indeed against the honesty, but against the political sagacity of Burke, that he changed his opinions with regard to the character of the French Revolution after the seizure of the property of the clergy, on the express ground that all ecclesiastical establishments were useless. We are so far from finding fault with Burke for changing his opinions, that we are astonished to discover how any man could view without horror, the fiendish conduct of the French Revolutionists. If ever the powers of hell were unchained, and allowed to take possession of the souls of men, it was at this period. Thousands of men went to bed at night with the ordinary feelings of humanity, and awoke in the

morning screaming for blood. But to charge Burke, of all men, with having been betrayed into a change of opinion by want of "political sagacity, wisdom of design, and judgment in action," is not only monstrous, but ludicrous, for his opinions are to this day not only quoted with respect, but looked up to almost as oracles by statesmen of all parties. His works are indisputably the greatest repository of political wisdom which our language contains. As an effective debater, he was not only inferior to those great luminaries, Fox and Pitt, but to many minor lights amongst both Whigs and Tories;—he possessed not the tenderness and affection of the former, nor the splendid elocution of the latter, but he surpassed them all in the wisdom of his political views, and in the sagacity and eloquence with which he enforced them in his writings.

On the subject of the French Revolution, in particular, regarding which Burke is accused with so great a want of political wisdom, he was not only at once joined by the Duke of Portland, and a large section of the Whigs, but many of those who at first opposed him were, by the rapid course of events, speedily converted to his opinions. Amongst these we may mention that eminent statesman, Mr. Wyndham, of Norfolk, who, during the Grenville administration, in 1806, was the colleague of Fox up to the time of his death, and afterwards of Lord Holland himself. "On the first publication of Mr. Burke's pamphlet," Lord Holland informs us, "he condemned the principles and ridiculed the performance with full as much freedom as the laws of long friendship could admit. He had, too, been a warm admirer of the French Revolution at its commencement. He had even urged Mr. Fox to come over to France, as it was right such glorious scenes should have the sanction of an eminent Englishman, attached to the principles of liberty." But in 1791 his mind was wavering, and in 1792 he condemned the Revolution. "He sighed for the restoration of the priesthood, the nobility and absolute monarchy of France, and he was amongst the first to plunge the country in war for that most unwarrantable object."* Yet Lord Holland acknowledges that Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Fox were, in temper, manner, tastes, and pursuits, admirably adapted to one another. A disdain, or rather loathing of all cant

* *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 16 21.

and hypocrisy, was a prominent feature in the character of both. Mr. Wyndham, indeed, was neither so easy in his disposition, nor so affectionate or gentle in his nature, but he had in appearance at least the same frankness and fearlessness of character, the same, and even greater readiness to converse on all subjects of literature and philosophy. He had even a more active, though not an equally powerful, spirit of inquiry than Mr. Fox.*

Indeed, when we remember the composition of the coalition ministry, in 1806, of which Mr. Fox was the chief ornament, and of which Lord Holland became a member on the death of his uncle, we cannot but be astonished at the manner in which he speaks of the promoters of the war with France. When Mr. Pitt resigned office, because he could not carry out the promise which he made, at least implicitly, to the Catholics at the time of the Union, on account of the opposition of the king, nor carry on the war against France on account of the state of the Finances; the Speaker, Mr. Addington, became Prime Minister. Of the former ministry, the most distinguished members, Mr. Pitt, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Dundas, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Canning, were in favour of the Irish Catholics. The new premier, Mr. Addington, was an uncompromising opponent of the Catholic claims. Yet it was with this man, then Lord Sidmouth, and his friends, that Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox coalesced in 1806. Again, when Addington made peace with France, "Mr. Wyndham, in the Commons, employed all his wit and eloquence; and Lord Grenville, in the Lords, all his official and parliamentary knowledge, which was prodigious, as well as his oratory, which was considerable, to discredit the treaty."† On the contrary, "Mr. Fox supported the peace in the noblest and frankest manner." Yet Lord Grenville was the head, and Mr. Wyndham, a distinguished member of the ministry of 1806. Indeed, Mr. Addington only made peace from sheer necessity, for as soon as the finances would permit him to do so, "he embroiled the country once more in war, on grounds as flimsy and unjustifiable in form as in substance; they were rash, unjust, and unsound."† There is a characteristic anecdote recorded of Sheridan, in connection with

* *Ibid.* pp. 223 4.

† *Vol. i.* p. 187.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 191.

Addington's peace. "It is a peace," said Francis, "of which everybody is glad and nobody is proud." Lord Holland reported these words to Sheridan shortly after they were spoken; he affected not to hear them, and within two hours delivered them as his own in the House of Commons.

When Mr. Fox himself was Minister for Foreign Affairs, in 1806, he continued the war with France so unflinchingly, that it was supposed he had been overruled in the cabinet, and that Lord Lauderdale, by whom the negotiations had been ultimately conducted, was averse to peace, and that he had become a convert to that war-like system which Fox had "so often and so warmly resisted." But Lord Holland assures us that these surmises were quite false, and that "Lord Lauderdale was more inclined to believe in the practicability of peace, and infinitely more disposed to make additional offers, *for the chance of it*, than Mr. Fox. He could not, indeed, desire it more; but Mr. Fox very soon expressed to me his conviction, founded not on difficulties in the cabinet, but on what he called the shuffling conduct of the French, that the negotiation would fail. I believe no difference of opinion on the negotiation ever occurred between Mr. Fox and any of his colleagues.....it is my firm opinion, founded on my knowledge of the sentiments of Mr. Fox, and confirmed by subsequent reflection, that had the French government conducted itself as it did with Mr. Fox, in the full vigour of health, and at the Foreign Office, the negotiation would have terminated as it did, and most probably would not have been allowed to continue so long by him as it was by his successors."*

No man can doubt Mr. Fox's sincerity in opposing the war with France. He was on the whole the greatest orator in either house of Parliament. Pitt alone equalled him in debate, and Burke in the depth and liberality of his political views. He combined the excellencies of both, without, however, possessing the steady application of either; but the faults which might have been anticipated from his indolence, were obviated, at least in a great degree, by the goodness of his heart. Had he been in office instead of Pitt, peace with France might have been preserved a few months longer than it actually was, but we have not the

* Vol. ii. pp. 77, 8.

least doubt that he would have found himself compelled to commence the war, as he was obliged to continue it on the death of his great rival. Indeed, the new premier with whom Fox associated himself in 1806, was Foreign Minister when war broke out between France and England. The conduct of the republic was quite as aggressive as that of the Empire, which Fox himself was compelled to resist with the sword. The French government, by a decree dated 27th of November, 1792, offered the assistance of the republic *to all insurgents*. The execution of Lewis XVI. soon followed. Lord Grenville immediately dismissed M. Chauvelin, the French Ambassador from London, and the Convention declared war with England and Holland. Lord Grenville conducted the war until the breaking up of Mr. Pitt's administration in 1801. Lord Holland declares that he was a more violent promoter of the war than Pitt himself; and he rivalled even Burke in his vehement antipathy to the godless French Republic. The war was more popular out of doors than in parliament, and even then the minority who opposed it only amounted to forty in the Commons and to four in the Lords. Within two years the Whig party, which still opposed the war, was almost totally extinguished. Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Wyndham, took an affectionate leave of Mr. Fox, lamenting the necessity of separating themselves from him, and they, along with Lord Loughborough and Lord Howard, joined the ministry. The Irish patriots with Mr. Grattan at their head, supported the war, so that within a short period Burke had the satisfaction of seeing almost his entire party adopt the very opinions for espousing which he had been obliged to separate himself from them. In conjunction with the very men who were now the chief promoters of the war, Fox took office twelve years afterwards, and continued to carry it on until his death, which occurred on the 13th of September, 1806. Lord Howick succeeded him in the Foreign Office, and Lord Holland got a seat in the cabinet as Lord Privy Seal.

If we were to take a superficial view of the policy of the various cabinets from the first administration of Mr. Pitt until the carrying of the Catholic Emancipation Act, we should be at a loss to discover what great question or principle constituted the line of demarcation between Whigs and Tories. We have just seen that it could not have been the policy of war or peace. Nor could it have been the

slave trade, for both Pitt and Fox advocated its abolition; nor parliamentary reform, regarding which the members of the same party differed most widely from each other, nor even Catholic Emancipation, for as we have already stated, Pitt and the most distinguished members of his cabinet were in favour of that measure, whilst three of the Grenville-Fox cabinet, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Ellenborough, and the Lord Chancellor Erskine were notoriously opposed to it. Even when Lord Grenville's ministry was dismissed in 1807, on account of a clause introduced into the Mutiny Bill by Lord Howick, enabling His Majesty to confer any military commission on Catholics, Mr. Canning was appointed Foreign Secretary, and Lord Castlereagh to the War Office, in the Portland-Perceval cabinet, which succeeded, though they, perhaps, agreed in no one opinion except in their avowed advocacy of the claims of the Catholics. Indeed, Mr. Canning had signified his willingness to join the Grenville administration, and the treaty for that purpose was nearly completed when the ministry was dismissed.* On the other hand, it is amusing to hear Lord Holland's account of what passed in the cabinet of which he was a member, when it became evident that the bigoted old king would dismiss his ministers for having proposed this small preliminary concession to the Catholics. "Our Lord Chancellor Erskine," he says, "talked much nonsense and false religion, declaimed against Papists and Mahometans, and plumed himself on having never supported the pretensions of the Roman Catholics. He betrayed ignorance as well as weakness, mistook the policy of the question, confounded the state of the law, and forgot every circumstance that had attended its enactment or its amendments. When the moment of decision approached, he played with pencil and pens, took up books, and pretended even to sleep with the hope of not being committed in any resolution we might adopt. Lord Howick was indignant at conduct so uncongenial with his own generous temper and elevated mind. The chagrin which Lord Erskine would manifestly feel at the loss of office, seemed to reconcile Lord Howick to the event, and every hint that dropped from the other on the propriety of a temporizing policy, made him spurn more contemptuously at everything like compliance or submission."†

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 198.

† Vol. ii. pp. 184—5.

Yet, surely, there must have been some important principle at stake, to cause the most eminent men in the country to be excluded from office, with the exception of a year and a half, for half a century. Trifling causes may for a time produce quite disproportionate results, but they cannot continue uniformly to regulate the most important human affairs. Lord Byron declared that the only thing which never happened, was his friends the Whigs getting into place. Nor will an attentive and observant politician find any difficulty in discovering the principle which was really at stake during all this period. It was one in which Burke and Fox thoroughly agreed. That principle was—the policy and justice of admitting Catholics within the pale of the constitution. It is true that Pitt advocated this principle, that he used it as a means of carrying the union, that he resigned office in 1801 because he could not overcome the prejudices which the king entertained against it. But he did not press it either when he was in office or when he was out of office, and in 1807 Lord Grenville saw and lamented the oversight which the government had committed in 1801, by not bringing the concessions due to the Catholics before parliament, and forcing the king either to acquiesce in them or to dismiss his ministers. Lord Grenville no doubt sincerely regretted that this course had not been taken, but Mr. Pitt most certainly would not have permitted it, because he returned to office in 1803, not only without making any stipulation in favour of the Catholics, but even opposed their petition when it was presented to parliament. Thus a few of the members of the various Tory Administrations entertained views speculatively favourable to the claims of the Catholics, but whenever any practical concession was brought before parliament, they strenuously opposed it. In this respect the conduct of Pitt was far surpassed by Canning. Lord Holland proves at great length* that the king acted deceitfully towards his cabinet. He first (February 12th, 1807) assented to two clauses being introduced into the Mutiny Bill, enabling His Majesty to confer any *military commission whatever* on any of his liege subjects; and another, granting to all His Majesty's subjects,

* See vol. ii. pp. 159—205, and Appendix D., at the end of the volume, which contains “The Correspondence and Minutes of Cabinet relative to the Catholic Bill, 1807.”

however employed in any of his forces, a legal right to full toleration as to the exercise of their religious professions." A further despatch to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (the Duke of Bedford), was read by the king on the 3rd of March. It was a reply to two despatches from Ireland, which were also read by His Majesty, and in which the Irish Catholic Delegates desired to be informed if they were to be capable of being appointed *Generals on Staff*. The reply declared that they were to be capable of *any appointment whatever*. On the following day, March 4th, Lord Howick, by whom the despatch had been written, saw the king, who at first expressed his repugnance to the measure, but finally agreed to its being proposed in parliament. In the full belief that His Majesty continued in the same dispositions as on the twelfth of the preceding month, the matter was mentioned in parliament, and the Lord Lieutenant was authorized to explain the nature and extent of the proposed measure. The king then, and not till then, declared that he never had assented and never would assent to the proposal for permitting Catholics to hold staff appointments. He declared that he had considered the clause to have been in strict accordance with the letter of the Irish Act of 1793. He probably thought that he had caught his ministers in a trap, and that they would instantly resign. However, the majority of the cabinet, in opposition to the sentiments of Lords Holland and Howick and Mr. Wyndham, consented to waive the question for the present, and a minute to this effect was submitted to the king on the 15th of March. But he was determined to get rid of them, and therefore required a *positive assurance* that they would never in future propose to him any concessions to the Catholics. Ministers refused to comply with this unreasonable and unconstitutional demand, and were accordingly dismissed from office. Mr. Canning, to whom the nature of the concession to the Catholics had been explained, and who had fully approved of it when about to join the Grenville administration, now not only associated himself with persons who were pledged to oppose all concessions, but on the motion for a censure of the pledge exacted by the king, which was rejected by two hundred and fifty-eight, to two hundred and thirty-six, ended his speech by declaring that "Ministers were determined to stand by the king, even if they should find it their duty to appeal to the country." They accordingly did

appeal to the country, and used the no-popery cry so successfully, that Thomas Grenville was the only one of the late ministers who represented the same place in the new, for which he had sat in the former parliament. "Many leading members of the Whig party were excluded or compelled to seek shelter in such close boroughs as their friends could provide."* Moreover, when the Tories were in office, the Catholics of Ireland were always, as a matter of course, given over to the mercy of a violent and persecuting faction.

Beyond all doubt it was the belief that some mercy and justice would be shown to the Catholics of Ireland, which induced Lord Fitzwilliam, and other eminent Whig statesmen, to join Mr. Pitt's ministry in 1794. Lord Fitzwilliam stated, in the debate on the Union, that when he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland he received full authority "not to bring forward any concession to Catholics, as a measure of government, but if brought forward by any person not in the service of government, to give it his full and cordial support." It is well known that he was recalled as soon as he began to manifest his desire of removing the grievances of the Catholics, and immediately afterwards "in Ireland all the Whigs fell back into opposition without reserve, exception, or delay."† In England, too, many of the leading families joined their old friends, and thus the Whig opposition, which had seemed for a time almost to have ceased to exist, was reconstructed. Bigotry towards Catholics was the very life of Toryism, and justice to Catholics the chief bond of union amongst the Whigs, and however individual members of either party may have *speculatively* dissented from the body with which they were associated on these great principles, they were obliged always *practically* to strangle their opinions when they came into office. When Lords Erskine, Sidmouth, and Ellenborough, became members of a Whig ministry, they were obliged to agree to the only measure for the relief of Catholics to which there was, at that moment, the least hope of obtaining the assent of the king or the approbation of parliament, and in the cabinet with Mr. Percival, the holiday opinions of Castle-reagh and Canning were of little use to the Catholics.

* Memoirs vol. ii. p. 229.

† Vol. i. p. 77.

There were two other remarkable persons who joined the no-Popery ministry at this time—Lord Palmerston, and the Duke of Wellington. Sir Arthur Wellesley, whom the Duke of Portland appointed chief secretary for Ireland, was destined, after a career of almost unequalled glory, to destroy, with the aid of that illustrious statesman, Sir Robert Peel, the vital principle of Toryism, by carrying the great measure of Catholic Emancipation. Up to that period it was uniformly in the ascendant, since then, neither the smiles of the court, in the latter part of the reign of William IV., nor the most strenuous exertions of the aristocracy, have been able to reanimate it. Peel, great as he undoubtedly was, was obliged to abandon the very name, and to call his new party Conservative. Nor was it the name alone which he abandoned, but the thing also, for it would betray the grossest ignorance to assert that Peel's last administration was Tory. It was, on the contrary, eminently popular, and he did as much for the poor by the repeal of the Corn Laws, as he did for religious liberty by the Catholic Emancipation Act. So far was he from being a Tory, that there was no man in the empire so virulently persecuted and hated by the faction of which Lord Derby, D'Israeli, Packington, and Walpole, are the leaders. If Sir Robert Peel had been spared to us he would now be at the head of a powerful and liberal administration, which would, we have no doubt, redress many of the worst grievances of the Irish people. We warn the people of Ireland not to assist those to become their rulers who persecuted him to death. Let them remember the fable of the horse, who called on a man to get on his back and assist him to conquer his enemy. The man did as he was desired, but found the horse so useful that he made a slave of him, and rode him ever afterwards. The Tories will help them to avenge insults, but they will leave the Orange faction on their back.

The present state of parties is strikingly similar to that which existed about half a century ago. No great principle or measure appears to separate them. Both are for War, both are for Free Trade, both are for Reform. Their differences are about details, not principles. The real line of demarkation between them is that which divides toleration and intolerance. Amongst the Whigs you will find a Chambers, and not a few intolerant

Scotchmen, and *perhaps* you may find a very few followers of D'Israeli who would concede religious liberty to Catholics. But when a party comes into power it cannot be guided by the feelings of a few individuals, but by those which predominate in the whole body. The great body of the Tory party are as intolerant and as fond of persecution now as they were in the days of Mr. Percival, and the Catholics of Ireland and of the empire may rely on this, that no matter what may be the actual question on which they will overthrow their adversaries, their real spirit will be the very opposite of that which destroyed their power by carrying the Emancipation Act.

ART. II.—1. *Papers relative to the recent Arctic Expeditions in search of Sir John Franklin, and the Crews of H. M. S. "Erebus" and "Terror."* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1854.

2.—*Letter addressed by Lady Franklin to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.* Printed and laid before Parliament in March, 1854.

THE adventurers by whose skill or daring the blanks in our charts have been filled up, and the cause of science and civilization materially advanced, may be divided into four classes. The first comprises those who, incited solely by the thirst of gain—like the majority of the Dutch navigators—have braved the hazards of unknown seas in quest of riches. The second comprehends those who have ventured into unexplored regions, influenced at once by the desire of fame and the love of adventure. To the third class belong the few who have cheerfully embraced exile, and danger, and death, to extend the bounds of geographical and scientific knowledge. And last, because fewest, those who, like the heroic successors of St. Francis Xavier, have defied the perils of ocean and of clime, to plant the banner of Christianity in the very strongholds of darkness and barbarism.

By far the greater number of the adventurers who

poured forth from the shores of Spain and Portugal during those two great epochs of maritime discovery, the 15th and 16th centuries, belonged to the first and second class, and were chiefly animated by the hope of reaching those *pays de Cocagne*, India and Cathay, whose treasures were magnified into dazzling proportions by the fervid imagination of the time. But the navigators of the period sought the coveted lands in low southern latitudes; shrinking from the rigours of the icy regions through which they should have to penetrate in the effort to reach them by the northern extremity of America. Accordingly, during the two centuries we have mentioned, we find that not more than ten attempts worth mentioning were made to discover the north-west passage, namely, that of S. Cabot, who commanded the first north-west expedition in 1497, Frobisher's in 1576, Davis's in 1585 and 1587, Barentz's in 1592, Weymouth's in 1602, Knight's in 1606, Hudson's in 1610, Sir Thomas Button's in 1612,* and Bylot and Baffin's in 1615.

It was not until towards the middle of the last century that governments, having become more enlightened, and influenced, consequently, by more elevated views, co-operated with individuals and with scientific bodies in despatching expeditions to the Arctic regions, the command of which they entrusted to men whom we may more especially include in the third of those classes into which we have arbitrarily divided the explorers of the deep. From that epoch these expeditions increased in number, and characterize a distinct cycle in Polar discovery. Such of them as have escaped the deadly hazards of the world of ice, have returned to their native shores, bringing with them highly valuable results;—enlarging our geographical knowledge of the regions in which they had sojourned; considerably, though indirectly, promoting the progress and well-being of mankind, by supplying data which have formed the basis of new sciences, and making us familiarly acquainted with the physical features of these dread regions, with their aspects of sublime beauty and awful desolation. The

* In the curious document entitled "Motives inducing a Project for the Discoverie of the North Pole," addressed by this navigator to Henry Prince of Wales, he thus fancifully describes the north pole—"The North pole terrestrial, a magnificent and pure virgin yett vndiscovered."

deeds of such men eloquently preach an impressive lesson to the arrogant, the effeminate, and the sensual. In contemplating them, the best of us must irresistibly feel that the petty sacrifices to which our holy faith requires we should submit in our relation towards God and our neighbour,—sacrifices which we find so difficult to make, and of which, when made, we are so apt to be vain,—are dwarfed into utter insignificance when contrasted with the magnitude of those which these northern mariners cheerfully yield to an unassuming sense of duty and a noble thirst of honour.*

There is something sublime and touching in the spectacle of these brave men, abandoning all that the heart holds most dear, and armed but with the weapons of skill and confidence, going forth in frail vessels devotedly to battle with nature in her most dreadful guise, unscared by the fate of those who had perished before them in that grim conflict, undismayed by bitterest frost or thickest ice, pressing ever onwards into the farthest recesses of their mighty foe;—and all this with but faint hope of being rewarded if they conquer, or remembered if they die. If they emerge from the struggle victorious, their triumph is not blazoned forth—their success is unheeded, and they sink into comparative obscurity; and if, far away in the midst of these awful solitudes, the treacherous ice close ruthlessly over their heads, and their last cry of agony be stifled in its thunderous crash, they are unmourned by few outside the circle of their immediate relatives and friends. The many read the newspaper paragraph announcing their fate, and think no more about them. It is time that the injustice of an ungrateful world were remedied, and that the masters of the scathing art of war should not wholly monopolize the great prizes of life, to the prejudice of men on whom they would be more deservingly conferred. The mariners who have successfully warred with the world of ice are conquerors in the best acceptation of the word; and England may be as justly proud of her Polar navigators

* To none can Tasso's description of Tancred be more justly applied than to the Polar navigator of our times:—

“Vede Tancredi aver la vita a sdegno—
No cupidigia in lui d'oro, o d'impero,
Ma d'onor brame immoderate, ardenti.”

Ger. Lib. Canto I.

as of her Nelson and her Jervis. Their deeds are not, indeed, so popular or renowned as the achievements of her naval warriors, nor will they form so luminous a passage in the page of history; but, even prescinding from the magnitude of the issues at stake on great naval combats, the triumphs of the former are intrinsically greater and nobler than those of the latter. They are greater, because won by battling with more formidable, more numerous, and more protracted perils than those of the sea-fight; nobler, because unstained by the blood of their fellows. All honour, then, to the heroes of the Arctic and Antarctic seas! The names of such of them as have perished in their stern toil and duty should be enrolled among the martyrs of science and humanity, and their memories enshrined in our hearts as the benefactors of their kind.

Disclaiming, *in limine*, all intention of entering very profoundly into our subject, we do not intend to give here even a brief account of the many voyages of exploration to the Arctic regions—many of them full of horrors—from those we have enumerated up to the last successful effort of Captain McClure. We shall merely glance at the names of those which are most distinguished by the success by which they have been attended, so far as may be necessary in order to estimate the extent of the successes of the most recent explorers.

After the land expedition of Samuel Hearne, in 1772, from Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, which was important in destroying the fallacy, until then entertained, of the supposed extension of the American continent in one unbroken mass to the pole, a pause occurs in the annals of Polar researches until Sir Edward Parry's expedition, which sailed in 1819, and which may be regarded as the re-opening of this career of Arctic discovery. Having arrived, with but slight obstruction from the ice, at Lancaster Sound, Parry sailed—dissipating the imaginary mountains of Sir John Ross—from thence down Barrow's Strait, as far as Cape Hay, near the western extremity of Melville Island, without casting anchor; thus going farther west than has ever been ventured by water, and discovering in his course North Devon, Wellington Channel, and the North Georgian Islands, on the north of Barrow's Strait, and North Somerset, Admiralty and Prince Regent's Inlets, and Bank's Land on the south.

The next most remarkable voyage, as regards discovery,

is that of Sir John Ross, who, in 1829-32, explored Regent's Inlet, and discovered Boothia Felix, the Grimble Islands, and several harbours, capes, and bays.

Passing over the repeated expeditions of Franklin, Back, Beechy, and other able navigators, whose researches have considerably enlarged our still imperfect knowledge of the geography of the Arctic regions, we come to the recent voyage of Captain Inglefield, which, for the extent of its discoveries, and the short space of time in which these discoveries were effected, stands unprecedented in the annals of Arctic exploration.

Captain Inglefield sailed in Lady Franklin's steam yacht, the "Isabel," in July 1852, with the object of communicating with Sir E. Belcher, now engaged in searching for Franklin in the Polar Sea, north of Wellington Channel. He discovered Prince of Wales' and Albert's Lands, and penetrating up Smith's Sound, as far as 78° 28' N., he called the island far north of it after Louis Napoleon. On his return, he traced the direction of the shores of Jones's Sound; and after having communicated with Belcher's squadron, at Beechy Island, he sailed homewards, and arrived in England in October—accomplishing all this in the incredibly short space of four months.

This voyage irresistibly enforces the decided superiority of steam-vessels of small draught over sailing vessels in the navigation of the Polar seas. Independent of the variable winds and currents which prevail in the Arctic regions, they are less liable to be checked in their progress than sailing vessels, while, on the other hand, if swept away in an ice-drift, the steamer would have a much greater chance of extricating herself by availing of every opening in the ice than the sailing vessel, which, in similar circumstances, would be perfectly helpless. The former would also more easily escape being "nipped" between two drifting floes, or ice-fields, by steaming from between them ere they could meet. In a word, they are best adapted to evade the many perils which beset the vessel which ventures to thread the labyrinthine paths of the Arctic seas.

The instance of the "Isabel" must force this conviction on the Admiralty, although we fear too late for any useful purpose as regards the Franklin expedition. Without meaning to attach the slightest blame to the authorities of the Admiralty, whose exertions to rescue the hapless

expedition have been most humane and unremitting, we cannot help remarking that had this superiority of steam over sailing vessels in Arctic navigation been perceived by them earlier, much dreadful suffering and waste of life would, in all probability, have been spared us, and even greater geographical acquisitions might have been made long since than those which have been recently gained.

The distinguishing characteristic of the most recent expeditions is that, undertaken almost exclusively in the cause of humanity, they have resulted in a series of brilliant discoveries, and have thus been crowned with a success denied to expeditions whose aim was less noble. Inspired by the hope of rescuing one hundred and thirty-nine fellow creatures, these recent voyagers have penetrated into the heart of the icy fastnesses of the North, and have surmounted obstacles which would have been insuperable to men influenced by the mere ambition of winning renown.

Before coming to the papers which stand at the head of our pages, we will give a brief *resumé* of the expeditions undertaken for the same object, in order to present the reader with the aspect of Arctic discovery immediately preceding these dispatches. Sir J. Richardson and Mr. Rae surveyed, in 1848, the coast between the Makenzie and Copper-mine rivers. The latter gentleman continued the survey, and explored the coast of Wallaston Land, as far as Cape Jane Franklin, in 1851. From this expedition we have derived an accurate knowledge of a large part of the Northern coast of America. Contemporaneously, Captain Kellet discovered land off Cape Jakan, seemingly of considerable extent, but which is yet imperfectly traced on our maps. Sir James Ross, in 1848, examined the northern shore of North Somerset, the eastern and western shores of Bryant's Inlet, and the northern shore of Barrow's Strait for some distance. Owing to adverse circumstances, this expedition has added little to our previous knowledge. In 1850, Captain Penny discovered the Polar Basin, north of Wellington Channel. Captain Austin and Mr. Kennedy have extended our knowledge of the shores of North Somerset and Prince of Wales's Land. Captain Ommanny discovered the inlet and bay which bear his name, and surveyed the western coast of Prince of Wales's Land, Melville Straits, and part of Jones's Sound. In 1852, Mr. Kennedy and the lamented

Bellot traced the straits which are now honoured by the latter officer's name, and which separate North Somerset from Boothia. In the spring of 1853, Commander Richards and Lieutenant Osborne made a sledge journey through Wellington Channel, and across Melville Island, the result of which was, that they found Byam Martin Channel to be connected with the Polar Basin. This, with Captain Inglefield's expedition, which we have already noticed, closes the list of expeditions in search of Franklin, from which positive geographical acquisitions have arisen previously to the dispatches before us, which mark the most brilliant epoch in Arctic discovery.

The Parliamentary papers which head our article contain the latest researches of Sir Edward Belcher, McClure, Kellett, Maguire, &c., for Sir John Franklin, with the discoveries which they have made while prosecuting them. While we deeply regret that these explorations have not led to any trace of the missing navigators, it is at least gratifying to find that they have largely extended our geographical knowledge of the Arctic regions.

The despatches of Sir E. Belcher, the commander of the squadron in search of Franklin still in the Polar seas, though devoid of any very exciting incidents, claim our attention from the importance of the discoveries they communicate. Leaving the "North Star," Captain Pullen, and the "Resolute," Captain Kellett, at Beechy Island, Belcher advanced up Wellington Channel, in August, 1852. After discovering Mount Percy and Northumberland Sound, at the north-eastern extremity of Queen's Channel, he left his vessel frozen up in Northumberland Sound, and launched on the Polar sea with sledges and boats. Proceeding northward he observed two large islands, which he named respectively Exmouth and Table Island, and land considerably north-east of them, which he called North Cornwall, in lat. $77^{\circ}33'30''$ N., long. 97° W. From this place he descried land far to the north-west, in lat. $78^{\circ}10'$ N., long. 100 W., to which he gave the name of Victoria Land. Having also explored the north coast of Cornwall's Island, to the west of Cape Lady Franklin, he sailed towards Beechy Island, where he arrived in August, 1853. Sir Edward is now engaged in a second exploration of the Polar Basin, in the hope of finding some trace of Franklin.

This expedition has been attended by some highly in-

teresting results. It has proved the existence of an extensive archipelago in the Polar Sea, and has shown that Smith's and Jones's Sounds are connected with it, while the circumstance of no land being visible towards the north and north-west, from North Cornwall tends to confirm the theory of a navigable sea flowing at and around the Pole.*

Considerably, however, as Sir Edward Belcher's discoveries have increased our knowledge of the Great Polar Basin, understanding by the term that portion of the Arctic seas which is comprised within fifteen degrees of the Pole, it requires but a glance at the chart in which they are given, to perceive that a blank space still extends from the meridian of 100° to that of 170° West, or a distance of between 800 or 900 miles, which affords a vast field for future research, if indeed, any discoveries which may arise from it could compensate the cost and peril of such expeditions. Here we may passingly remark, that it is this region which Scandinavian imagination has peopled with blissful isles, blooming with perennial verdure, whose inhabitants, exempt from toil and care, enjoy a prolonged and delightful existence in these halcyon abodes. Strange that the Polynia of the Scandinavian should be a repetition of the Hesperides of the Greek.

The origin of this fable dates some centuries back. A Norwegian pirate wandered some distance within the Arctic seas, and on his return, related, among other marvels, that his ship was wafted by perfumed breezes, on which were borne strains of wild unearthly music, towards groups of verdant islands, on which he beheld several men and women of extraordinary beauty, who invited him with friendly gestures to approach; when a storm suddenly arose, which snatched the vision from his view, and forced the vessel again into the midst of the crashing ice.

* Arctic navigators have found that the north wind in these regions invariably causes the glass to rise, which can only be explained on the supposition of its keenness having been tempered by the exhalations from some open sea. Sir E. Parry, in his celebrated transglacial journey, in 1827, from Spitzbergen towards the Pole, found even at the very high latitude of 82°45' that the temperature was much milder than what he had experienced farther south. He also saw an open sea, unencumbered by ice. He was prevented from attaining this water by the ice drifting more rapidly to the southward than he could advance northward.

Captain Maguire's despatches are chiefly interesting from the information they afford of the habits and character of the natives near Point Barrow, of whom we previously knew nothing; the crews of the "Investigator" and of the "Plover" having been the first white men whom these savages had ever seen.

Captain Maguire sailed in the "Plover" from Point Clarence in August, 1852, passing through Behring's Straits, and having rounded Point Barrow, anchored off the Point at Moore's Harbour. Here he first experienced the terrible severity and depressing monotony of the Polar winter, when all nature is enveloped for nine months in one long night of murky darkness, illumined only at times by the iridescent flashes of the aurora, when the solemn stillness which reigns over all fills the mariner locked in its icy fetters with an overwhelming sense of his loneliness, when above him frowns a black un pitying heaven, and around him spreads the interminable ice, with its ghastly glimmer, while the snow-sheeted mountains show through the gloom like the hoary frost-giants of the Northern Sagas, menacing the lone wanderer from the living world for his rash intrusion on their dread domains.*

* We cannot resist gracing our pages, in this place, with the following passage descriptive of Arctic scenery, from one of the most beautiful writers of France. We give it in the original, as a translation would but impair its beauty.

“Ceux qui n'ont vu que les Alpes et les Pyrénées, ne peuvent se former une idée de l'aspect de ces solitudes hyperboréennes, de ces régions désolées, où l'on voit, comme après le déluge, 'de rares animaux errer sur des montagnes inconnues'—

‘Rara per ignotos errant animalia montes.’

Des nuages, ou plutôt des brouillards humides fument sans cesse autour des sommets de ces monts déserts.

“Mais la scène ne se montre dans toute son horreur qu'au bord même de l'Océan. Quelques rochers, environnés par des neiges éternelles, percent de leur flancs noircis ces vapeurs blanchâtres, et ressemblent par leurs formes et leur immobilité à des fantômes qui se regardent dans un affreux silence. D'un côté s'étendent de vastes champs de glaces contre lesquels se brise une mer décolorée où jamais n'apparut une voile; de l'autre s'élève une terre bordée de mornes stériles. Le long des grèves on ne voit qu'une triste succession de baies dévastées et de promontoires orageux. Le soir le voyageur se réfugie dans quelque trou de rocher, dont il chasse l'aigle marin, qui s'envole avec de grands cris. Toute la nuit il

Shortly after Captain Maguire's arrival, the natives came down to the shore, and were found very troublesome and ill-disposed.

"No single boat's crew could be at any distance from the ship without being pilfered from in the most daring and barefaced way; and upon every trivial, and often without any occasion, their knives was drawn upon our men, who, although armed with muskets, had strict orders in no case to make even a show of them, unless obliged by necessity, as I thought recourse to that force was to be avoided when a good feeling in favour of any of our missing countrymen, who may at any future period be in their power, was the object sought."

The natives were at first admitted in crowds on board, but after a short trial, their pilferings and the general annoyance they caused became so intolerable, that thenceforth a limited number only were allowed to visit the ship at a time; and it was necessary to watch these carefully to prevent thefts. On returning any of the stolen articles they conceived they were entitled to reward, and surrounded the vessel, shouting clamorously for "tawac" (tobacco.) Cowardice is not esteemed to be among the vices of the savage; but the conduct of the natives of Point Barrow would indicate that this tribe at least are arrant cowards. Adverting to the tricks played off by the Esquimaux on the men when on shore, Captain Maguire says: "These sort of annoyances continued as long as our men had work to do outside of the ship; and when the natives were collected in any numbers, the difference of character displayed by them when so and the reverse, is worthy of remark. In the former case they are bold and overbearing, and when meeting with parties gather round them, and apparently in a half-playful way, commence shoving them about and feeling their clothes, when, if they fail in getting what they want given them, they help themselves, and with their knives soon remove any buttons that happen to be bright.

écoute avec effroi le bruit des vents que répètent les échos de sa caverne, et le gémissement des glaces qui se fendent sur la rive.— La nature, aux approches du soleil entr'ouvre par degrés son voile de neige. Les poètes américains pourront un jour la comparer à une épouse nouvelle, qui dépouille timidement, et comme à regret, sa robe virginale, décelant en partie, et essayant encore de cacher ses charmes à son époux."—*Chateaubriand, Melanges Littéraires.*

On the contrary, when they are in small numbers, they are not like the same people, but seem quiet, harmless, inoffensive, and obliging; even while displaying these good qualities, should their numbers become increased, they lose no time in throwing off their assumed humility to join in any plunder going on."

We gladly turn to a brighter side of the picture, and present our readers with the life-like sketch which Captain Maguire gives of a festive entertainment given to the natives on board the vessel.

"At four p.m., October the 28th, our visitors were admitted to the number of seventy. After they were made to seat themselves round the deck, the entertainment commenced by serving each with a little tobacco, then our musical instruments (a violin, corneopian, drum, and triangle) played a lively air, which caused a general exclamation of wonder and pleasure, most of the party now hearing them for the first time. This was followed by a request for them to dance, and being supplied with a drum they willingly complied. Our seamen danced in their turn, and in a little time the natives entered fully into the spirit of the amusement, stripping off their skin coats and dancing naked to the waist, with the temperature at + 6°, showing the state of excitement they work themselves into, as the male performers shout in a wild triumphant manner, and all the lookers-on join in a chorus, and become as much excited as the performers; their appearance makes a scene as savage as can well be imagined.

"By ten p.m. the party broke up, all appearing to have had dancing enough; the whole company seemingly pleased with their evening's amusement. When we came to take down a few flags that were hung under the housing for ornament, it was vexing to find several large pieces cut out of them as if in handfulls. The chief and some others remaining appeared sorry, and promised the pieces should be returned, which was faithfully done the next morning."

The minor national traits which seem so trifling that they have been almost invariably overlooked by historians, are precisely those from which alone we can form a just estimate of the character of a people. The few notices of the social usages of the Greeks and Romans, which we can glean from the classic writers of antiquity, afford us a more correct notion of the peculiar genius and character of these nations, than could be derived from the perusal of the most ample disquisitions on their wars and public institutions. Without attempting to institute any comparison between the savage Esqui-

maux and the civilized nations of ancient or modern times, we may remark that our northern navigators in treating of these interesting tribes, have imitated the old historians, and have described only their most striking features, such as their physical structure, their imitative powers, their dress, and the form of their huts. Necessarily intermittent as has been the intercourse of the white man with the Esquimaux, it has been sufficient, however, to enable him to observe their social customs and domestic life. Unhappily, Arctic explorers have considered these matters as quite foreign to their purpose. During Sir John Ross's protracted stay of *three winters* in Regent's Inlet, the only information he gives us on these points is, that plurality of wives and husbands prevailed among the tribes of that district. We give, therefore, the following passage, although at some length, since it throws some additional light on this subject.

"On the morning in question, the quarter-master of the watch, David Dunstall, came into my cabin, and informed me he had had a dreadful misfortune—and, to my horror—that he had shot a native alongside the ship, and on hurrying outside, I found the man was shot through the head, and must have died instantaneously.

"The man who had been the cause of the unlooked-for event, showed by his manner that it had been an accident, and upon making further enquiries, I found that several natives had arrived alongside the ship previous to the time they were allowed, and although desired on that account to go away several times, they could not be induced to do so, and the quarter-master of the watch took out a fowling piece in his hand, in order to frighten them, and when motioning with it for them to go away, it went off and lodged the contents of the barrel in the back part of the poor man's head. The remainder of the party, five or six, ran away so speedily that there was no means of overtaking them, and the body being left, it became necessary to consider the best means of disposing of it. We soon after removed it to such a distance from the ship that the natives could advance to it without fear of us, and at the same time give them no pretext for coming any nearer the ship. When this had been done, and a large quantity of tobacco left with the body, as an intimation of our friendship, all that we could do was to hope that some of our friends amongst them would still have sufficient confidence to come down and give us an opportunity of explaining this affair. In this expectation we were not disappointed, as two of the chief men came to the ship at once, having, before leaving the settlement, exerted their influence to quiet the people in their first outbreak.

“ One of these men, who was remarkable for his intelligence, was made to comprehend the possibility of such an accident ; and great pains were taken to show that the charge was shot intended for birds, not men. When this impression was established, we requested them to go back and explain it to the people. By the time they had arrived at the place where the body had been left, a great many had collected, amongst them the wife and friends of the unfortunate deceased, whom I was glad to find had left no children. They sat round, and appeared deeply engaged in conversation for about two hours, listening, as we supposed, to the explanation ; then they seemed to examine the body, and his own deerskins having been brought down, he was wrapped in them and placed on a sledge, which was drawn by his wife, leading, and four men, one following, across the bay to the cemetery, near Point Barrow. None of the others accompanied the procession. A few of them came as usual alongside the ship, but as they were for the most part of those known not to be friendly to us, our people were kept on board to avoid any treacherous retaliation.

“ During the day I was gratified to find the wives of the principal chiefs come on board, and expressed their sorrow at the absence of their husbands, who were at open water looking for whale ; but they had been sent for, and were coming on board as soon as they returned. They told us also that all work was stopped for five days, the women not being allowed to sew for that time, which seems to be a general custom on occasion of any death, and remarked that we ought not to have any hammering on board for the same time ; and as I was anxious to show every sympathy in our power, the calkers at work outside were ordered to cease work, and the ensign hoisted half mast, the meaning of which was explained and understood by them. In the evening one of the chiefs who had been first down after the accident, visited us with his wife, and brought intelligence that a diversion existed in the camp as to revenging themselves on us, but as the chiefs were unwilling to favour it, it seemed nothing of the sort would be attempted.

“ However, proper precautions were taken to avoid any surprise, particularly as a thick fog at the time of sleep favoured such a design.”

From the physical characteristics of the Esquimaux, and the custom of rubbing noses as a mode of salutation which obtains among them, it is evident that they are allied with the Malay and Mongol races ; but this custom of a prescribed term of mourning for their dead closely links even the isolated tribes which inhabit the coast east of Point Barrow with the great family of mankind, and furnishes an additional proof,—if any such were needed in support of Divine Revelation,—of the common origin of the human race.

The tolerable amount of intelligence shown by the Esquimaux has induced the belief that they could be easily civilized. No decided effort has yet been made with that object, and we cannot therefore decisively pronounce as to whether they be capable or not of enjoying the blessings of civilization; but when we consider that the degree of civilization to which a people can attain is always dependant on the soil and climate in which they live, we cannot avoid concluding that the Esquimaux must be for ever precluded from sharing them. The first means of fixing the wandering savage is by the settlement of civilized man in his neighbourhood, by winning him to agricultural pursuits, and then by elevating his mind by the sublime truths of religion. It is obvious that this indispensable process cannot take place with the inhabitants of the dreary wastes of the polar circles. It is true that the Arab of the desert and the nomad hordes of the barren steppes of Russia and Tartary have bowed their necks to the irksome and invisible meshes of civilization, and have played a splendid part in the great drama of life. It must, however, be remembered that, although these races had to struggle with an ungenial soil and climate, they possessed a powerful incentive to emerge from barbarism. They had a tradition to fall back on; but without any inspiring antecedents, and with the far more formidable obstacles which nature opposes to his progress, the Esquimaux can never hold any but an inferior station in the scale of humanity.

The following description of a native hut deserves a passing notice, because its construction differs in many respects from the oft-described huts of the more southern Esquimaux of Regent's Inlet and Greenland.

“ On the following day I paid a visit to the village, accompanied by Mr. Simpson, the surgeon. We were followed by several idlers from about the ship, who, as we neared the hut, spread the report of our arrival, which soon caused a great crowd to gather round us, following to the chief's hut, where we found him on his housetop ready to receive us. The winter huts were now covered with snow; the chief's stood about five feet above the ground, with a square opening at one end, into which we followed through a low dark passage sloping downwards for five or six yards, when we stood beneath the opening in the floor of the inhabited part of the hut.

“ It is circular in form, just large enough to admit one person at a time. Passing through it we stood upon a smooth boarded floor,

about sixteen feet by ten feet ; the roof was seven feet high, and in the centre was a small square skylight, covered with transparent whale membrane."

These northern races receive Russian articles from the more southern tribes at Point Hope, which they convey eastward, and exchange for knives and some trifling articles of English manufacture procured from the Hudson's Bay posts ; thus acting as agents between the two companies. By this means, the Point Barrow Esquimaux are placed *en rapport* with the civilized world.

After having examined the coast during the months of March and April, 1853, from Point Barrow eastward to Return Reef, a distance of about 240 miles, Captain Maguire succeeded in reaching Port Clarence in August of the same year.

We now turn to the despatches of Captain M'Clure, the fortunate individual for whom was reserved the solution of a problem, to decide which the nations of maritime Europe had for more than three centuries expended such an amount of life and treasure. As is well known, Captain M'Clure went by the western coast of America and Behring's Straits. It is surprising that the repeated failures of expeditions by Davis's Strait and Baffin's Bay did not force the superior advantages of the former route on the attention of recent navigators, and induce them to prefer it to the other. Setting apart the strong current which runs from Behring's Straits in a north-easterly direction, so favourable to vessels sailing that way by sweeping the ice to the eastward, the ice in these seas is broken into smaller masses, and is much less heavy than that in Baffin's Bay. It is, therefore, less likely to take the ground, and thus block up the passage ; a circumstance by which every attempt from the eastward has been defeated. More than two centuries ago Baffin recommended an attempt from the Asiatic side ; and the veteran navigator, Sir E. Parry, expressed a similar opinion in the narrative of his voyage of 1819. Observing that the westerly and north-westerly winds always cleared the southern shores of the North-Georgian Islands of ice, and brought with them clear weather, so essential in Arctic navigation, and that he sailed eastward from Melville Islands to Lancaster Sound in six days, a distance which it required five weeks to traverse when going in the oppo-

site direction, he concluded that the attempt would have a better chance of success by the western than by the eastern coast of America. It is probable that the commanders of Arctic expeditions were prevented from attempting a north-east passage by reluctance on the part of their men to encounter the intense cold of the Polar regions, after having so recently experienced the fervent heat of the tropics; whereas they would be more easily induced to endure the perils and privations attendant on Arctic navigation in a north-west direction, when cheered by the hope of basking, after the toils and rigours of the icy seas, beneath the vivific rays of a tropical sun in some of the palmy islands of the Pacific.

Notwithstanding the decided advantages of a north-east route, the first efforts to enter the Arctic seas by Behring's Straits were unsuccessful. This passage was first attempted by Cook, in 1778, whose hopes were frustrated by the close-packed ice, as were the attempts of the investigators who followed in his track, either by arriving at the ice too late in the year, or by seasons of unusual severity,—their progress being almost invariably arrested by impenetrable barriers of ice. So it happened in the first expeditions of Captains Kellett and Moore, who were unable to pass Icy Cape, although in a second effort they succeeded in advancing considerably beyond it, and in surveying a large portion of the northern coast of America.

The interest excited by Captain M'Clure's discovery has rendered his proceedings better known than those of the other commanders whose despatches are contained in the volume of Parliamentary papers under review.* The importance of that discovery, however, will, we trust, justify us in tracing the course of the "Investigator," even at the risk of repeating that which is already familiar to the reader.

Captain Collinson, in the "Enterprise," having Captain M'Clure's vessel, the "Investigator," under his command, sailed from England early in the month of January, 1850. After passing through the Straits of Magellan, both vessels were separated in heavy weather, and have never since

* Captain M'Clure's Despatches have been issued in a cheap form by Mr. Betts, publisher to the Royal Geographical Society.

met.* After exchanging signals with the "Herald," Captain M'Clure sailed on alone, rounded Point Barrow on the 6th of August, and with all sail set dashed bravely into the ice pack. Off Point Drew they first saw natives who were friendly and honest; but farther east the natives were found to possess the thievish propensities of those encountered by Maguire. Arrived at Point Warren, he landed with the intention of examining the grave of a white man, whom one of the natives asserted had been murdered there, and buried upon a hill a little distance from the shore. A fresh easterly breeze springing up at that time, compelled the captain to relinquish his intention of sifting the matter farther, every moment being of importance in the navigation of the Arctic Seas; but we agree with him in thinking that the examination of the grave would not afford any traces of the Franklin expedition, from the very confused notion which these people have of time; the chief who gave information of the circumstance, replying, on being questioned as to when it occurred, "It might be last year, or when I was a child."

Of the natives of Cape Bathurst, (who had never seen white men before,) he says:—

"Many came on board the ship, but one only ventured below, who was exceedingly surprised to find that we had not tents but houses (cabins), and said he should have many wonderful things to relate when he went home. The tribe is a fine intelligent race—cleanly, handsome, and well grown; and I deeply regret that so little has hitherto been attempted in civilizing them. I sincerely hope that the day is not far distant when this interesting people may be redeemed from their deplorable state of heathen darkness."

The kind and conciliatory bearing of the "Investigator's" crew towards the natives, had a most beneficial effect on the latter, and evoked those hospitable feelings which seem as native to man in his most untutored as in his most refined state.

* Three years have elapsed since tidings were received of Captain Collinson and his companions, and anxious apprehensions are felt for their safety. While we write, an expedition, under the command of Captain Maguire, is searching for them, along the north-western coast of Behring's Straits, where the "Enterprise" was last seen.

“The natives, now assured of our friendly intentions, came on board without the slightest reluctance, and, through the medium of the interpreter, acquainted us that during the night they had been preparing a feast, roasting whale and venison, and had salmon, blubber, and other delicacies, besides plenty of skins, ready at the tents, and hoped we would come on shore, which, indeed, I should have very much enjoyed had the vessel been in a less precarious position.”

Thus the natives of these desolate regions can partake of a banquet as luxurious as any that ever graced an aldermanic table. The abundant supply of food, as well as of the few necessaries which they require, obtained as they are with little labour and less skill, contribute to render them the careless, good-natured, happy beings they are. But for the heathenism in which he is plunged, the condition of the Esquimaux might, at least in some respects, be envied by the denizen of our busy hives of civilization, where, for the masses, the bare necessaries of life can be procured only by severe physical or mental labour, too often embittered by many corroding cares. It is indeed refreshing to turn from the hurry and tumult of our western civilisation, with its feverish competition, its ceaseless pursuit of riches, its fierce struggle for existence, its painful contrasts of superfluity and want, of happiness and misery, and the irrational striving of the rich to gain increased wealth which can bring no increased enjoyment; it is, we repeat, refreshing to turn from all this, and contemplate for a moment the happy condition of the Esquimaux, who inhabits the most desolate portion of the globe. Nowhere is the admirable adaptation of man to the conditions by which he is surrounded, or the bounty of a beneficent Providence, more clearly illustrated than within the circle of the northern frigid zone. Inured to the rigorous climate, the native feels at ease when exposed to a temperature of -60° . Nature scatters around him in profusion materials to supply all his wants. He builds his dwelling of snow, and of transparent ice he forms his windows. Of fish-bones he constructs coaches in which he skims over the ice with a smoothness of motion exceeding that of our best patent-spring vehicles. He picks up a lump of copper ore outside his hut, smelts it over his oil lamp, shapes it into a barb, which he attaches to a shaft, and he is provided with his weapon of war and of the chase. A piece of drift-wood floated to his door he fashions into ribs,

over which he draws a seal skin which he fastens to the frame with leather thongs; and lo! he has his pleasure-boat in which, when the ice breaks up, he sails from island to island in search of the innumerable species of game which swarm in these regions during the short but ardent polar summer. The skins of the reindeer, the bear, the seal, and the musk ox, furnish him with garments as peculiarly suited to resist the intense cold of the climate, as their highly carbonaceous flesh is adapted to supply the waste of carbon, consequently an active respiration in a very low temperature. But, although at a first glance we may be tempted to envy the facility with which the Polar savage can supply his limited wants, it requires but slight consideration to perceive that this very facility imposes an insuperable barrier to his progress; and that with all the evils of our social structure, the labour of brain and muscle, which it necessitates on the greater number of those who are subject to its laws, is one of the best means of evoking all those qualities which ennoble man by rendering him an intellectual being.

Directing his course towards the north-east, on the 7th September, 1850, McClure discovered and named Baring's Island, in lat. 71' N., long. 123° W. This he found to be a large island, verdant with the cryptogamic vegetation of the Arctic regions, covered with the traces of reindeer, foxes, hares, and wild fowl, and intersected with ravines, through which flowed an abundance of water. On the 9th he discovered Prince Albert's Land, a little to the eastward of Baring's Islands, and sailing up the strait which separates them, (which he named after the Prince of Wales,) he arrived, after several narrow escapes from shipwreck, near its northern extremity, where he was frozen up for the winter. Being anxious to ascertain whether the waters of this channel were connected with those of Barrow's Strait, Captain McClure set off in sledges from his vessel, accompanied by Mr. Court, second master, and six men. On the 26th October they arrived upon the shores of Barrow's Strait, in lat. 73° 31' N. long. 114° 39' W.,—thus discovering the long-sought North-West passage. On returning to the vessel with the glad tidings, the little party was greeted with enthusiasm by the crew.

Lieutenants Creswell and Haswell, and Mr. Wynniatt, (mate), explored the coast of Prince Albert's Land in

different directions, in May, 1851. It is very hilly, with numerous deep ravines and large lakes. "This," says Captain McClure, "is certainly the most fertile part of the Polar regions."

The dreary polar winter having passed, the "Investigator" was cast off from the floe to which she had been anchored for ten months, and sailed up the strait as far north as $73^{\circ} 13' 43''$, where, finding the ice closely packed from the entrance of the strait as far as the eye could reach, McClure abandoned all hope of reaching Barrow's Strait by that route, and, therefore, turning southward, doubled Nelson Head, the southern point of Baring's Island, on the 17th August, 1851.

Keeping along the western coast of the island, he arrived at Prince Alfred's Cape, its extreme north-western point, where he first experienced the dangers which attend the navigation of the terrific Polar Sea. Tremendous masses of ice, impelled by the wind and current, closed in around them with a pressure which threatened their instant destruction. Scarcely freed from these, a berg would sweep past them, lifting the vessel out of the water with its projecting tongue, and tearing away large portions of her keel. Several times all were on board prepared to abandon the vessel, when, either by the merciful interposition of Providence, or by blasting the ice with gunpowder, they were saved for a brief space from a fearful death. We give one of these perilous incidents in the writer's own words.

"From this until the 29th we lay perfectly secure, but at 8 a.m. of that day the ice began suddenly to move, when a large floe, which must have caught the piece to which we were attached, under one of its overhanging ledges, raised it perpendicularly thirty feet, presenting to all on board a most frightful aspect. As it ascended above the foreyard, much apprehension was felt that it might be thrown completely over, when the ship must have been crushed beneath it. This suspense was but for a few minutes, as the floe rent, carrying away with it a large piece from the foundation of our asylum, when it gave several fearful rolls and resumed its former position, but, no longer capable of resisting the pressure, it was hurried onward with the drifting mass."

After having encountered even greater peril, he succeeded in reaching a safe harbour, which, in gratitude for "the dangers he had passed," he named "Mercy Bay." Here they passed the winter of 1851-2. From thence

Captain McClure went with a sledge party to Winter Harbour, Melville Island, where he left an account of his discoveries, and the position of his ship. Returning, he found that the supply of game had been abundant during his absence, and the crew in fine health and spirits. This, however, did not last long. During the months of January and February the cold was extremely severe, and one day the temperature was as low as -65° .

This low temperature caused much damp between decks, which considerably increased the number of sick on board. Under these circumstances, Captain McClure resolved on sending half of his crew to England, in April, 1853, by the MacKenzie River and Baffin's Bay, detaining the remainder with the hope of saving the vessel in the summer of 1853. As is well known, the vessel has not yet been extricated. Carrying out his resolution, however, he sent Lieutenant Creswell with his despatches to England, where that officer arrived in October, bringing the first tidings of the great discovery.

The notice deposited by Captain McClure at Winter Harbour was found in March, 1853, by an officer of the "Resolute," Captain Kellet, who, on reading it, immediately despatched a sledge party, under Lieutenant Pim, for Mercy Harbour. We must give Captain McClure's graphic description of the meeting, as contained in a letter to Captain Kellet.

"Only imagine, if you can, a whole crew, which had to this moment no idea of any ship but their own being within the limit of these dreary regions, cut off from the world—their isolated situation, and (in defiance of all exertion) a little despondent, when accidentally a strange, remarkable, and solitary figure was seen rapidly advancing, showing gesticulations of friendship, similar to those used by the Esquimaux, black as Erebus from the smoke created by cooking in his tent. My surprise, I may almost add dismay, was great in the extreme. I paused in my advance, doubting who or what it could be, whether a denizen of this or the other world; however, the surprise was momentary. 'I am Lieutenant Pim, late of Herald. Captain Kellet is at Melville Island.' And as the apparition was thus indubitably discovered to be solid real English flesh and blood, to rush at and seize him by the hand was but the first impulsive gush of feeling. The heart was too full for the tongue to articulate, as this dark stranger communicated his errand of mercy. The sick, forgetting their maladies, jumped from their hammocks; the healthy, their despondency;—all flew to the only hatchway that was open, and in far less time than it takes me to write this, all hands were on deck.

“Such a scene can never be forgotten ; all was now life, activity, and joyful astonishment. In the twinkling of an eye the whole crew were changed ; but I shall cease to say more, for I might write much, but never could, even faintly, convey the most remote idea of the sensation created by this most opportune and providential arrival of your relieving party.”

If, divesting the narratives of Arctic explorers of the exciting incidents which invest them with a peculiar fascination, we demand what special benefit has been derived from these expeditions, we must at once decide that they have been useless, as regards any augmentation of the wealth and power of the nation which has taken the most prominent part in Arctic exploration, and that the results which have arisen from them are wholly incommensurate with the expense and peril of such voyages. Aware of this, Russia, so favourably situated for such exploration, and with all her hereditary greed of territorial aggrandizement, has ceased for many years from prosecuting it, and has allowed British seamen to reap the barren glory of geographical discovery in the Arctic seas. It may be that England encourages such expeditions as a means of training her sailors ; but even if she gains by them those men of iron mould and unflinching nerve, who sustain her ancient renown, and preserve to her the sovereignty of the seas, these results are obtained at too costly a price. One pretext for such voyages has been withdrawn by the discovery of the North-West passage, and humanity imperatively requires that Sir E. Belcher's expedition shall be the last to these frozen regions.

The Arctic regions have already been made the field of successful commercial enterprise by whaling companies, and by the Russian and English fur companies, whose trading posts stud the “barren lands” south of the Colville and Copper-mine rivers. But although the discovery of a North-West passage is, geographically speaking, highly satisfactory, yet it cannot be considered as of any benefit to mankind, seeing that it can never be available for commercial purposes. But however unimportant the discovery may be in any save a hydrographical point of view, that fact should not detract in the slightest degree from the honour due to him by whose intrepidity, perseverance, and consummate skill it was effected. With noble zeal and stern resolve he pressed onward through the frozen seas, battling incessantly with the dread powers of

nature, and after a long and deadly struggle with the grim Spirit of the North, he wrung from its adamantine grasp the secret of ages. Proudly may Ireland claim him as her own: his name will ever stand high on the roll of her most illustrious sons.

There are no honours or rewards to which such a man may not justly aspire, and we trust the reward of £20,000, which was offered for the discovery of the North-West passage—annulled by Act of Parliament in 1829—will be renewed in his favour, and that fame and fortune, so often severed, may be united in this instance to perfect the happiness of one who has nobly won the right to enjoy it in its highest degree; so that, when he has returned to England to receive the ovations which await him, he may experience in its full reality that

“————— from high aims ensue
Rich guerdons, and to them alone are due.”*

The results obtained from scientific investigations in the Arctic regions during these expeditions are not among their least interesting features.

The refraction of light in these high latitudes, the pressure and temperature of the atmosphere, the force and direction of currents, the temperature and specific gravity of water at various depths, and the observation of magnetic and atmospheric phenomena, were the principal scientific questions the determination of which has been one of the chief objects of Arctic expeditions. It is to be regretted that the recent despatches do not much contribute to the information previously acquired on any of these points, except on the temperature and pressure of the atmosphere; and no experiments are mentioned as having been made with the instruments with which they were furnished. Here, however, we cannot refrain from giving a rapid glance at the valuable scientific results which have been derived from the researches of previous investigators, beginning with the distribution of heat around the polar circles.

The relative size and configuration of countries being very accurately preserved in a polar projection, and the isothermal lines forming on the northern extremities of the old and new continents two systems of concentric

* Wordsworth.

curves, a more correct idea of their forms and course may be derived from maps traced on this principle than on any other. Viewed, then, on a polar projection, the isothermal lines of the northern hemisphere form circles nearly parallel to the equator between the tropics, and become progressively more sinuous as they advance towards the pole, around which they form a series of curves, somewhat resembling a dumb-bell in figure, the handle of which is formed by the lines curving in towards the pole. This sinuosity of the lines arises from various causes, such as the vicinity of seas, continents, mountain chains, or forests; but the irregularity observable in the curves which surround the pole is produced by warm currents, and more especially by the Gulf Stream, the vapours of which are borne even to that extreme point of the earth by the south-west winds which prevail in high latitudes.

Tracing the two isothermal lines most contiguous to the pole, we find that of $+14^{\circ}$ Fahr. cuts the northern part of Bear Lake, in North America, lat. $60^{\circ} 48'$, thence it ascends to the vicinity of Fort Reliance, lat. $62^{\circ} 46'$, and then rises abruptly towards the north. The curve of the old continent traverses Nova Zembla, passes near Jakouzk, in Siberia, lat. $62^{\circ} 2'$, then advancing towards the north-east, it attains Nischni-Kolymsk, in lat. $68^{\circ} 18'$. The isotherm of $+5^{\circ}$ Fahr. passes to the south of Melville Island, lat. $74^{\circ} 43'$, by Elizabeth Harbour, lat. $65^{\circ} 59'$, thence rises to the north of Igloodik, lat. $69^{\circ} 20'$, and the north of Siberia. The isotherms of the Old and New worlds separate within the Arctic circle, and encircle two poles of maximum cold, which Brewster places in the eightieth parallel of north latitude; one in the meridian of 100° W., a few degrees north of Bathurst Island, and the other near Cape Taimura, in Siberia. To these poles the mean temperatures of $+2^{\circ},54$ and $+1,04$ have been respectively assigned.

Owing to the absence of experimental data, the temperature of the terrestrial pole itself can only be a matter of conjecture. However, from observations made in regions contiguous to it, its temperature has been assumed by approximation; although on this point eminent scientific authorities are at variance, as they naturally may be on a question undetermined by actual observations.

Thus, M. Kämtz* assumes the mean annual tempe-

* *Cours de Météorologie.*

perature of the pole to be $-5^{\circ},7$ centigrade, or $+21,74$ of Fahr.; M. Pouillet* gives it as -25° cent., or $+13^{\circ}$ Fahr.; while Mrs. Somerville † computes it as $+4^{\circ}$ or 5° .

The temperature of the atmosphere in high latitudes has been found very irregular, and the changes sudden and extreme. On one day in April, 1820, Parry observed the thermometer range from -32° to $+32^{\circ}$ in Melville Island; and McClure entered Mercy Bay on the 24th September, 1852, with the temperature at $+33^{\circ}$, and no ice in the Bay, while on the same day of the succeeding year it was at $+2$, and thick ice all round. In January, 1853, the mean was $-44^{\circ},17$ degrees below the corresponding period of the previous year, and one day the temperature averaged -62° . In January, 1831, Ross found the mercury stood several days at -49° . The mean of the month of April, 1832, he gives us -47° ; and the temperature one day in February, 1833, was -55° . He observes that all the coldest days occurred near full moon, and the highest temperature immediately after the change. †

Of the atmospheric pressure at the Polar Circles we may generally observe that the diurnal variation of the barometer diminishes as we approach to the pole, and is marked by irregular oscillations, whose amplitude increases according as we remove from the equator. From the 60th to the 70th degree of north latitude the diurnal variation becomes *nil*, and approaching nearer to the pole the expressions of the mean oscillations became negative. The longest series of observations made by Parry at Port Bowden, in lat. $73^{\circ} 14'$ N., give the diurnal variation of the barometer as $-0,273$ inches.

With regard to the temperature of the Polar Seas north of the 70th parallel of latitude, it has been found to increase with the depth. The same may be said of the sea around Greenland; but in Davis' Straits and Baffin's Bay the temperature of the water decreases with the depth.

Among the most interesting results which have been ascertained by such investigations, are those which have reference to the distribution and force of terrestrial magnetism in the regions surrounding the North Pole. This

* *Eléments de Physique.*

† Connection of the Physical Sciences.

‡ The extremes of cold suffered by Arctic explorers are almost inconceivable. The extremes endured by Captain Back, in $62^{\circ} 46\frac{1}{2}$ N. lat., was -70° ; that experienced by Ross in Elizabeth Harbour -80° ; and that felt by McClure in Mercy Bay -65° .

most mysterious of nature's powers, a splendid development of which is seen in the fitful resplendence of the Aurora, is spread in a higher measure of intensity in the high latitudes of the northern hemisphere than in the corresponding ones of the southern. On glancing at a map which represents, on an orthographic projection, the course of magnetic curves of equal intensity, we find that as these lines recede from the magnetic equator, they form a series of curves, which become more parabolic as they approach the geographical pole, until they culminate in two points of maximum intensity, called the magnetic poles. One of these maxima was discovered by Sir James Ross to lie in lat. $70^{\circ} 5' 17''$, and long. 97° W.; the other has been placed in northern Siberia, in 120° E. long.*

Without tracing the isodynamic curves as we have done the Arctic isothermal lines, we shall briefly group together the magnetic intensities comprised between several parallels of latitude, as furnished us in the map attached to Colonel Sabine's able report to the British Association. The intensities from 1 to 1.3 extend from the 10th to near the 30th parallel of north latitude; those from 1.3 to 1.7 are comprised between the 30th and 60th parallels; and those from 1.7 and upwards are enclosed between the 60th and 70th parallels, within which space the magnetic intensity is greatest. †

* The obvious analogy between the course of the isothermal curves of our hemisphere and that of the isodynamic lines, or those of equal magnetic intensity, as well as the contiguity of the poles of magnetism and of cold, seem to indicate clearly that the distribution of magnetism is intimately connected with that of heat.

† We append the intensities observed at various stations within the Arctic Circles, the longitudes being E.

Place.	Lat.	Long.	Intensity.
Spitzbergen	$79^{\circ}40'$	$11^{\circ}40'$	1.562
Melville Island	$74^{\circ}27'$	$248^{\circ}18'$	1.624
Baffin's Bay	$75^{\circ}51'$	$296^{\circ}54'$	1.618
Regent's Inlet	$72^{\circ}45'$	$270^{\circ}19'$	1.668
Byam Martin Isd.	$75^{\circ}10'$	$256^{\circ}16'$	1.653
Possession Bay	$73^{\circ}31'$	$282^{\circ}38'$	1.637

We may as generally observe of the isoclinal lines of these regions, or those lines in which the magnetic needle makes an equal angle with the true meridian, that they form circles parallel to the equator in low latitudes; but this parallelism decreases as the latitude augments, and they finally form a series of irregular curves around the magnetic and terrestrial poles.

Of the Polar currents we may briefly remark that a surface and under current have been found to exist; the former being influenced by the prevailing winds, and the latter setting due east. Thus light ice-floes are borne in the direction of the wind, while the heavier, penetrating far into the under current, are seen drifting in the opposite direction. The great Polar current which runs along the western shores of Greenland has been ascribed to the tangential force produced by the earth's rotation as causing the waters near the pole to flow towards the equator; but it evidently arises from the annual melting of the circum-polar ice, whose waters, superimposed on those of the surrounding seas, pour their superfluous volume towards the equator to supply the waste occasioned by excessive evaporation in the seas between the tropics.

The refraction of the solar light is very great near the pole, owing to the density of the atmosphere in the regions around it, and the oblique directions of the sun's rays. From this cause arises the deceptive appearance of objects as to size and distance with which Arctic explorers have been struck; and this condition of the atmosphere conduces to the production of *parheliæ*, and other similar optical phenomena. It is this high refractive power also which lends to the long Polar twilight those rich, golden, and roseate hues which invest the Arctic skies with a loveliness denied to more southern and happier climes.

The geological features of these regions are highly interesting; but they have as yet been so imperfectly explored that we are only enabled to state that granite, gneiss, and limestone formations are found to a considerable extent, and that copper and iron ores exist there in large quan-

These values were ascertained by Sabine in 1819—20; but observations made in the same places in consecutive years since show that they have undergone an appreciable variation, and that the magnetic currents of the northern hemisphere are gradually flowing in a direction nearly from west to east.

tities, as well as an abundance of coal, a supply of which Captain Inglefield procured in the Island of Disco, and found excellent. The petrified forest, discovered by Captain McClure in Baring Island, "composed of an entire mass of wood in every stage, from a petrefaction to a log fit for firewood," confirms the theory of a high temperature having once prevailed in these regions, and of the gradual refrigeration of the climate. We may finally observe that, although free from volcanic actions, such as prevail throughout the great Antarctic continent, changes in the physical structure of the islands and continents of the Arctic seas are carried on upon a stupendous scale from the ceaseless falling of mountain masses, disintegrated by the melting of the snows which surround them, or by the pressure of the ever-moving glaciers, and from the rapid abrasion of the shores by the friction of enormous icy masses.*

After having thus hurriedly glanced at the scientific portion of our subject, it now only remains to notice briefly Lady Franklin's Letter to the Lords of the Admiralty. It must be in the recollection of our readers that a notice was issued by the Admiralty in last January to the effect that if intelligence were not received of the officers and crews of the "Erebus" and "Terror" being alive before the 31st of last March, they would be considered as having died in Her Majesty's service. Against this decision Lady Franklin appeals, and demands that the results of the search now being carried on in the Polar Basin may not be anticipated, and the fate of her husband

* In the above imperfect outline we have left unnoticed the Arctic fauna and flora. The former, however, is so well known from Polar narratives as to need no mention, and the latter consists almost wholly of the humble but interesting class, cryptogamia. As illustrative of some individuals of that class, we transcribe the following passage from *Somerville's Connection of the Physical Sciences* :—

"In the Arctic regions the snow not only produces a red alga, but affords shelter to the productions of these inhospitable climes against the piercing winds, that sweep over fields of everlasting ice. The Arctic explorers relate, that under this cold defence plants spring up, dissolve the snow a few inches round, and the part above, being again quickly frozen into a transparent sheet of ice, admits the sun's rays, which warm and cherish the plants in this natural hot-house, till the returning summer renders this protection unnecessary."

and his companions too hastily prejudged. Recapitulating the various expeditions which have been despatched in search of them, from that of Sir J. Ross, in 1848, up to the latest, she shows that every direction has been searched except that in which Sir E. Belcher is at present exploring—namely, the Polar Basin, north of Wellington channel, and feelingly implores the Admiralty not to close this sole avenue of hope by the premature recall of the searching squadron.

Even did our waning space permit, it would be quite profitless to discuss or even passingly notice the various conjectures which have been formed as to the fate of the Franklin expedition. Exposed for such a protracted time to the dangers which incessantly threaten the Arctic navigator, we must consider that fate as no longer problematical; but, assuming that the expedition were destroyed, conjectures as to the *mode* by which its destruction was effected are a mere waste of words, besides being calculated to wound the feelings of the relatives and friends of the lost mariners. To be crushed like a filbert between two meeting floes, or dashed by the icy masses on some of the islands which stud the Arctic waters, or whelmed beneath a capsised berg, or hurried helplessly by the drifting pack into the Polar Sea, are some among the perils which beset the mariner in the treacherous navigation of the Arctic Seas. Had any of the three first accidents occurred to Franklin's vessels, some relics of the wrecks would be found. The absence of any vestige of the ships renders it extremely probable that the last has been their fate. It has been supposed that they sailed up Wellington channel into the open sea beyond it. It is true that this would be deviating from the course laid down in Franklin's instructions, in which he was directed to make for Cape Walker, and thence to the S.W., without diverging north or south of Barrow's Straits; but in this navigation, instructions cannot be fulfilled to the letter, and a discretion must be left to commanders of Arctic expeditions to act according to circumstances.

It is probable that, like Captain McClure, he found the ice stretching from shore to shore in Barrow's Straits, and, knowing the value of every moment during the brief navigable season in these waters, that he sailed up Wellington Channel, which is more generally free from ice. Thus much for conjecture.

Ingenious as are the deductions of Lady Franklin in

support of the present existence of the missing navigators; they have not altered our painful conviction that all further search for them is useless. Nine years have now passed since the Franklin expedition, provisioned for four years, left the shores of England. Since then a large portion of the Arctic seas has been swept by several expeditions, the sole result of which has been, so far as their main object was concerned, the discovery of Franklin's first winter quarters in 1845-6 near Cape Reily. Coupled with the time since elapsed, this is sufficiently discouraging; but as it affords only negative evidence susceptible of being construed either in favour of the actual safety of the expedition, or the reverse, we can but have recourse to the opinions of the experienced Arctic navigators, whose despatches lie before us. Of these opinions that of the commander of the squadron now searching in that part of the Polar seas which has been hitherto unexplored is entitled to most consideration. Sir E. Belcher observes, in his late despatches, "If Sir John Franklin passed through this (Queen's) channel to the southward of Barrow and Parker Islands, and met the floe moving westerly, he never could reach, as far as we can discover, any place of refuge;" and he adds, "If he could not, as we did, haul in and secure shelter, no other chance remained but to drive where the floe carried him; and the mind of any man contemplating its force here, leaves nothing but destruction as the inevitable result." The probable abundance of the resources for supporting life within the region into which her husband is supposed to have entered is one of the grounds on which Lady Franklin bases her hopes; but we are pained to find that it is at least partially destroyed by the researches of Sir E. Belcher, who states that all traces of animal life disappeared on advancing northward from Exmouth Island, in the Polar Basin.

While thus expressing our fears for the safety of the missing navigators, we cannot here withhold the tribute of our sympathy and admiration for the noble-minded woman who has written the touching appeal before us, as much on behalf of the crews of the "Erebus" and "Terror," as on that of their gallant chief, who richly merits the beautiful affection which she manifests for him.* After having

* The following passage from Captain Back's narrative is highly illustrative of Franklin's humane disposition. "It was the custom

expended her entire fortune on the cause in which her very being is absorbed, after having suffered years of anxiety and baffled hopes, we still see her, hopeful as ever, and urging, with an undying love, renewed efforts for the rescue of her husband and his comrades. Although we do not participate her hopes, we earnestly pray that they may be realised.

It is gratifying to know that Lady Franklin's eloquent appeal has not been fruitless. In the House of Commons, on the night of the 5th April last, Sir James Graham stated, in reply to a question of Sir T. Acland, that a discretionary power would be given to the ships engaged in the search, to pursue it as long as they should deem it necessary, and that the names of the officers and crews of the missing vessels would not, for the present, be erased from the Navy List, as had been intimated by the Admiralty notice. Thus even official coldness has been warmed; for the twelfth time, in the cause of humanity, by the quenchless hope and enthusiasm of this noble woman,—an enthusiasm which has animated, as it still inspires, the crowds of devoted men who have vainly striven, and yet strive, to penetrate the veil which shrouds the mysterious fate of Franklin and his companions.

of Sir John Franklin never to kill a fly, and, though teased by them beyond expression, especially when engaged in taking observations, he would quietly desist from his work, and patiently blow the half-gorged intruders from his hands,—‘the world was wide enough for both.’”

Note on Prince Albert's Land, p. 55.—The discovery of this island beautifully completes the researches of Austin and Rae, who, a short time previous, traced its southern shores, (to which they gave the name of Wallaston and Victoria Lands) and furnishes the last link in the chain of discovery south of Barrow's Strait; while it no less strikingly confirms the correctness of the position which has been assigned to its north-eastern extremity, under the name of Banks' Land, on our charts by the venerable prince of Arctic navigators, Sir Edward Parry.

- ART. III.—1. *An Act to make further Provision for the good Government and Extension of the University of Oxford, and of the Colleges therein, and of the College of St. Mary, Winchester*, (17 and 18 Vict. cap. 81).
2. *Collegiate and Professorial Teaching*, by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. London: J. H. Parker, 1854.
3. *A few very plain Thoughts on the proposed admission of Dissenters to the University*, by the Rev. J. KEBLE, Vicar of Hursley, late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and Professor of Poetry.
4. *The National Miscellany*, for June, 1854.—Article, “*The Past and Present of Oxford.*” London: J. H. Parker.

IN our former article on this subject we mentioned expensive and extravagant tastes as the prevailing vice and bane of Oxford society. So far, indeed, has this been (and we fear still is) the case, that the acknowledged state of extravagance on the part of the young men during their college residence has been made the basis of every effort at university extension during the last ten years. It is not with a view to admit students, whose personal convictions or hereditary traditions forbid them to subscribe “the true and full meaning” of the Thirty-nine Articles, or to relax the exclusiveness of that religious system which Oxford more peculiarly represents, but to admit a *poorer* and a needier race of men,—a class of persons who fall short of the “fine gentleman” who is the too frequent produce of an Oxford education, but who are in fact the very nerve and sinew of our commercial and industrious middle classes,—it is for this purpose that the cry of “University extension” has been so loudly raised of late years. And to do justice to the promoters of the scheme, we ought to add that they started the subject and brought it before the public in a practical and tangible shape, nine years ago, long before the “Parliamentary Commission” was first hatched in the fertile brain of Lord John Russell.

It has been given as a rule-of-three sum to the Commissioners, “If an Oxford education at present, and under the existing system, costs from £800 to £1000, how

much will it cost, if we can get certain alterations made in the system?" This sum, it is clear, cannot be worked out until a previous question has been answered, namely, what alteration is it possible to make in the aforesaid system, now that the colleges have absorbed the university and obtained a monopoly of education? This "previous question" was solved by Her Majesty's Commissioners, by the suggestion of four plans, more or less intimately connected with each other, and all involving, more or less, return to the original principles on which the university was founded. These were, 1, the establishment of new halls, in connexion with the existing colleges, as affiliated bodies; 2, their establishment as independent societies; 3, the granting of permission to undergraduates to lodge in private houses more extensively than at present, still retaining, however, the existing connexion with their colleges; 4, permission to students to become members of the university, and to be educated by the university under due superintendance, without subjecting them to the expenses incident to a college or hall.

But how was it that the authorities of the university could do nothing in this matter, nay, could not stir a hand or foot towards lowering the expenses of the place, without coming to parliament to demand an enabling act? We will answer in the words of the Report.

"The restrictions on the energies of the university are, like many others which we have had occasion to mention, imposed by the Laudian Code. By the provisions of that code no student can be a member of the university without being a member of the college or hall, in which he is constantly to take his meals, and to lodge at night. No college is permitted to lodge its members in buildings adjacent to the college, unless they be so situated as to have no entrance except through the common gate. Since the days of Laud, two Halls (Gloucester Hall and Hart Hall) have been turned into colleges. The latter of these has, however, become extinct. No new places of education have since been created; nor is there, so far as appears, any provision in the University Statutes for establishing a new college or hall without the assistance of the Crown or of the legislature."

That some, at least, of the resident members of the university feel these restrictions to be real grievances, and would gladly see them removed, is evident from the following paragraph of Mr. Pattison's very able and useful evidence, p. 43.

“It is incumbent, indeed,” he writes, “on a university to be cautious and deliberate in all its proceedings. But experiments are not necessarily rash—there are wise ones—there are even wise experiments in legislation which do not answer, and then to desist from them involves no disgrace..... We, in Oxford, are weary of scheming, suggesting, and pamphleteering. Give us leave to be doing something. Untie our hands, and open our gates, and let us at least try if we can attract here, and can usefully deal with that larger circle of youth whom we are told we ought to have here. If only a little relaxation is given us, and if then our numbers do not increase, it will be impossible to avoid ascribing that to the usual abortiveness of half-measures. But, indeed, the utmost that is now asked for is truly little. The ideal of a national university is that it should be co-extensive with the nation—it should be the common source of the whole of the higher (or secondary) instruction for the country; but the proposed measure would, after all, only go part of the way towards making it co-extensive with that part of the nation which supports the Established Church. If we can only draft in 500, say 300 students (additional), from a class whose education has hitherto terminated with the national school or the commercial academy, the good that would be effected by acting even on this moderate scale cannot be represented by figures. It would be the beginning of a system by which the university would strike its root freely into the subsoil of society, and draw from it new elements of life, and sustenance of mental and moral power.”

But as to the four plans proposed; Mr. Temple, the head of Kneller Hall Training College, near Twickenham, suggested that halls might be established in Oxford, and severally affiliated to the existing colleges, each being placed under the superintendance of some fellow of the college to which the hall belonged. His opinion is, that if in these halls all meals were in common, and each student occupied a single room only, and the university and Her Majesty's Government would remit the fees paid to them upon taking degrees, and if the *Professorial Staff* of the University were restored to its former efficiency, the annual expenses of each student for the academic year, of six months' duration, need not exceed £30, assuming, of course, that the college would be compelled to endow its hall out of its superfluous wealth; and even omitting the two assumptions above mentioned, and supposing the warden and sub-warden of the college had to be maintained and paid by the students, and to act as their tutors, and deliver lectures, he calculates that the total expense of education in such halls need not amount to above £70 or £75 a year.

But against this scheme the Commissioners very wisely placed the practical difficulties arising from the cost of a site and buildings for such purposes, as well as other considerations of a different character, and accordingly they negatived the first of the four above mentioned plans with the following remarks :

“ We have no wish to encourage ‘ poor scholars ’ to come to the university because they are poor. If we look to the wants of the country and the (Established) Church, we must believe that what is needed is not a philanthropic scheme for counterbalancing the inequalities of fortune, but rather enactments which will provide that neither the rich nor the poor, if they have the necessary qualifications, shall be deterred or debarred from following the course in which they can be most useful. What is needed is justice, directed to the removal of every impediment, every unnecessary expense ; not charity, designed to produce, under artificial stimulants, a large class of students without vocation or special aptitude for a learned profession. What is needed is encouragement to merit and industry ; so that every promising youth, however poor, shall be able to command assistance to support him in the university. We hope that such encouragement will be amply provided, as it can easily be, and that colleges will be so regulated as to enable all young men who have gained a scholarship to go through the Oxford course with as little expense as would be incurred in affiliated halls, even according to the estimate of their warmest supporters. We also hope that the measures which we shall recommend will bring the expense of a university education within so moderate a compass, that few or none of those who have received the previous training indispensable for an Academical career will be excluded from its benefits ; and that those who are poor, whether they can obtain a scholarship or not, will find it possible to arrive at a degree even more cheaply than is contemplated by the supporters of the halls in question.”—p. 40.

The second plan recommended to Her Majesty’s Commissioners was the foundation of independent halls, which some individuals were sanguine enough to think, would be soon accomplished by private subscription ; and in which the only difference from the plan proposed by Mr. Temple (so far as we can see) would consist in the absence of all ties to any existing college. They seem to think that much good might be effected, much extravagance checked, diligence secured, and morals guarded in such institutions if placed under a rigid superintendance and watchful discipline.

“ But,” they added, “ it must be remembered that the discipline

must be rigid and the superintendance watchful indeed, which would completely prevent those evils, the possibility of which is inseparable from human liberty; and, that in proportion as this liberty was diminished, the benefits would be lost which Providence has attached to its due exercise. If the students were strictly confined within walls, compelled to take all their meals in common, kept from free intercourse with each other in private, and thus restrained from the idle habits which such intercourse often produces, we may admit that during the academical six months, they would be comparatively safe from many of the ordinary temptations of undergraduate life. But it can hardly be supposed that the general result of such a system would be suitable to the character of the English Church, and of the English people. And yet it is doubtful whether any less stringent restraints would offer a complete guarantee."—p. 43.

Another ground of objection taken by the Commissioners was the probability that these new halls would become hotbeds and nurseries of religious discord. As soon as leave is given to found them, they expect that Dr. Pusey and his friends, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Marriott, and Archdeacon Denison, will set to work, and found a St. George's or St. Peter's Hall where "Anglo-Catholicism" of the highest order shall flourish and abound, where the Articles will be "snubbed," and the liturgical parts of the Prayer Book alone dwelt upon; where no meat will be allowed on Fridays, and where the "Library of the Fathers" and of "Anglo-Catholic Theology," and all the most approved books of "Catholic" devotion from the press of Messrs. Masters, and Parker, will be encouraged; where weekly communion and the constant confessional will be continually alarming the nerves of papas and mammas, and rousing the most malignant suspicions of the "Record," and the Exeter Hall school of divines; while probably they may even anticipate a day when Lords Shaftesbury, Harrowby, and Blandford, with Mr. Close, Mr. Hatchard, and Mr. Hobart Seymour will put down their names for large subscriptions in order to carry out the plan of a truly Protestant Institution, under the name of "Wycliffe," or "Cranmer," or (possibly) "Sumner" Hall, where the Thirty-Nine Articles, and two books of Homilies, Jewell's Apology, Scott's Commentary, Dr. Cumming's Lectures, and Bickersteth's Scripture Help, shall do their best towards inculcating the Supremacy of the Holy Scripture, the full right of Private Judgment, and the cardinal doctrine of "Justification by Faith" after the newest and

most approved interpretation. But then, they are consoled by the philosophical reflection that "it will be all the same a hundred years hence," and that the most zealous partisans must, sooner or later, learn by experience that they cannot take any measures which will secure the permanent occupation of their own halls by men of like tenets to their own. They allow far more weight to a further objection, namely, that in the course of time the new halls would sink down into the stagnation and indifference which is the normal character of the existing halls, where education is dear and bad too; and accordingly, they give the benefit of the doubt against the proposed plan.

At the same time they are anxious to have the Laudian Code fully and effectually repealed, so as to enable those who wish to set on foot the scheme of independent halls, to do so with as little restriction and delay as possible.*

* After full discussion of the matter in the House of Commons and Lords, the clause which licensed the erection of independent halls was affirmed by a considerable majority, against the violent opposition of Messrs. Walpole and Henley. And what is more, these halls may be opened by any Master of Arts whatever who can procure the Vice-Chancellor's license, even though he does not subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. It is not a little singular that at the present moment the only persons, besides the Anglicans themselves, who are qualified to open halls of the above kind in Oxford, are those individuals who have become converts to the Catholic religion. Father Newman, we observe, writes with a deep, and we doubt not well-founded, regret for the charming repose and tranquillity of Oxford as a seat of study, but he would speak with equal distrust of the proffered boon, even if the university professoriate were restored, and its appointments thrown open to all creeds, and the Protestant body on their part were resolved to do justice to their Catholic brethren. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* is the substance of his words. Others of the Catholic body, however, as we happen to know, would most gladly avail themselves of a course of university study at Oxford, if they could but feel sure that their faith would not be tampered with; and it is by no means true that Mr. F. Lucas had a right to disclaim, on behalf of the entire Catholic body, all wish to obtain a footing in the university of Oxford. It is quite certain that if we were admitted there, we should inspire others with quite as much fear of us as we feel of them; and we cannot but think that timidity on our part seems to argue something like a distrust in the goodness of our cause, and the vast superiority of our religion and its means of grace, as compared with those which belong to our Protestant breth-

The 3rd plan, which proposed to enable the students to reside more generally in lodgings than was allowed under the old stereotyped Code of Laud, still, however, retaining their connection with the existing colleges, was met at once by the objection that, although it would enable the university to accommodate more students without any immediate or even distant outlay, still it was one which would not of necessity diminish the expense of a university education, while it might even increase it;—the rent of lodgings being dearer than the rent of College rooms;—while that far larger portion of a student's expenditure, which arises from intercourse with his society, would be incurred by him all the same. The plan, however, as the Commissioners of Her Majesty remarked, would have one beneficial effect, namely, that of emptying such colleges as are badly conducted, and leading them in the long-run to some useful reforms in self-defence.

The 4th plan was that which the Commissioners recommended most strongly, as the only hope of really mending the present miserably vicious system of the colleges—vicious, we mean, in the way of extravagance. It is nothing more nor less than a simple removal of the monopoly which they have so long enjoyed, by permitting students to become members of the university, and to receive a university education, without incurring the expenses incidental to a college or hall.

ren. In proof of our assertion, let our readers observe the following remarks of Mr. Keble in his recent pamphlet, entitled "A Few very plain Thoughts on the Proposed Admission of Dissenters to the University of Oxford." On page 4 he writes, "So far as Oxford may still continue to be peopled more or less by earnest persons, just so far will it henceforth be a place of restless strife and divisions, perplexities, heart-breakings, and fallings away, probably to an extent of which nothing that has yet happened can give us the smallest idea. Only consider for a moment what manner of men they are who have gone out from among us.....and imagine what power they will have to unsettle and draw after them zealous but half-informed minds, when the door will be opened to them in such a place as Oxford will then be, to set their own apparent unity and self-denial side by side with the prevailing indifference. And consider what a fearful reaction this will cause, when all who cannot accept all their teaching will be tempted to combine against them, and in combining to give up (it may be) the very links which bind us to the (Established) Church at all."

“The absorption of the university by the colleges,” they write, “has been often brought before us in the evidence, and has been already noticed in previous parts of our Report. Great as are the advantages which the colleges have conferred on the university, we cannot doubt that both the one and the other have suffered from the extent to which their amalgamation has been carried ; and that the restoration of the university to its proper superiority would, independently of all other considerations, be a great benefit. The monopoly of teaching by the colleges has gone far to extinguish the professorial system in Oxford, and, consequently, to impair, if not to destroy, the character of the university as a seat of learning. The absence of competition has encouraged the apathy which has rendered some of the most powerful and wealthy of the colleges the least useful. The strong college feeling engendered by the present system has superinduced a neglect, we might almost say an unconscientiousness, of the claims of the university on the affections and exertions of its members, such as could hardly have existed had there been a body of men attached to the university, but unconnected with the colleges. For these and other reasons we feel it to be a matter of great importance to raise up by the side of the colleges an independent body, which will bear witness to the distinct existence of the university, and excite the colleges to greater exertion.

“The proposed plan has the great advantage of virtually embracing the most feasible and useful parts of the various schemes already suggested.....No outlay of capital would be required. This plan would admit of indefinite extension without loss of time, and of as rapid contraction. Its permanency would depend not on the benevolence or zeal of individuals or societies, which might be transient, but on the interest both of parents and of students. It would enable the latter to obtain instruction from the eminent men, who may be induced by the measures we shall hereafter suggest to become professors resident in Oxford. They would not, as is now often the case, be restricted to such assistance as the college tutors give, whether great or little ; nor would they be obliged to incur the heavy expense of a private tutor, in cases where more able and careful instruction may be needed.”

The great objection urged against the admission of such a class of students into the university, namely, that it will have a tendency to impair the high tone of polished and gentlemanly feeling, which (it must be confessed,) generally characterizes an Oxford education, is answered on the part of the Commissioners by the expression of a counter-hope that the new class of students, if they make their presence felt at all, will tend to introduce among members of colleges more frugal and quiet habits, and so discourage

‘ those extravagant ways of thinking and living which now deter many parents from sending their sons to Oxford at all.’*

* Under the head of “University Intelligence,” we learn from the *Times* of May 17, that a new form of statute was proposed in Convocation at Oxford on the 23rd of May last. The leading objects of the following proposed alterations were.—1. to enlarge the power of the Vice-Chancellor to permit junior members of colleges and halls, on application from the heads of their respective societies, to reside in the town with their relatives or others, for some special reason, approved by the Vice-Chancellor; 2, to provide better regulations for the lodging-houses in which students are allowed to reside; 3, to permit colleges and halls to annex to themselves, subject to certain conditions, “affiliated houses” for the reception of their members, such houses being under special regulations in regard to economy, or otherwise, at the discretion of the college or hall to which they may be annexed; 4. to permit the establishment of “independent halls,” to be placed under special regulations for diminishing the expenses of the students.

This statute was submitted to the votes of the House in three separate portions. And in the same Convocation the subjoined decree was proposed, sanctioning certain regulations respecting lodging-houses for junior members of the university.

That the request from any head of a college or hall for the above-mentioned license shall certify:—

“That the master or mistress of the house in which the scholar is to lodge is, to the best of his belief, a fit person to receive lodgers, and has signed the following engagement:—

“‘1. I will be myself resident so long as any members of the university are lodging in my house.

“‘2. I will have the doors of my house locked at 9 o’clock at night, and will note down the hour after 9 o’clock at which any junior member of the university lodging in my house shall enter or leave his lodgings.

“‘3. I will deliver or send a list every morning to the porter of the college or hall to which any such lodger in my house belongs, in time to be by him inserted in his gate-bill.

“‘4. I will report, at the same time, to the dean, or some other officer of the college or hall, if any such lodger in my house shall pass the night out of his lodgings.

“‘5. I will not allow, on any account, a key of any outer door of my house to any such member of the university lodging therein.

“‘6. I will not supply or receive into my house, except from his own college or hall, a meal for any such lodger, without a written permission from some officer of his college or hall.’”

Of the above proposed alterations the 1st., 2nd., and 3rd. were

It is shown by experience that this is the only plan which will enable the "poor student" to enjoy the advantages of Oxford, because it is the only one under which a student can live in as great obscurity and retirement as he pleases, without being exposed to ridicule. He will have no college fees to pay; no college servants, far wealthier than himself, to pay; no college library and college boat to support by annual subscriptions; no "caution" money* to deposit in the hands of his college on going into residence; no furniture to purchase on first starting upon his university career. He will live in his own lodgings; and instead of being obliged to fall in with the existing state of things, and to obey the tyrannical exactions of an artificial state of society, or else to put up with the silent contempt of his wealthy and thoughtless fellow-students, he will be able to live as humbly as he pleases, to abstain from wine and desserts, from luxurious breakfasts and hot suppers, and the not less mischievous because more subtle and refined intellectual extravagance which shows itself in costly books and pictures. In fact, just as some poor and persevering medical students live in London, in the practice of rigid economy for some three or four years, while they are "walking the hospitals" or attending medical lectures, so it may be expected that at Oxford too, some ten years hence, there will be found some four hundred or five hun-

adopted, and carried by a large majority; but the clause proposing the establishment of independent halls was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 14 to 25. It should be added, however, that the objections raised against the adoption of this latter plan appeared to be rather against the detail of the arrangements, than against the object itself. "It now remains," observes the *Times* of May 24, "for the university to show whether they are sincere or not in this project of university extension. We fear that it has only been adopted in consequence of the pressure from without, and that it will never be fairly and fully arrived at under the existing rulers.

* This is a sum, varying, we believe, from £20 to £30, which every individual has to deposit with the bursar of the college on his matriculation, as a guarantee against any debts that he may incur. The yearly income derived to the college funds from this source, at all events in the more numerous colleges, must be considerable, as it is usually invested in the funds or other securities. We should add that the money is usually returned to the individual when he ceases to be a member of the college by withdrawing his name from its "Books."

dred students above the present number, studying mathematics and physical science under the university professors; and living a hard and self-denying life in privacy. Then would be, indeed, realized the *fallentis semita vitæ*. The universities of Scotland* exhibit many instances of poor students fighting on very narrow means the battle of life; and, as Her Majesty's Commissioners remark, "such brave struggles might be witnessed in Oxford too, if the poor were admitted to the university, as of old, without being forced to join any college or hall."

But it is thought by some great upholders of the college system, that the proposed plan will produce laxity and

* The following passages of a Parliamentary Blue Book will be read with interest, in connection with the proposal of admitting university students at Oxford, unconnected with any college :

"What do you conceive might be the annual expense of living to students who attended King's College (Aberdeen) about ten years ago, when you were a professor?—I should think it would vary. I have known students pass the five months at King's College as low as £11 or £12, exclusive of fees; but that was an extreme case. But I should think that the average of what might be spent by students in the college, exclusive of fees, might be about £20 for the five months, or between that and £25. The lodging is very cheap there."—Evidence on the University of Glasgow, p. 211.

"I asked him if he meant that he lived on meal only, prepared in different ways? He said, 'Yes.' I then went to his landlady, and asked whether he was so poor as that he could not afford anything better? She said, 'Not at all; he has abundance of money.' I asked, 'What is it, then, that he does with it?' 'He lays it out on books;' and, says she, 'What do you think he paid me at the end of last Session for his whole necessaries? I bought for him everything that he required for food, and supplied him with fuel, candles, and lodging, and the whole amount was £4. 17s. for five months.' Now a young man trained in this way (and he was one of our best scholars) is capable of going through hardships and difficulties which a man trained in a different way could not do.

"Are a great proportion of your students in a situation of pecuniary difficulty? There are a great number of them that are, in fact, obliged to go home and work at farm-labour in order to enable them to come up the next session to college; and I have one gentleman in my eye who, I am sure, will be an honour to any profession he enters upon, who was obliged to do so—that is, to hold the plough and cut the harvest; and I scruple not to say that he is one of the best scholars that ever was within the walls of the university."—Evidence on the University of Aberdeen, p. 14.

immorality; and that the location of students in private lodgings will expose them to too great temptations. To this it is answered, that at present every student after twelve terms of residence, is forced to take lodgings for the remainder of his time; and secondly, that morality is not secured by residence within college walls. "The very congregation of numbers," says Professor Wall, "the facilities of stepping from room to room, and for making up parties of pleasure, have their evils. One or two bad men may, and often do, work immense mischief in a college. Many a youth who comes up well-disposed is ruined by bad society in his college—society which he was not likely to have known had he been in private lodgings." Moreover there is a certain amount of truth in the following remark of the Commissioners themselves:

"Whatever degree of license now prevails, we think that the really poor scholars would not be in much danger. They would not have credit at command; they would be exposed to fewer temptations, and would be less likely to give way to them. We have already had occasion to observe how greatly the extravagance and vice of the students depend on their idleness and means of indulgence. There is every reason to hope, on the other hand, that poverty, and the guarantee implied in poverty that such students would come to the university only for the sake of study, would act as a direct hindrance to vice, and as an inducement to good conduct."—Report, p. 52.

Dr. Pusey's new work on "Collegiate and Professorial Teaching and Discipline" comes in here; we must own that we have received considerable advantage and instruction from its perusal, and that it is a very instructive work for our Catholic readers. With the relative merits of teaching by college tutors or university professors we are not at present concerned; but he certainly shows most completely that, upon the whole, the collegiate system in point of fact, has worked the better of the two so far as concerns the morality of the students. In order to establish this point by safe and certain facts, the learned professor gives us a regular historical account of the colleges which composed the French universities, more especially that of Paris, as well as those established in Germany, and shows that colleges were established in order to protect students from the temptations of corrupt cities. He also gives a graphic account of the state of matters in Oxford and Paris during times anterior to the Reformation, and proves

that in every case the excesses committed by the students in those universities were attributed by cotemporary writers to the great difficulty of keeping any strict control over the "martinets," as those were called who attended the university lectures without lodging in colleges. The concluding remarks of Dr. Pusey are so apposite to the matter before us, and the charitable way in which he speaks of the members of another communion presents such a contrast to that which too many of our own writers adopt in reference to Oxford, that we venture to insert them at length. They refer more particularly, it should be remarked, to the university of Paris.

"In a great and corrupt capital, there must have been, and ever will be, sin. Whether it would have been better to have removed the university from Paris altogether, is a question which the heads of colleges there had not before them. They did what they could. And it appears from the account of the colleges at Navarre, Sorbonne, Calvi, Laon, and Plessi, that they did yield good and noble fruits. There is proof that, all along, the university of Paris was accounted to be as 'a river of God,' a 'fruitful field which God had blessed.' The very reforms show that there was no deep evil to be reformed as to the discipline of the colleges. Those who were confessedly the least disciplined, belonged to that very class which the Commissioners wish to bring into the university of Oxford, the 'martinets;' i. e., scholars living in private houses, and attending the public lectures. This class was done away with on account of its irregularities."—p. 159.

But when these poor "martinets" or university students are brought to Oxford, who shall teach them? They are not to belong to any college or hall; and as matters stand at present, the college tutors have absorbed in themselves the professorial staff of the university, and in their turn bid fair to be superseded at no distant time by the younger men who act as private tutors, and who, in that capacity, often make large incomes from the very moment that they have passed their own examination for classical honours. In the earliest period of the history of the university, as we have shown above, every resident master of arts was, or was supposed to be, a teacher.* Gradually, however, as

* The remembrance of these days is still traditionally observed in the ceremony of conferring the degrees of M.A., D.D., or D.C.L. On each of those who are presented for the above degrees is nominally bestowed the privilege of entering the schools and publicly

the university became more completely moulded into being, professors were appointed to deliver lectures before the university. About the time of the Reformation, prælectorships or college-professorships would seem to have been established in the various colleges, and the college tutors did not exist as a definite and important body until the introduction of the examination for honours at the commencement of the present century. The university statutes nowhere even allude to the existence of such a race of beings as the college tutors; but still at present nearly the whole of the instruction of the university is practically vested in their hands.* “Doubtless,” as Her Majesty’s

lecturing on the respective branch of knowledge, arts, divinity, or civil law. “To all of them,” says the Report, p. 90, “on their presentation for the degrees of Master or Doctor, the highest officer of the university, placing ‘the book’ on the head of each, utters in Latin these solemn words, ‘To the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the benefit of our holy mother the Church, by my authority and the authority of the whole university, I grant to thee the power of incepting in the faculty of arts, &c., lecturing and disputing, and doing all besides which pertains to the state of Doctor or Master in the said faculty, when thou shalt have completed all that relates to such solemnity; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’” It should be observed that these Regents in ancient times were called Masters, Doctors, or Professors,—terms originally synonymous, as is shown by the fact that “*Sanctæ Theologiæ Professor*” is the Latin equivalent for a “*Doctor of Divinity*.”

* The following passage from the *Oratio Crewiana* of the late Professor Lowth, which we extract from Dr. Pusey’s volume, gives so graphic a description of Oxford life in the middle of the last century, (A.D. 1751) as contrasted with the same in times when the old professorial system flourished most vigorously, that we cannot resist the pleasure of laying it before our readers entire:—

“Carry back,” he says, “your minds to those times when, without fixed abodes, without homes of their own, men who studied here wandered at their will, scattered and dispersed through the city, inhabitants rather of taverns and cook-shops than guests of the Muses and denizens of the academy. As was their abode, so was also their mode of living. Their dwelling was not more unrestrained than their life. It shames me to relate how often, in this home of discipline and civilization, there reigned concupiscence and savageness; what barbarism of factions, what frenzy of discord, what fury and license in fighting, and even slaughter, when, in that confused and countless multitude, unknown, unclassified, uncontrolled by any domestic rules, they wandered about unbridled. Mark the dates,

Commissioners remark, "when the tutor acts with zeal and judgment, and the pupil answers to his care by confidence and respect, the connection is productive of great

and we shall find that this savageness then began to soften and to wane, when those great patrons, or rather parents of letters, whose memory for their deserts to their country is blessed for evermore, had built houses here and formed societies, wherein men given to study might not only be supplied with the necessaries and decencies of life, but while they equally availed themselves of the public institutions of the university, might be held in by private discipline adapted to themselves, and by a well-regulated life; and being committed to the care of their governor, as of a father of a family, and having instructors of their own, no less in morals than in literature, might be formed more carefully and more holily to all humanity, virtue, and piety. To these men, then, we owe in great measure not only the magnificence and splendour of the university, but what adorns the university much more, the cultivation of a greater refinement and courtesy of life, tranquillity, concord, order, moderation, and a more entire rule of liberal education. To them we owe that peculiar form of the academic body, which is part of the glory of our English nation, and which we have in common with Cambridge only, that most flourishing university, our most beloved companion and compeer. Looking at each English university, I see as many complete universities as there are colleges; many cities, as it were, united by one common bond of alliance and society, of which many by themselves surpass many entire universities of no mean repute in foreign nations, in splendour of building, in largeness of possessions, copiousness of literary production, and (what is chief) in a discipline well ordered in gravity and holiness.When first these public lectures began to be instituted, the wider and more perfect knowledge of the sciences was not so common; nor were men to be readily found who could explain with adequate nicety and fulness the elements of each art. There was, besides, great lack of good books; people had to seek abroad what they had not at home. So then well-disposed youths went in crowds to the schools, heard the public Professor as an oracle, and hung upon his lips. When nearly an hour had passed away, they had to course up and down, to another and then another, the one expediting himself from the tangles of logic, the other gathering the flowers of rhetoric. At last they returned home, bringing back some little volumes filled, I know not how, with great labour, whence, out of a great farrago of things, they extracted a little something which might be of use. The aspect of things is different now; the convenience of studies is far greater; letters flourish, various and manifold, wider and more generally diffused. Abundance of books of all sorts are at hand, both in college libraries and in the studies

and lasting benefit. The tutor, living within the same walls as his pupils, and (if he please) in friendly intercourse with them, may exercise a powerful influence on the minds of the many." But, on the other hand, it may be doubted whether the disadvantages belonging to the tutorial system are not greater. Each tutor has to get up, and deliver lectures on a variety of subjects, logic, history, Greek plays, and divinity; and this distraction is often enough to prevent him from lecturing well and efficiently on any. Again, a college tutorship is a transitory occupation; it is often held as an agreeable and profitable way of employing the few years which will probably pass away before the falling in of the expected rectory or vicarage of D——; and so has none of those aids which in regular professions are derived from regard to professorial credit, and the "sustained interest which a life pursuit possesses." The plan also of teaching in large lectures, in which the most backward and the most advanced are mingled together, and receive the same instruction, is probably as tiresome and profitless as Mr. R. Lowe's evidence represents it; while doubtless, as he remarks very forcibly, among the advantages of the system of private tuition are to be reckoned "the power of selection" for himself, which each young man possesses, and its "great efficacy in attaching the pupil to the tutor; the unfettered intercourse, the power of stating a difficulty without incurring ridicule, the greater equality of age and position, which all tend to give efficiency to the system." And yet the system of private tutors has its full accompaniment of defects.

"The persons into whose hands it principally falls are young men of unformed character, knowing little of the world, or probably of anything except the course of study by which they have gained

of individuals: there is no lack of many teachers in the several colleges, eminent for learning, with whom young men study at home more conveniently, steadily, diligently, regularly, and with greater fruit; so that now for a long time the office of public Professor is with justice accounted as rather the reward of eminent learning and distinguished merit in literature than as wages for great and continuous labour. They then act perversely and unjustly who ask of our professors those elementary and every-day precepts of old times in that they would call us back to a mode of study less useful and clear, or ask that of them which, however much they will it, they cannot perform."—pp. 187—191.

distinction. They have, nevertheless, very great influence over their pupils, and are, from their youth, their sincerity, and their earnestness, the most dangerous missionaries of whatever opinions they take up. They are the persons who are really forming the minds of the undergraduates before they have formed their own. The university knows nothing of them, except their names in the class list; in their colleges they have no status, and it is quite optional with them whether they enter into the society there or no. Everything is entrusted to them, and no caution whatever is taken for the execution of the trust.....The moment they have taken their degree they are at once elevated to the highest intellectual eminence, and spend their whole time in teaching that which they have but just and barely learnt. The tendency to narrow the mind and generate habits of self-conceit is obvious. It also stands seriously in the way of their acquiring much useful knowledge; though this is in some degree compensated by the ardent desire to learn, which the habit of teaching is almost sure to produce."—Evidence of Mr. R. Lowe, M.P., p. 12.

The following sketch of the rise and decay of the professorial system is interesting in an antiquarian and historical point of view, if in no other.

"During the middle ages, whilst the whole governing body of the university consisted of teachers only, it need hardly be said that the flourishing state of the university indicated of itself a flourishing state of the university teaching. These ancient teachers generally gave place to the Prælectorship established by the university, or founded in certain colleges; and these prælectors were (in part at least) superseded by the endowed professors, who, in the Laudian Code, were formally acknowledged as the instructors of the university. Of the most ancient system, only the shadow was then, as it still is, preserved in the formula of granting degrees, and as is now no longer the case, by the delivery of six lectures on taking the degree. The college prælectors, except those of Christ Church, were never recognised by the university. But to the professors and their duties are assigned three long divisions of the Laudian Code, ranging through twenty-seven chapters, besides the special statutes intended to regulate many of the foundations.

"It may be, however, doubted, whether the professorial system ever attained a full development. The Civil Wars, and the ejection of one party after the other, interrupted the course of study for many years; and from these interruptions perhaps arose in some measure the torpor which reigned in Oxford during the last century.

"It has been already stated that the course of instruction, and the long series of exercises and of attendance on lectures, extending,

as the case might be, through three, seven, ten, fourteen, or eighteen years, has long since ceased to be enforced. It hardly needs to be stated that the delivery of statutable lectures has ceased also.

“That this was the case long before the close of the eighteenth century, is proved by the censure pronounced by Gibbon, a censure confirmed by the earlier testimony of Adam Smith, and the later experience of Sir William Jones. In the university of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors ‘have for these many years given up even the pretence of teaching.’ * There were, it is true, brilliant exceptions even then. Lowth, Blackstone, and Stowell conferred honour on their chairs and on the university. The spontaneous exertions of individuals to promote the study of natural philosophy in the last century have been already noticed. Dr. Buckland’s Lectures on Geology were much resorted to for some years after the foundation of his readership. In still more recent times the name and character of Dr. Arnold attracted several hundred students. And no doubt an able and eloquent professor can command a numerous attendance if his lectures relate to subjects of general interest, bearing directly on the public examinations. Yet the general fact is unquestionable, that the professors are not now the teachers of the universities : † and that of all the

* Sheffield’s Life of Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 36.

† This remark is true in more senses than one. There is one name, and perhaps one name only, among the professors of Oxford, which is looked upon with respect by the philosophical scholars of Germany, we mean Dr. Gaisford, Dean of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Greek. The first question which foreigners ask on coming to Oxford is, where and when they can hear “the learned Gaisford lecture?” and great is their surprise, we hear, when they are told that he gives no lectures, and has delivered none at all since his appointment. The fact is, that the endowment of his professorship is only some £40 a year, the same amount as when it was first founded by Henry VIII., so that the Rev. Doctor has some excuse to plead. But though he never lectures on Greek, Dr. Gaisford sometimes preaches in the Cathedral of Christ Church, and the following extract from a sermon reported to have been delivered by him one Christmas Day some ten or twenty years ago, will show what kind of a divine and a Christian the Rev. Doctor is. Speaking of classical studies, he observed that one of the great advantages derived from them was, that “they not only enabled a man to look down with calm contempt upon his less fortunate competitors, but also occasionally led to high preferments, to which considerable emoluments were attached.” Apropos of this subject it may be remarked, that when, in 1843, the news reached Oxford that Dr. Buckland, then one of the Canons of that Cathedral, was appointed Dean of Westminster, the majority of the undergraduates were surprised to hear that he was a clergyman at all!

functions of the academic body, that which was once, and which in the statutes is still presumed to be, the most important, might cease to exist altogether, with hardly any perceptible shock to the general system of the place.

“This cessation of professorial teaching is designated by the Hebdomadal Board, in the document to which we have more than once referred, as a ‘temporary interruption;’ but it is an interruption which, so far as we can ascertain, has been the rule, and not the exception, for at least a century and a half.”

Several causes have concurred to produce this result. As the colleges have absorbed the university, so also the influence of colleges has not been exerted in vain to absorb the university professoriate in the body of college tutors. Again the public examinations have a tendency to narrow the range of academical studies; and it is scarcely to be expected that young men who feel that their success in after life is mainly dependant on their proficiency in moral philosophy and classics, will bestow their time and labour on a subject which brings so little grist to the mill as physiology, chemistry, and the other physical sciences, to say nothing of theology, which seems to come in at the end of the university system as a graceful appendage, and an elegant superfluity.* Another cause is to be found in the fact that at the time when it is wanted to throw new life and energy into the professorial body, the endowments of their chairs are, for the most part, nearly the same as they were at the period of their foundation, and have not increased in anything like a

* How different is the Theory of a University as propounded by Dr. Newman, in his Discourses on University Education. Take, for instance, the following forcible passage:—“But this, of course, is to assume that theology is a science, and an important one; so I will express myself in a more general form. I say, then, that if a university be, from the nature of the case, a place of instruction, where universal knowledge is professed, and if in a certain university, so called, the subject of religion is excluded, one of two conclusions is inevitable—either, on the one hand, that the province of religion is very barren of real knowledge, or on the other, that in such a university one special and important branch of knowledge is omitted. I say, the advocate of such an institution must say *this*, or must say *that*; he must own either that little or nothing is known about the Supreme Being, or that his seat of learning calls itself what it is not.” pp. 39, 40. We imagine that the University of Oxford will prefer to accept the former of these two alternatives.

corresponding ratio to the increased value of money. This, of course, is a great drawback, especially in a university where the absence of celibacy, and the presence of a flourishing young crop of "olive branches" round the professorial table, makes it necessary for a man to lay by money if he takes to tuition in any shape as a profession. As the Report observes:—

"The endowments of the professorships, with three or four exceptions, are not such as to command the services of the ablest men, especially in a country like England, where the avenues of practical life are so open and so numerous. The revenues of colleges (as we shall have to show more fully hereafter) cannot retain young men at Oxford, now that celibacy is not, as of old, a necessary condition for holy orders. The ablest fellows of colleges, who might aim at becoming professors, are glad to accept livings, the masterships of schools, or any office which holds out the prospect of a settlement in life, and are thus, for the most part, lost to literature and science."*

* The opinion of Dr. S. Johnson on this subject will be read with interest in connexion with the above recommendation. "The English Universities are not rich enough. Our fellowships are only sufficient to support a man during his studies to fit himself for the world, and, accordingly, are held in general no longer than till an opportunity offers of getting away. Now and then, perhaps, there is a fellow who grows old in his college; but this is against his will unless he be a man very indolent indeed. A hundred a year is reckoned a very good fellowship, and that is no more than is necessary to keep a man decently as a scholar. We do not allow our fellows to marry, because we consider academical institutions as preparatory to a settlement in the world. It is only by being employed as a tutor that a fellow can obtain anything more than a livelihood. To be sure a man who has enough without teaching will probably not teach; for we would all be idle if we could. In the same manner a man who is to get nothing by teaching will not exert himself. Gresham College was intended as a place of instruction for London; able professors were to read lectures gratis, but they contrived to have no scholars; whereas if they had been allowed to receive but sixpence a lecture from each scholar, they would have been emulous to have had many scholars. Every body will agree that it should be the interest of those who teach to have scholars; and this is the case in our universities. That they are too rich, is certainly not true; for they have nothing good enough to keep a man of eminent learning with them for his life. In the foreign universities a professorship is a high thing. It is as much almost as a man can make by his learning; and, therefore, we find the most learned men abroad are in the universities. It is not so with

It is accordingly proposed by Her Majesty's Commissioners to meet the increased demand for professorial instruction, which is likely to be an immediate result of the admission of a large influx of university students, by increasing the salaries of the existing professors, reconstructing the professorial body, and raising them to their original position in the university; and "calling in to their aid a body of younger men under the name of University Lecturers" (who will also be amply paid and allowed to commit matrimony *ad libitum*.) in order that the supremacy of learning and science may be duly recognized, that the permanent services of able men may be secured for academical purposes, and that the education of the place may be "conducted on general principles acknowledged and authorised by the university."—p. 102. With respect to the existing faculties of theology, philosophy, history, and mathematics, it is to be remarked, that although Her Majesty's Commissioners confess that the first mentioned science "is sufficiently provided for in numbers in distribution and endowment," they give an account of the progress of theology as a study in Oxford, which shows that its results* are in a very inverse order to the means at

us. Our universities are impoverished of learning by the penury of their provisions. I wish there were many places of a thousand a year at Oxford to keep first-rate men of learning from quitting the university." Undoubtedly if this were the case literature would have a still greater dignity and splendour at Oxford, and there would be grander living sources of instruction.—*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, vol. i.

* Our readers will judge for themselves, from the following extract, what is the state of theological learning at Oxford. "Oxford still educates a large proportion of the clergy, but learned theologians are very rare in the university, and, in consequence, they are still rarer elsewhere. No efficient means at present exist in the university for training candidates for holy orders in those studies which belong peculiarly to their profession. A university training cannot indeed be expected to make men accomplished divines before they become clergymen; but the university must be to blame if theological studies languish. Few of the clergy apply themselves in earnest to the study of Hebrew. Ecclesiastical history, some detached portions excepted, is unknown to the great majority. The history of doctrines has scarcely been treated in this country. It may be safely stated that the Epistles of St. Paul have not been studied critically by the great bulk of those in

its disposal, and in no way to be compared with those of the very indifferently endowed chairs of the other faculties. This fact seems to have escaped the notice of Her Majesty's Commissioners; and happily it is no concern of ours.

To carry out this professorial system in its integrity, a new scheme for amending the studies of the university is put forth by the Commission. In the year 1850, as many of our readers know, a wider range was given to the existing education, by adding to the classical and mathematical schools another school, of law and history, and a fourth school, of mathematical science, and by enacting that no one should be entitled to a degree who should not pass an examination in one school at least besides that of the classics. It will be observed that the scheme of the commissioners arranges the second and fourth of these schools under one "school," and severs from the sphere of *Literæ Humaniores*, or classics, all that range of subjects which is connected with mental philosophy and philology. It is intended by Her Majesty's commissioners, that after passing a previous examination in classics at an early period of his university career, each student shall be at liberty to pursue the bent of his own inclinations, and to devote himself to whichever branch he may think most conducive to success in his future progress. Thus the young man who was destined to the bar would betake himself to the school of jurisprudence and history; the future Wellington, or Marlborough, or Davy, or Herschell, to that of mathematical or physical science, while infant Bentleys, and Porsons, and Elmsleys, and Gaisfords, would pursue philology, and youthful divines be sucking the marrow of the Anglican Reformers under the shadow of the school of theology, presided over by six learned Anglican divines, the majority of whom are appointed, and will continue to be appointed, (of course) by the Crown.

orders. It is true that the English Church has produced great divines, and may boast at this moment of a body of clergymen perhaps more intelligent and accomplished than it ever before possessed. But they might well acquire more learning. We hope that the theological school of Oxford may yet be frequented by earnest students, as of old; so that many among her sons may gain a profound acquaintance with the history and criticism of the Sacred Books, and with the external and internal history of the Church." —Report, p. 71.

We are afraid that by this time we have nearly exhausted not only our own space, but what is worse, our readers' patience. But we cannot quit the subject of the Past and Present of Oxford without one or two words on the religious tests imposed there, to the exclusion of nearly all persons who dissent from the established religion of the country. The question as to the general expediency of the principle of exclusion does not come within the scope of her Majesty's Commissioners' Report, and hence they offer no direct opinion on the subject. Their statements, however, with respect to the fact of exclusion, and the manner in which that exclusion is effected, are worthy of some attention; though we may remark, *en passant*, that several of the ablest of the resident members of the university, such as Professor Wall, Mr. Jowett, Mr. Congreve, and Mr. Foulkes, are of opinion that the present policy ought to be abandoned. The history of the religious tests now imposed is as follows, according to the Report:—

“The subscriptions now in force were imposed upon the university by its chancellor, Lord Leicester, and king James I.; that to the Thirty-nine Articles by Leicester, in order to exclude the Roman Catholic or romanising party; that to the Three Articles contained in the Thirty-sixth Canon by King James I., in order to exclude the Puritan party.

“There are several anomalies in the present practice.

“First, the subscriptions required on such occasions vary from each other in some important points.

“The subscription enjoined at matriculation is merely a signature of the name of a book, to which the XXXIX. Articles are prefixed. At the degree of B.A. and of M.A., and at most of the superior degrees, when the subscription is repeated, a declaration is made that the subscriber has read the Articles, or has heard them read, in the presence of the person who presents him. The candidate for a degree is also required to subscribe the three articles of the thirty-sixth canon, which are read aloud before him at the time of his presentation. It will be observed that these three articles are those which the clergy subscribe at their ordination, and that the obligation contained in the second, ‘to use the forms prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other,’ can, strictly speaking, be applicable only to clergymen. The subscription in question is, nevertheless, required by the university of lay graduates.

“Secondly, the matriculation subscription is not explained by any words in the statute, and seems to be open to several interpretations. Such interpretations are usually given, though without

authority, by the different vice-chancellors and pro-vice-chancellors at the time of subscription, and they are said to vary greatly. Sometimes the person matriculated is told that he 'thereby expresses his assent to the XXXIX. Articles, so far as he knows them;' sometimes, that 'he probably has not read them, but that he has no objection to them;' sometimes, that 'he thereby declares himself to be a member of the Church of England.' Sometimes, however, no observation is made.

"Thirdly, it may be observed, that the subscription is found practically neither to exclude all who are not members of the Church of England, nor to include all who are.

"On the one hand, it is no obstacle to the admission of some persons who are known to be the members of other communions, such as the Evangelical Church of Prussia, the Evangelical Society of Geneva, the Wesleyan body, and the Established Church of Scotland. On the other hand, there are many persons who are members of the Church of England, who cannot bring themselves to declare their full assent to every proposition contained in the Thirty-nine Articles. At Cambridge, as is well known, no test is imposed on a young man till he comes to take his degree, when he has to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. It is probably familiarity alone which reconciles us to a system which compels youths at their first entrance into the university to give a formal assent to a large number of theological propositions, which they cannot have studied, and which in many colleges they are not encouraged to study till a considerable period after they have subscribed them. This subscription is required by the statutes from children of the age of twelve; a requirement now happily in abeyance, owing to the more advanced age at which students come to the university; but it is one which was actually in force as late as the middle of the last century, and which must be put in force again if a boy of that age were to present himself for matriculation.

"We do not offer any suggestion as to the manner in which the evil should be remedied; but we must express our conviction that the imposition of subscription, in the manner in which it is now imposed in the university of Oxford, habituates the mind to give a careless assent to truths which it has never considered, and naturally leads to sophistry in the interpretation of solemn obligations." —pp. 55-56.

Such being the recorded opinion of Her Majesty's Commissioners, it cannot be long before a change is made in the terms of subscription; and as in the present day it would be utterly impossible to put forward a test which could have a chance of acceptance by both of the religious parties into which the English Church is split up, we cannot but feel that any change must sooner or later result in the

abolition of all religious tests, and thus, by throwing open the university to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, make it once more, what it is in name only at present, a national institution.

And a national institution it is, just like that Church, of which it is the main stay and support. Its privileges since the Reformation have been granted or confirmed by royal charters from Elizabeth, James, and Charles. It possesses from the Crown the power of conferring degrees. It takes part in the legislation of the country through its representatives in parliament. Six of its professorships have been endowed by the Crown; it receives annual grants from parliaments, and its press has always had an interest in a valuable monopoly, the sale of the Protestant national Bible.

"Such an institution," observes Her Majesty's Commissioners, "cannot be regarded as a mere aggregation of private interests; it is eminently national. It would seem, therefore, to be a matter of public policy that inquiry should be made, from time to time, in order to ascertain whether the purposes of its existence are fulfilled; and that such measures should be taken as may serve to raise its efficiency to the highest point, and to diffuse its benefits most widely.

"Whether there be power in any hands ordinarily to superintend this great institution, and to reform it, when reform becomes necessary, and what is the extent of that power, if it exists, has often been a subject of dispute. Such a power has, however, been generally supposed to reside in the Sovereign, as visitor. It has often been exercised by the crown, and has often been recognised by the university. In 1647, the delegates of the university urged, as a reason for resisting the parliamentary visitors, that they 'humbly conceived that they could not acknowledge any visitor but the king, or such as are immediately sent by His Majesty, it being one of His Majesty's unbounded rights, and one of the chief privileges of the university, that His Majesty and without him none other is to visit the university.* Within our own memory the right of visitation was asserted to belong to the crown, in an opinion given by Sir John (now lord) Campbell and Dr. Lushington in 1836; and this right was admitted in express terms before the Privy Council by Sir Charles Wetherell, when acting as council for the university in 1834." †—Report, pp. 3-4.

* Wood's Annals, anno 1647, vol. iii. p. 524.

† "Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell," 1834, p. 61.

But if there could be any doubt on this head, the matter is set at rest by a moment's glance at the Laudian Era.

"King Charles," says the Report, "required the university to confirm several important statutes which emanated from himself. In the chancellorship of Archbishop Laud the Statutes were at last digested into one uniform code, which still governs the university under the title of 'Corpus Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis.'* This Code was in part compiled, in part composed by special delegates appointed for the purpose in 1629 by the Convocation of the university, at the command of the king. After having been tried for one year, it was sent down to Oxford under the seal of Laud, as metropolitan and chancellor of the university, together with letters-patent under the great seal of England, and was formally accepted by the university on the 21st of June, 1636.† It can hardly be doubted that these statutes were intended by all the parties to their enactment to be unalterable except with the concurrence of the royal authority."

Such being the case, we cannot but view with surprise the behaviour of the great majority of the heads of colleges, who originally met the enquiries of Her Majesty's Commissioners by disputing the legality of the commission itself, or of Mr. Keble, who, in his pamphlet already quoted, recommends his friends and followers to meet the measure with the old Anglican armour of 'passive resistance.' At the Reformation the Anglican Church and clergy submitted in *verbo sacerdotii*, to the authority of King Henry VIII., as "supreme head of the English Church;" and if the reigning sovereign thereby became supreme over the whole Church, every portion of it must be under the sovereign's control. The sovereign power is now shared by the imperial legislature, and the latter has not been slow to exercise that power over the university of Oxford, we venture to think upon the whole, in a very healthy and salutary way. Oxford has always been conservative and exclusive in the last degree; and the day of exclusive institutions is gone by: their sun is set for ever; society is advancing with rapid and gigantic strides, and demands that all restrictions upon its progress shall be removed; and Oxford now has to pay the penalty of her backwardness in leading, or following, the march of progress, in the shape

* Preface to the Statutes of the University.

† Wood's Annals, anno 1633, 1636, vol. ii. p. 385-403.

of a bill which will sweep away a host of antiquated corruptions and prescriptive rights, which are meaningless and ill suited to the present age. The House of Commons feels that an "enabling bill," (as the phrase goes,) would be of little or no use; it has therefore acted most wisely in our opinion, in making it compulsory on Oxford* to reform its constitution. To what this reform will lead, the future only can show.

* The reform of the sister university of Cambridge will follow as a matter of course, though owing to the more liberal character of its institutions, and the larger amount of prizes which it has to offer to intellectual ability and merit, it stands in less need of alteration in order to adapt it to the wants of the nineteenth century. A further step, in due course of time, we feel sure must be a royal commission to enquire into the existing condition of the grammar schools and other educational establishments, a large majority of which were founded in the reigns of the Tudor Kings, and are post-Reformation Establishments. The exposure of inveterate abuses in the cathedral school at Rochester, and in the magnificent foundation of Dulwich college, which has been made through the pages of the *Times*, will not and cannot be lost upon Her Majesty's government. Whittaker's *Educational Register* now before us shows that among the Grammar schools of England, Blackburn, with an endowment of £120 a year has not a single scholar, though the inhabitants of the town are anxious to see it placed on a proper footing; while the school at Boston with an income of several hundreds, was closed until the last four years. The grammar school at Bristol within our own memory was in the same condition, the late head master, Dr. Goodenough, drawing all the time an ample revenue from it. At Camberwell we find that the grammar-school founded in the reign of James I., is in abeyance, the house pulled down, the land let for building purposes, and the late master pensioned off with an annuity of forty pounds. The same is the case with a school in Carnarvonshire, whose patron is Lord Mostyn, but where no master has been appointed since 1842, and the school buildings are in ruins. But perhaps the most flagrant case of all is that of Goudhurst, in Kent, where in 1839 the trustees of the school laid out a large sum in repairing the school house, under the impression that it was their own property. It proved, however, to be leasehold from the dean and chapter of Rochester, who now require a fine of £200. The trustees had no funds in hand to pay the debt incurred by these repairs, and therefore have suspended the appointment of a new master. In the mean time the school is in abeyance, owing to the grasping demand of the cathedral dignitaries of Rochester, already well known as the persecutors of poor Mr. Whiston. Surely all this calls for parliamentary interference.

It is only since the above was written that we have seen the Oxford University Bill in the form under which it received the royal assent on the 7th of August last; and our readers will, doubtless, have already anticipated the opinion which we have formed concerning its contents. Its preamble declares that it is expedient for the advancement of religion and learning, to enlarge the powers of making and altering the statutes and regulations of the university and its colleges, to provide for its government and extension, and for the abrogation of oaths now taken therein, and otherwise for maintaining and improving its discipline, studies, and good government. It will be enough here to describe its details in general terms. The commissioners appointed to carry out the act, are the Earls of Harrowby and Ellesmere, the Bishop of Ripon, Mr. Justice Coleridge, the Dean of Wells, Sir John W. Audry, and Mr. G. Cornwall Lewis, and their powers will remain in force until the end of the year 1856; they are empowered to call for the production of all papers, documents, and accounts, and other information from all the authorities of the university, notwithstanding any oaths which they may have taken to the contrary. The old Hebdomadal Board, composed of the heads of colleges alone, which we mentioned in a former article, is to be abolished at the commencement of this October term; and in its stead a new council is appointed, consisting of the Vice Chancellor and proctors, six heads of colleges, six of the public professors, and six members of convocation of five years standing, to be elected by the general congregation of the university, a newly-erected body which is to be composed of the chancellor and high steward, the heads of colleges and halls, the canons of Christ Church, the two proctors, the public professors with their assistants or deputies, the public examiners, and all *resident masters of arts*, together with sundry official members, &c. This body is to have entrusted to it the supreme legislative power; it is to conduct its proceedings in the Queen's English, instead of mediæval Latin. The Vice Chancellor is also empowered to grant his licence to any resident master of arts, to open his house as a private hall for the reception of students, who are to be admitted and matriculated to all the privileges of the university, without being entered on the books of any college or hall; and the arrangement of the terms and conditions on which any such master of arts

may open a private hall, are to be fixed by congregation. Another important feature of the bill as it stands, is the power which it confers on all colleges to alter and amend their own statutes as to the eligibility of individuals to their headships, fellowships, and scholarships, &c., and to modify the application of their pecuniary resources in such a way as may best contribute to the public good, under the altered circumstances of the days in which we live; and further, where colleges will not reform their statutes for themselves, it empowers Her Majesty's Commissioners to step in and do the work for them. The only other point to be mentioned is the abolition of all oaths, religious or civil, at matriculation, and at the taking of the degree of B.A.; though at the same time they are still to be enforced for the final degree of M.A. The result of this will be, that while Dissenters may receive all the advantages of a university education, the congregation, or ruling body, will still remain as heretofore, exclusively in the hands of members of the Established Church; and we can only hope that the final step will be taken before long, of repealing all religious oaths even in this ultimate stage, and so giving every class of Her Majesty's subjects in an unmutilated form, the whole advantage of what, with all its faults, must for ever rank among the first of our national institutions.

ART. IV.—1. *The Devotion to the Heart of Jesus.* With an Introduction on the History of Jansenism. By the Rev. J. B. DALGAIRNS, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin, and Derby. 1853.

2. *History of Europe from the French Revolution to the Peace.* By ARCHIBALD ALISON. London: Blackwood and Sons. 1853—4.

IT might not be apparent at first sight what connection there could be between two such subjects as the devotion to the Sacred Heart and the French Revolution, or even between the two systems apparently so dissimilar as

Jansenism and Jacobinism. The objection, or the question might equally arise to a book like that of Father Dalgairns, which not only is historical as well as devotional, but touches not a little, though in a terse and indirect way, on the secular history of the times to which it refers, and of which the introduction is an "Essay on the History of Jansenism," and of which the first chapter is a "History of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart." Father Dalgairns anticipates and answers the objection. "You may consider," he says, "why at the outset of a dissertation on the Sacred Heart, I should come before you with an historical disquisition, and you will consider more when, as we advance, you find your thoughts broken in upon by the detail of events profane as well as sacred. Our story will lead us from earth to heaven, and from heaven back again to earth; visions of saints will mingle strangely with worldly scenes—the cabals of parliaments and the overthrow of dynasties." But the idea out of which the objection would arise is the very idea which it is the object of his work, (and, we may add, that it is also our own,) to combat, that is to say, the idea that the temporal can be severed from the spiritual, and conducted on opposite principles, that the *devotions* of a people need have no necessary connection with their *actions*—individual or national—in secular affairs. This idea is the root of all systems of compromise or expediency—unfilial like Gallianism, or, absolutely heretical, like Jansenism, bearing on the spirit which leads men to seek to serve God and Mammon, and to "halt between two opinions," hesitating whether to serve the Lord or Baal. Father Dalgairns shows how this is most eloquently and forcibly, basing his argument on the profound remark of St. Ignatius, that the Catholicity of a man's mind may be tested by his feeling with regard to matters *not of obligation*, as special devotions, &c., pointing out how this is particularly exemplified either in the reception of a devotion like that of the Sacred Heart, or in obedience to the Holy See, which equally call for a childlike docility and charity; he quotes the revelation of our Lord to St. Gertrude, that the devotion to the Sacred Heart was reserved for these last times in the decrepitude of the world, to rekindle the flame of its charity, which would have grown cold; he reminds us of St. Catherine of Sienna, so characterised by her devotion to the Sacred Heart, and most lively zeal to the Holy

See ; when he has shown the extent to which the devotion to the Sacred Heart has found antagonists in the world, and thus led his readers to the conclusion that it must be a great instrument for the glory of God, from the fact that heresy has waged such a deadly war against it, he proceeds to show how it is that it meets with such opposition among Catholics ; points out how the Jansenists, the enemies to the Holy See, were bitterly opposed to it ; and how, on the other hand, there has been an occult connection between devotion to the Sacred Heart and a hatred of Jansenism and Erastianism ; how the Jesuits, those intrepid defenders of the Holy See, were always the sworn advocates of the devotion ; how it has always been associated with faith, fervour, and fidelity ; and how, on the contrary, the antagonistic system, Jansenism, is "the rationalistic development of the faith and practice of a tepid Catholic."

Father Dalgairns in his preface refers to an article in the *British Critic*, which appeared some fifteen years ago, on the *Revival of Jansenism*, in which the writer alludes to the rapid propagation of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, asks how it is to be accounted for ; connects it (truly enough) with the Society of Jesus and devotion to the Holy See, and comes to the sapient conclusion, "the plain truth may be read in letters of blood in more than one country in Europe ;" supporting it by reference to the revolutions which have occurred in Europe during the last sixty years, and labouring to convince his readers that the Society of Jesus is the agent of all rebellious and political convulsions, and that confraternities of the Sacred Heart are their instruments and agents. Now the writer was quite correct in associating the spread of the Society of Jesus with the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and zeal for the Holy See, for the history of the Church shows that the three have a natural connection and kindred spirit ; but he is fearfully wrong in associating that spirit with the spirit of revolution or rebellion, in any other way than as antagonistic elements ; for the history of the world shows that the suppression of the Jesuits, the ascendancy of Jansenism, the decline of devotion to the Sacred Heart, and zeal towards the Holy See, have been always followed by revolution and rebellion. In the words of the writer of the article alluded to, (which we refer to, as representing the tone and temper of almost all Protestant writers on the subject,) "the plain truth can be read in letters of blood in

more than one country in Europe;” and we propose on this occasion specially to show it to be so in the case of France—that country in which the devotion to the Sacred Heart arose;—the dark era in which Gallicanism was rampant;—in which it found in Jansenism bitter opponents, and in the Jesuits ardent defenders, and in which the victory of Jansenism, by the expulsion of the Jesuits, was followed by the slow yet sure step of a fearful national retribution, in the horrors of Revolution, and the dark night of Rationalism, consummated by the actual enthronement of the Goddess of Reason amidst an ocean of innocent blood, and all the awful atrocities of the Reign of Terror.

Long ago it had occurred to us that it would be an interesting object of historical investigation to trace to its remote origin that tremendous tragedy, the French Revolution, to show how the Church of France was first subjugated and corrupted before she could be subverted, and that the state found its ruin in her fall; to exhibit the terrible development of Protestantism into Rationalism, and thence to Revolution,—to show the hidden connection between Jansenism and Jacobinism—to point out how Richlieu paved the way for Robespierre—to show how, when the principles of reverence and regard for the supernatural had been sapped by the state, civil society could not survive.

The perusal of the beautiful and powerful book of Father Dalgairns, or rather of the Introduction, served to revive and confirm the impressions we had entertained as to the *religious* origin of the most terrific catastrophe of modern history. In a most nervous and masterly manner the gifted writer points out the relations of Jansenism and Jacobinism; and although the nature of his subject does not lead him to go further back, and trace the connection between Gallicanism and Jansenism, that is only a further development of the same argument. There can be little question to a Catholic student of French history that the corruption which resulted from the subjugation of the Gallican church to the state, had a morbid reaction on the heretical austerity of Jansenism, as the rationalism which resulted from Jansenism was the great cause of Jacobinism.

Nor is it only Catholics who have taken the religious view of the origin of the French Revolution. The greatest, perhaps, one might say, the only great modern historian

which England has produced, has looked at the subject with the same view, although we need hardly say he has viewed it in a very opposite light, and has seen it in a very opposite aspect. In his "History of Europe," Alison traces the Revolution to religious causes, that is, to causes the very reverse to those which we should ascribe it. He traces it to the oppression of Protestantism, we to its influence and diffusion. It sufficiently supports our view, that he confesses the chief causes were *religious*. And it is not difficult, out of his own statements, to elicit conclusions exactly the opposite of those which he comes to as to the nature of these causes. Before considering his conclusions, and his account of the more proximate causes of the Revolution, it is necessary for the due understanding of our argument to take a review of the previous events of French history in connection with the Church. And it is necessary to go a long way back. We must remember that the life of a nation is one measured not by years but by generations, and that a century is but a short space of time in its history. Moral causes work but slowly though surely in its character and career, and, on the other hand, the consequences are as certain as they are slow, and are awfully inevitable and irrevocable. And in the history of nations, as of persons, there is a terrible system of retribution, which reads its own dread lesson. In proportion to the magnitude of the event is the length of historical review necessary for its illustration; and in elucidating a national retribution so terrific as the revolution, it is requisite to let the mind take a wide scope of investigation and comparison.

The Revolution was the reaction from absolutism, and the retribution of irreligion. And both arose out of defection from Catholicism. With Philip Augustus commenced the struggle on behalf of the Crown of France for supremacy, which was consummated in the reign of Louis XIV. Before, the Crown had been content to reign *with* the Church, now it was desirous of reigning *over* the Church. That we may not be imagined to misrepresent or exaggerate the character of this era, we purposely cite an historian—French and Protestant. Guizot, in his "Essays on Civilization in France," thus writes of the era we refer to:

"Although we cannot distinguish in Philip any regular moral intention, any strong purpose of justice, or of the social welfare of

men, he had a straightforward entire mind, ever full of advice for order and progress ; and he supported many things in promotion of what we should call the general civilization of the kingdom. He had the streets of Paris paved, he extended the walls, he constructed aqueducts, hospitals, churches, market-places ; he occupied himself with improving the *material* condition of his subjects. Nor did he neglect their moral development. The university of Paris owed to him its chief privileges, and received even excessive protection. Of the Capetian kings Philip Augustus was the first who communicated to French royalty that character of intelligent and active good will towards the ameliorization of the social state and the progress of national civilization, which for so long a period constituted its strength and popularity. All our history evidences this fact, which received its final and most glorious development in the reign of Louis XIV. It is traceable back to Philip Augustus."

This extract will amply justify our opinion of the character of the era and of its importance. The testimony of M. Guizot is conclusive upon both points. This eulogy is sufficient evidence as to the tendency of the policy which founds its most glorious development in the reign of Louis XIV. And his authority is enough to prove that it is traceable back to Philip Augustus. Although we go far back, therefore, in our review of French history, we do not go *too* far. If the great Protestant historian deemed that the policy which was consummated by Louis XIV. was commenced by Philip, no one will question that it was a policy the tendency of which was inimical to the Church, and that it really did originate in the era to which he refers its origin. It was the policy which may be described in a word :—the *aggrandizement of royalty*. Its aggrandizement, at the expense alike of Church and liberty ; its aggrandizement into an absolute irresponsible tyranny, of which the result and the retribution was the terrible national tragedy, the remote and immediate causes of which we have undertaken to trace.

M. Guizot grows warm upon his theme. "Open the literary monuments of the period," he exclaims in triumph, "and you will at once see royalty becoming *national, occupying the thoughts of the people; you will meet with enthusiasm.*" Exactly so. Royalty was becoming *idolized*. Nationality was being enthroned and worshipped. And all this at a sad loss to Catholicism. The seeds of Gallicanism were being sown. M. Guizot sees it clearly, and hence he exults. But we shall see the issue of all this in

due time. M. Guizot's subject did not take him quite far enough for that. But ours will. His theme, so called, was civilization; that is to say, civilization apart from the Church, or assuming to be independent of it. Of such civilization as he says himself, the reign of Philip Augustus was the common consent, and that of Louis XIV. the consummation. He did not go further; we shall. We shall see how it fared with the *descendants* of Louis XIV. It may seem a long time; but in the life of a nation it is not so.

In the hands of the immediate successor of Philip Augustus, the policy of royalty received some check. Louis, as M. Guizot tells us, was a conscientious man, which Philip was *not*. And hence, we are told, Louis began by doubting as to the legitimacy of what his predecessors had done, and especially Philip Augustus. We do not mean that Philip had done anything very bad towards the Church. His more immediate object was the supremacy of the crown over the nobles: and he probably did not contemplate the ultimate effect of the policy he originated as to the Church. But the spirit in which he acted was one which led the Crown of France, after subduing the nobles, to seek to subjugate the Church. St. Louis pursued the policy of Philip as to the nobles, but from very different motives; and hence, although M. Guizot seeks to represent him as having pursued a similar policy towards the Church, the error is obvious from the very instance he advances. The French Church required of St. Louis, he says, to enforce the censures and excommunications of the Church; and we are told that the king answered that he would readily do so if first satisfied as to the justice of the sentences. To this it is said they objected that it would give him repugnance in matters of religion. Therefore the king replied that he could not compel the excommunicated, right or wrong, to submit themselves to the Church; for if I were to do so, I should act against God and against justice, and I will give you an example of this. The bishop of Brittany held the count of Brittany under excommunication; yet after all he was absolved by the court of Rome; so that had I constrained him to submit himself to the bishop at the first, I should have been wrong. This is quoted from Joinville, not exactly the best authority on such subjects; and the account upon the face of it is marked by inconsistency and obscurity. But this, at

all events, is clear, that the objection of St. Louis was to the enforcement of ecclesiastical censures by the temporal power *before they were confirmed by the Holy See*. So that this evinces the very reverse of an anti-papal policy.

M. Guizot thus describes royalty in France during the three hundred years which terminated at the death of St. Louis. "It was not in right absolute. It was neither imperial royalty, founded on the personifications of the state, nor Christian royalty, founded on the representation of the Divinity. Still if it was not absolute in right, it was not limited. In the social order there was no institution which balanced it; no regular counterpoise either by any great aristocratical body or any popular assembly. In *fact*, royalty was limited by independent, and, to a certain point, rival powers, by the power of the clergy, and by that of the great vassals of the Crown. Still it possessed a force which, at the end of the thirteenth century, placed the king at the head of the great lords of France." Thus the plain truth was that the Crown had, beyond the power of the nobles which it had now subdued, no check or control except the influence of the Church, which, in the language of a Protestant historian, is always "the power of the *clergy*," and yet the same great writer says that though there was in the French royalty the "germ of despotism," hitherto it had not developed itself. He says, "It would be unjust to state that from the tenth to the middle of the thirteenth century (St. Louis died after), royalty laboured to render itself absolute; it laboured to re-establish order, peace, and justice."

Now this is a most remarkable testimony. What does it amount to but this: that for three centuries preceding the era at which we have arrived in our review of French history—the crown, influenced by the Church, had laboured only to establish order, peace, and justice? Is not this eloquent to show that the Church is the best—the only safe guide and protector for princes and for people, and that under her guidance and protection both would have been ever safe? We shall find that neither the Crown nor the nation fell into peril until the Church had been subjugated under the supremacy of the Crown. The same princes who were tyrannical to the Church were so to the people, and sought to enslave both.

"The metamorphosis of royalty into despotism," says Guizot, "is the characteristic of the reign of Philip le

Bel." "Just as great as was the place which the personal virtue of St. Louis held in his government, so great was the influence exercised by that personal wickedness of Philip le Bel over his, and as powerfully did it contribute to the *moral and despotic turn which royalty took under his reign.*" Let it be remarked what is the important testimony of this able Protestant writer as to the character of the monarch whose atrocious conduct to the Pope we need not recal to the recollection of our readers. As little need we remind them of the horrible cruelties which his rapacities led him to perpetrate upon the Knights Templars. There is one feature of his policy, however, to which we must call the particular attention of our readers, for it is pregnant with interest and instruction. In his contest with Pope Boniface VIII., his unscrupulous minister, Marigni, suggested his summoning assemblies of the States, in which the nobility, clergy, and deputies of the cities sat separately, and sent their respective letters to the Court of Rome, asserting the independence of the Crown, and appealed from the Holy See. Protestant historians are perfectly aware of the policy of this step. It was designed to let the Court of Rome see that he had the support of the nation in his contest—the first overt and distinct aggression of that spirit of nationalism (in opposition to Catholicism) which afterwards obtained the name of Gallicanism. It is most important to mark this, for the convoking of the States General under Louis XIV. was the proximate cause or rather means of the Revolution which exacted such a signal retribution from France for centuries of unfaithfulness to Catholicism. That there may be no mistake about the matter, we will quote the passage from M. Guizot, in which he describes the nature and the motives of the measure to which we refer on the part of Philip le Bel.

"In 1302, engaged in his great quarrel with Boniface VIII., and wishing to present himself at the contest with the support of all his subjects, Philip convoked the States-General, and their assembly was held at Paris, in the church of Notre Dame. The three orders, the nobility, the clergy, and a certain number of deputies from the large houses had seats there. Their deliberations were brief—*each order merely acceded to the desires of the king by sending a letter to the Pope.*"

Letters, we need not question, breathing a spirit of inso-

lent disaffection towards the Holy See. Thus early in the history of France do we see the accursed seeds of nationalism already producing their fatal fruits, and a process of estrangement from the Chair of St. Peter going on slowly but surely. At the same period a similar process was going on in England, where our Edwards and Henries pursued an anti-papal policy precisely the same in spirit and object as that which was followed by the Philips and Louises of France. The statutes of *provisors* and *præmunire* in England were analogous to similar measures passed in France under the general name of the Pragmatic Sanction, the common purpose being to deprive the Holy See of all control over the patronage of the national Church, in order to vest it ultimately in the Crown. The immediate result of this in both countries was the same—the subjugation of the national Church; the ultimate result was in this respect the same, that it led practically to the substitution of the royal for the papal supremacy. And if the result differed in this respect, that it led in England only to heresy, and in France to infidelity, perhaps the difference is more apparent than real; the distinction being that in England the change was conducted earlier, with more hypocrisy, and a greater regard for propriety; whereas in France it was put off longer, took place by means of a popular reaction, and was marked by a greater paroxysm of fury; but, on the other hand, the reaction in favour of Catholicism was quicker, and we doubt if, in the long run, the result did not turn out more favourably for religion in France than in England. Of that, however, we say no more. We have not come yet to the age of reason. We have only come to an age in which royalty was practically to be deemed a substitute for piety—and nationalism was being set up as a rival to Catholicism. The *issue* we shall see.

We are in the reign of Philip le Bel; and we have only to notice before leaving it one pregnant fact, which even M. Guizot notices without discussing its connection with the other fact he had already mentioned, viz., that in this reign the Crown first came openly into antagonism with the Holy See. The fact to which we refer is stated by M. Guizot in one of his pithy sentences thus:—“Such, under this reign, was the development of royalty: there is *here a remarkable progress towards absolute power.*” To be sure there was. The king was an enemy to the papacy. Why? Because it interfered with his tyranny. The same

disposition which led him to oppose the Pope would lead him to oppress the people. The love of arbitrary power would impel him to the same line of policy as to the spiritual and as to the temporal. The great truth which the history alike of France and England illustrates is, that there is no power which can control royalty, and prevent its rising into tyranny, nor control liberty, so as to prevent its lapsing into rebellion, but the power of the Church; that the Holy See was the divinely appointed arbiter among nations, or between nations and their sovereigns; and that when its authority was thrown off, royalty became tyranny—the reaction from which became rebellion. This is the origin of all Revolution. No political Revolution ever took place in any country until there had been a religious Revolution. No reaction ever subverted the Crown which had not subjugated the Church. Monarchs and subjects alike enthroned self-will, and then are enslaved. This is the lesson which we are especially seeking to illustrate in the history of the remote and direct causes of the French Revolution, and it finds a confirmation and an illustration thus early in the history, in the pregnant fact, related by the illustrious Protestant statesman, that the reign of the first monarch who rebelled against the Holy See was equally marked by the spirit of nationalism and despotism; and by an opposition dictated by both the one and the other to the spirit of Catholicism.

The connection of the spirit of nationalism (which the Crown thus had evoked for the purpose of aiding it in opposition to Catholicism, and with the ultimate aim of establishing despotism) and the French Revolution is distinctly drawn out by M. Guizot. And it is so important for our argument, and we are so anxious that it should not be imagined a mere idea of our own, that we will quote a sentence in which he tersely states it. He agrees that the "third estate" of France, which Philip le Bel had summoned to his anti-papal councils—to assist him in evading or defying the authority of the Holy See—*was essentially national*. And then he goes on to say, "*That third estate in 1789 brought on the French Revolution.*" This will suffice to show that we are not travelling too far back in our examination of the causes of the Revolution. The spirit of *nationalism* originally invoked against the Church proved in the end the destruction of the Crown. It is a significant circumstance that the same king who convoked the

States General to support him in conciliating the authority of the Holy See, excluded the prelates from sitting in Parliament with hypocritical anxiety about its interfering with the discharge of their pastoral duties. It was he who fixed the Parliament at Paris, and infused into it a greater proportion of *lawyers*—always and everywhere the ready instruments of the Crown in maintaining an uncatholic nationality against the authority of the Holy See. Here again we shall have to notice one of the remarkable retributions of Providence. It was to this parliament, thus filled with lawyers, and fixed at Paris, that France four centuries afterwards owed the initiative step of her terrific Revolution, the convoking of the States General. And no class were more active or energetic in the rise and progress of that awful visitation than the lawyers, who had for ages laboured to subvert the supremacy of the Holy See, and substitute for it the supremacy of the Crown. They began by thus corrupting royalty into tyranny, and they ended by provoking and precipitating the inevitable reaction of a terrible Revolution.

The Kings of France, we have seen, had first evoked the new power of the States General to co-operate with them against the Holy See. But they availed themselves of the power thus conferred upon them for purposes of their own, and began at even this early period of France's history to pursue the very course which so long afterwards resulted in the Revolution. The next time we read of their being convoked was some quarter of a century afterwards, just at the middle of the fourteenth century; and what we then find is really most remarkable, whether we regard the rapidity with which it carried retribution home to the Crown, or the fidelity with which it represented what afterwards occurred at the Revolution. The whole policy, so to speak, of the Revolution was then sketched out, and, to a great degree, *acted* out. The King convoked the States because of the distressed condition of public affairs, and in order to obtain supplies. They, however, though they *promised* supplies, at once applied themselves rather to *grievances*; and clearly were disposed to avail themselves of the *necessities*, in order to crush the authority of royalty. Here is retribution. The Crown had pandered to their turbulent spirit of rebellion, in order to gain their aid against the Holy See, and now had to enter into contest with that foul spirit of rebellion itself; a spirit which, at

this time, had the first taste of blood ; and from that moment, tiger-like, thirsted for blood, and never rested until it had satiated itself with slaughter, and glutted itself with gore, during the horrible excesses of the Reign of Terror. The provost of the third estate, on this occasion—that terrible *tiers class*, which was destined to destroy the throne of France, after assisting royalty to enslave the Church—was a murderer. He raised a rebellion in which savage slaughters were perpetrated in Paris; and the scheme was to change the form of government, and vest the supreme power in the third estate. The very same scheme, four hundred years afterwards, was pursued with such fell fanaticism at the time of the Revolution. How suddenly the new power which the Crown had evoked to defy the Holy See seemed to turn round upon its creator with ferocious instincts of destruction. It reminds one of the Miltonic picture of death and sin. The popular power embodied in the *tiers etat* was the Frankenstein of the French monarchy.

However, the monarchy weathered the storm which the *tiers etat* had raised thus early in their history, and which rendered it more cautious in appealing to their aid. Free from this peril, royalty pursued with energy that suicidal policy of subjugating the Church, which, in the end, was the destruction of the Crown. The fifteenth century opened favourably for this policy, owing to the unhappy schism in the Papacy. This was taken advantage of both in England and in France. Under Edward III. our own anti-papal policy had been already rivetted by the statutes of *præmunire* and *provisors*, and now under Charles VII. it was settled in France by the Pragmatic Sanction, embodying the spirit of the schismatic council of Basle, which was agreeable to royalty because inimical to the papacy. By this invasion the See of Rome was deprived completely of all control over the patronage of the French Church, which was afterwards secured to the Crown. This was the basis of what is called Gallicanism. We are careful to call attention to this, that from that moment the *Holy See ceased to be primarily responsible for the way in which the patronage of the Gallican Church was dispensed*. Let that be clearly comprehended. That inference at least follows from the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Holy See is fairly entitled to the advantage of it. It is an important consideration with reference to what follows in France's history.

By common consent, the Revolution was in a great degree caused by the irreligion which had become prevalent in France, and which no doubt partly arose from the condition of the Gallican Church. It is important, then, to bear in mind that for that condition *royalty had been for three centuries and a half primarily responsible*. Or rather we should say *nationality*. For the Pragmatic Sanction was the policy not merely of the Crown, but of the nation. It was agreed to by the three estates of the realm, and considered a bulwark for Gallican liberty against the See of Rome. Indeed, it was not all at once that the Crown assumed the position from which the Holy See had been thus displaced. At first the patronage was reserved to the Capitular elections or the Lay patronage. It was afterwards that the Crown engrossed all.

We need scarcely stop to say that Louis XI., though he pretended to cancel the Pragmatic Sanction at the commencement of his reign, in order to secure the favour of the Pope, Pius II., secretly adhered to it, and that his whole reign was characteristic of a mind in which superstition was substituted for devotion, and crafty policy for sincere piety. Under the reigns of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. the Pragmatic Sanction continued to be upheld, although succeeding Popes protested against it, and Julius II., in the council of Lateran, condemned it. Leo X. in the reign of Francis I., continued the resistance of the Holy See to this anti-Catholic measure, which all along was rigorously maintained by the parliaments. Francis agreed to a *concordat* in which the more obnoxious stipulations were relinquished, but with regard to *patronage* the only difference was that the *king* secured the nomination of benefices, which before had been held by the Pope, but were now given by the chapters. The parliament of Paris, however, refused to register the *concordat*, and pertinaciously adhered to the Pragmatic Sanction. The subject of contention was immaterial to our argument, for it was merely whether the Gallican Church or the Crown should have the patronage, of which the Pope had been deprived. It was thus upon matters relating to the Church that the parliament of Paris was first brought into open opposition to the Crown; and the contest was kept up with obstinacy until other questions arose more fatal still, both to the Church and to the Crown.

The reign of Francis brings us to the era of the Refor-

mation ; and we need hardly say that both by the Crown and the nobility this great event and its results were made mere matters of policy and expediency ; hence the evil spirit of heresy was never combatted with zeal and with sincerity, but played with or made use of to suit the political exigencies of the day. Thus the Crown of France dealt with a terrific power, destined to destroy it. The Reformation in France and in England was but the development and embodiment of the spirit of rebellion against the See of Rome, which had been rising in both countries for two or three centuries. And it was a spirit as hostile to the Crown as to the Church, as was shown in England by the Rebellion, and in France by the Revolution. The first fruits of the Reformation in France were civil wars, which lasted with more or less of intermission until the era of the edict of Nantes, the revocation of which Alison considers the great cause of the French Revolution. In our opinion it was rather the course of policy which led to that edict of toleration, than either to the edict itself or the revocation of it, to which that disastrous conclusion is to be ascribed. The policy of the court with respect to religion was for a century one of mere expediency. Of course this, while it encouraged the Huguenots, disgusted those who were zealous on the Catholic side. Indeed, it is difficult to decide who, if any, of the *leaders* on either side were sincere. It is perfectly plain that religious differences were made the pretences for political intrigues. Even the Cardinal de Lorraine, it is suspected, would have been disposed to agree to a French Reformation on the basis of the Confession of Augsburg, if he could have secured himself the Primacy of the French Church. Catherine de Medicis showed herself to have a strong bearing to Protestantism ; in fact, her letter to Pope Pius IV. conveys a distinct approbation of some of its heretical tenets. On the other hand, Condé and Henry of Navarre were utterly insincere, and made Protestantism a mere pretext for their own purposes. The result of all their insincerity and the intrigues they led to, was that repeated edicts of pacification were agreed to, under which Protestantism gained ground in France, and received a species of recognition from the State. This was made one of the reasons by the parliament of Paris for rejecting the decrees of the Council of Trent as to discipline. And then, when political exigencies rendered it requisite, these edicts were revoked, and Pro-

testants put upon their defence. This was, of course, a system equally fatal to the royal authority and to religious sincerity; and it tended to beget a spirit of rebellion on one side, and irreligion on the other, from which the worst of consequences could not fail to follow. Catherine de Medicis, who, during three reigns, wielded so much of sovereign power in France, and sought to preserve it by exciting divisions, alternately pandered to or persecuted the Protestants, as it suited her selfish purposes; and it was in pursuance of this wicked and wretched policy that the "massacre" of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated upon men, many of whom were unquestionably in rebellion, and who might justly have been deemed to have forfeited their lives, had it not been that their rebellion had all the palliation of provocation, and their punishment all the odium of treachery, cruelty, and policy. That it was a mere matter of worldly craft is clear from the fact that the same woman who projected the massacre of Coligné and his party, approved of the murder of the Duke of Guise, who, when he entered Paris in armed opposition to the king, in order to compel the revocation of politic edicts, in favour of Protestantism, was hailed by all classes, as the champion of the Church, and the protector of Catholicism. If any of the leaders of parties in those days were sincere, it was De Guise. Certainly the people believed him to be so. It is beyond a doubt that the court tolerated Protestantism when it was expedient so to do, for the sake of its own intrigues, *in opposition to the wishes of the nation*, who saw that it was done from mere state craft, and who revolted at the idea of heresy being made a matter of mere policy. The body of the nation was not yet so corrupted as to have lost its zeal for orthodoxy or its hatred for heresy. But the Crown of France *was not in earnest* against heresy, and made it matter of policy. The result of this was of course counter-leagues of Catholics, to compel the revocation of pacifications which policy had conceded to heresy. Thus the country became as much inflamed by contests as it was debased by compromise; until, at last, toleration became a necessity.

In 1558 Catherine of Medici closed, and Elizabeth of England commenced their long reigns, in which religion was made subservient to the purposes of selfish state policy. The effect they produced upon their respective countries endured for generations after their death, and we are

anxious to bring vividly before our readers the results of the reign of Catherine de Medici, (for it was virtually her reign for a large portion of the sixteenth century,) which laid the basis for a corruption of the nation, carried to its lowest depths of degradation in the reign of Louis XIV., and consummated in the horrible excesses of the Revolution.

“The age of Catherine de Medici, for so we may style the space of thirty years, in which her genius and example gave the law in France, was a mixture of impurities of every kind. Much of superstition, and more of atheism, and what is its constant companion, an extravagant propensity to magic, splendour without dignity, a policy so refined as to sap the foundations of government, an affection of absolute power, that ended in total anarchy, and such a spirit of dissipation as left industry without hope, and almost effaced all sentiments of probity.’”*

It speaks volumes as to the execration in which her character was held, and the affection for Catholicity which inspired that feeling, and therefore indirectly is eloquent as to her insincerity as respects the Catholic religion, that the people of Paris declared, that if her remains were interred in the church of St. Denis, *they would cast them into the common sewer*; the reason of which was, *the persuasion they had that she was concerned in the murders of the Duke and Cardinal de Guise, the great champions of Catholicity.*

Now let the reader, before going further, and he is now brought to the eve of the seventeenth century, recur to the picture which the Protestant historian of France draws of the condition of the country under sovereigns *true* to the Catholic faith, and loyal to the Holy See, and we appeal to his candour, (*whatever* his creed, if he have one, or whether he have one or not,) upon two points; whether the country was not happier in ages, which were called, by way of distinction from those we have now come to, ages of *faith*, and whether the impurities and impieties of the age of Catherine de Medici or Louis XIV. were consequent upon, not the *development*, but the enslavement of the Church,—not its exaltation but its depression; and a depression arising from a subjugation to the State.

Should any one for a single moment doubt as to these

* Universal History, vol. ii. 4—vi. 19.

points, let him only reflect on what had been the state of Church patronage since the Pragmatic Sanction, and surely all lingering doubt will be removed. Since that measure the Holy See had been virtually deprived of its control over the patronage of the French Church, the administration of which, while it has no *direct* connection with its doctrine, or even discipline, must necessarily, in the long run, be all important with reference to the carrying out of discipline and due teaching of doctrine. If the benefices and bishoprics of a Church are given as rewards to the dependants of royalty, as appanages to the scions of nobility—if Church patronage, in short, is dispensed to courtiers, purity of doctrine cannot long preserve the Church from relaxation of discipline, and that must, in the long run, end in that perversion of doctrine which is sure to be the ultimate result of general demoralization.

There is, it should seem, some inexorable law of our moral nature which associates impurity and pride. Whether in the individual or national mind, pride will probably result in impurity, and impurity will be accompanied by pride. Hence it is that in all countries the rise of heresy has been at once the cause and the result of a wide-spreading impurity; so it was in England, and so it was in France, and so it was in Germany. In England and Germany, indeed, the rise and progress of Protestantism had a direct connection with a dissolution of the sanctity of marriage, and in France, if the impurity which pervaded public life did not lead to an open adoption of heresy by the state, it led to an indifference to it, and a succession of compromises with it, which at first scandalized, and at last corrupted the national mind, and gave rise to scepticism. It is impossible but that the administration of Church patronage must have had a vast deal to do with all this. All the monarchs of France, from the age of Philip le Bel to that of Louis XVI. had their mistresses, and we need not say that the example of the sovereign was followed by his nobles. What kind of dispensers of Church patronage would these impure persons be? Yet to their hands the Pragmatic Sanction virtually secured it. And here is the main cause of that national corruption which led to the dread catastrophe of the Revolution.

The close of the sixteenth century was signaled by an event which must have had a great tendency to diffuse the fatal infection of insincerity in religion which was the great

vice of the age : we refer to the *conversion* of Henry IV. No one could or did, for an instant, suppose that if the king had ever been sincerely a Protestant he then became sincerely a Catholic ; and though it is very likely that the act was not at variance with his convictions, but that his former professions had been pretences, it is palpable that the *declaration* of his conversion was a matter of policy ; yet it was an act which many Catholics and Protestants of eminence cordially approved of and advised, both being perfectly sure that it was for a state purpose, and the latter having this conviction, that either the king was insincere now, or had been before ; so that in any view it was an act of hypocrisy ; but an act in such a man, advised and approved of by so many, of one religion or the other, could not but have a fatal influence on the national mind.

A curse has seemed to rest upon the race of Bourbon, and if ever the sins of the fathers are visited on the children, justly so. Descended as the dynasty were from that ruffianly prince who sacked Rome, and whose troops there perpetrated atrocities exceeding those of Mahomedanism or Paganism in its worst times, and in comparison with which the horrors of the Reign of Terror in Paris were but faint, they seem to have inherited a fatal taint of disaffection towards the Church, which found, in the horrible excesses of the Constable of Bourbon's army, so memorable and infamous a consummation. Inheriting the taint of heresy from his parents, Henry IV. of Navarre, after continuing a Protestant a whole life, professed a conversion to the Catholic faith at the precise moment when it procured him direct possession of a crown of France, a conversion which no one at the time believed to be sincere, but certainly, if it were so, was so fortunate as to justify suspicions that if to any extent sincere, it must have been accompanied with a considerable degree of mental reservation, and concealed unfaithfulness to Catholic truth. And there is less reason to question this, when we remember how many there were at that time who imitated Henry's course, and whose conduct provoked similar suspicions. If not true of him, it was unquestionably true of a host of eminent men of the day, that their conduct showed that profession of the Catholic faith was little more than profession, that conversion was often simulated for the sake of interest ; that vast numbers of nominal Catholics held, secretly, Protestant tenets, or if they believed all which

they professed, failed to realize all that they believed. At a subsequent period, when Louis XIV. denounced penalties against conversion to Protestantism, and rewards for conversion to Catholicism, he did but imitate the example so usual in the age, in holding out a premium to insincerity, and making faith the handmaid of expediency. The tendency of all this must have been, for the two centuries which elapsed between the succession of the Bourbon dynasty and the Revolution, at once to diffuse insincerity in religion, and beget a general suspicion of insincerity, most certain to result in general infidelity.

A very remarkable event occurred at the commencement of Henry's reign, illustrating the latent connection between Gallicanism and Jacobinism, which we have seen already indicated in an earlier period of French history, and which we shall see terribly displayed at a still later period. When the States General had agreed to adopt the Canons of the Council of Trent without restriction, it was in the *tiers etat* that a clause was added, declaring that this was only so far as was consistent with the "liberties of the Gallican Church," which of course rendered the measure nugatory. Thus a second time was Gallicanism formally established by the Parliament of Paris, representing the spirit of nationalism in the country, and thus, under the auspices of a king who was either a hypocrite or a heretic, and probably was both, the Church and Crown of France entered upon the eventful seventeenth century.

There was another event of the early part of Henry's reign to which we must advert, on account of its significance as to the character of the age on which France was now entering, and also on account of the circumstances which led to it, and to which we must more particularly advert, as still more illustrative of the nefarious character of the age. We allude to the expulsion of the Jesuits. Here we come close to the very pith and kernel of our argument, the connection between Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Jacobinism. The order of Jesus was established for the express purpose of counteracting that irreligious spirit which was now prevalent in Christendom, and of course were especially obnoxious to all insincere, corrupt, and worldly-minded men. The parliaments of France were, for the most part, composed of such men, chiefly lawyers, deadly foes of the Church. Hence they were bitter enemies of the Jesuits, and the Jansenists, when they afterwards

arose, found in the parliaments their powerful supporters. The expulsion of the Jesuits was a measure which could not be carried out without some cause, and a cause was found, in our opinion, by a foul conspiracy. There had been a suspicious attempt to assassinate the king. The criminal was made out to be a penitent of the Jesuits, and one of them, his preceptor, was exiled, and another was hanged, because it was alleged he had in his possession a paper, written in his own hand, justifying the attempt. If this were so, it is strange that he should have been *tried* only for keeping the paper in his possession, while it is easy enough to understand why this was so, supposing the paper to have been a *forgery*. Be that as it may, the matter was made a pretext by the parliaments of France for banishing the Jesuits, and though in nine years they were recalled, it was not without violent opposition from the parliaments, and the lawyers laboured hard against them.

The same parliaments were opposed to the celebrated Edict of Nantes, the great event which occurred at the eve of the seventeenth century, and which was only vindicated by Henry upon a plea which by that time no doubt was founded on fact, the plea of *necessity*. There was a necessity for it, to terminate the horrors of civil war, to which heresy had given rise. But the necessity had, as we have seen, arisen from having made religion a matter of policy, and encouraged heresy from expediency. The Huguenots had been recognized by repeated edicts of pacification, and provoked by their repeated revocations. And hence arose the necessity relied upon by Henry, which was not the less, on his lips, a plea of hypocrisy. For he had himself largely aided in causing the necessity to which he appealed, by taking up that heresy as a matter of policy, which he now established as a matter of necessity. It is a striking illustration of the hypocrisy of Henry, that at the very time he was trying to get the edict registered, he was labouring to obtain a divorce from his lawful wife. Here is the old union of heresy and adultery. As with our own Henry VIII., the amours of Henry IV. were such as to exercise an important influence upon the history of the age.

In regard to religion, there were in Paris, in the seventeenth century, four great classes: *les bons Catholiques*, who were sincere, the Protestants, the atheists, and *les*

politiques, whose name sufficiently indicates their character, and who consisted of bad Catholics, ready to sacrifice their religion for expediency; as the atheists or deists consisted of those who had lost their faith through the influence of Protestantism, but who had too much sense to take up with a false religion, and too much sincerity to affect to do so; of this class, we may observe in passing, was the secretary to Henry IV. It may be conceived that *les bons Catholiques*, as they could only regard the atheists with horror, and the Protestants with opposition, could not but revolt from *les politiques* with contempt. One or two incidents, which occurred in the year 1589, just two hundred years before the Revolution, will illustrate the state of the age, and the direction in which things were tending, and will also illustrate this great truth, which the history of these two centuries amply confirms, that it is not the *good* who have ever been disposed to persecution, that it is precisely those who are most ready to sacrifice religion to expediency, who are most ready to uphold it by cruelty, and that the same spirit which would prompt them to oppose the Holy See, would lead them to oppress their fellow-Christians.

In 1589 a Protestant minister was discovered in Paris, and led prisoner to the Bastille; at that time his doom would have been death, according to the edict of kings, who were ever resisting the lawful supremacy of the Holy See, and robbing the Church by their arbitrary measures over her patronage; but Busso-le-Clerc, though one of the most active on behalf of the Catholic "league," would not have the doom inflicted, and swore that the man, Huguenot as he was, was worth more than all the *politiques* of presidents and councillors, who were only hypocrites.

In the same year a similar incident occurred in respect to some Protestants brought before the curé Wincestre, one of the most zealous of *les bons Catholiques*. These two incidents are most eloquent; they prove that in France, as in England, persecution was resorted to not by good Catholics, but by bad ones. We remember a remarkable article in the *Rambler*, which maintained this as regards England in the reign of Mary, and we are happy to illustrate it as respects France, by incidents of the age of Henry. But these incidents prove more than that; they illustrate the intense disgust of *les bons Catholiques* for a system of religious insincerity, of hypocritical confor-

imity, of professed Catholicity, combined with secret heresy, which formed the great vice of the age, and which by displacing the bonds of morality proved the parent of all other vices, and productive of a depravity unparalleled in the history of the world, and which required to be avenged, as it was, in the slow but sure course of retributive Providence, by oceans of blood. We are anxious to illustrate this because we shall afterwards see that this dishonesty, thus so flagrant in the age of Henry IV. among *les politiques*, of whom the councillors and presidents of parliaments were conspicuous, was the distinguishing characteristic of Jansenism, which found among these parliaments its warm supporters.

The death of Henry IV., the founder of the House of Bourbon, brings us, with the accession of Louis XIII., within three reigns of the Revolution; long reigns, however, extraordinarily long, and comprehending more than a century and a half.

At the accession of Louis XIII. the Jesuits were in favour with the Court, but not so with the parliaments. Mariana's book was burnt in an ignominious manner by order of the Parliaments of Paris, and a piece of Cardinal Bellarmine seized and suppressed, as prejudicial to the civil power. When the Jesuits appealed for leave to open a college for the instruction of youth, the Parliament of Paris refused it, in compliance with the wishes of the university, and it was obtained by the sole authority of the Crown. These were signs and symptoms of that evil spirit of nationalism which had been so long rising in France. At the same time the authority of royalty was weakened by repeated insurrections of the Protestants, who during the reign of Henry had been allowed to erect themselves into a kind of independent community, with its own assemblies and aims of policy. The flames of civil war were more than once kindled by the Huguenots in the reign of Louis, and the principles of republicanism were for the first time acted on in France by the Protestant assembly of Rochelle. The policy of expediency was still pursued; it was the age of Richelieu and Rohan, and under the auspices of the Cardinal, a treaty was concluded with the Protestants, in which their right to the free exercise of their religion was distinctly recognized, and the Edict of Nantes solemnly re-confirmed. The Cardinal treated the Court of Rome with contempt when it thwarted his

schemes of policy and interdicted the French bishops from holding intercourse with the Papal nuncio. In short, every authority, every principle, however sacred, was tampered with in this unscrupulous age, for the sake of temporary expediency. What could be more certain to destroy in the minds of the nation all regard for principle, all reverence for authority; the more so as the administration of Richelieu was marked by unrelenting severity, and the insurrections of the people, crushed by their oppressors, were punished with horrible cruelty.

Under the administration of Richelieu, the Crown had become absolute. With the accession of Louis XIV., a minor, commenced the struggle between the Crown and the Parliament of Paris, which was suspended by the personal abilities and tremendous wars of that monarch, but being resumed in the reigns of his less able successors, terminated in the convocation of the States General under Louis XVI., which led to the Revolution. The disturbances which broke out in France during the early part of the long reign of Louis XIV., show how utterly the moral bands of society had been loosened, and how its disorganized elements were kept together only by the pressure of despotism. The short space of a year or two saw one cardinal proscribed by the parliament, and another imprisoned by the Court; the wars of the Fronde, excited by princes of the blood, and a prince of the Church; the king summarily suppressing extraordinary sittings of the parliament by his personal interposition, after the manner of Cromwell, and repeated rebellions, excited by the oppressions of Mazarine, and constant machinations by the unscrupulous De Retz. What a state of society does the mere statement of such facts disclose!

With the majority of Louis XIV., however, the condition of France became one dead level of despotism,—corruption and oppression at home, and unscrupulous aggression abroad. The consequence was the demoralization of the people, and the accumulation of debts which ultimately embarrassed the monarchy. Louis treated the Holy See with the insolent contempt of despotic power, unchastened by religious restraints. Like Napoleon, after a similar conduct, he was destined to receive a prompt and exemplary retribution. In a year or two his prosperity was put an end to by the death of Louvois. He was arrested in his career of conquest, and had to endure disaster and dis-

grace, while his unscrupulous policy inflicted on the country equal debauchery and misery.

The authors of the *Universal History* thus speak of the conduct of Louis towards the Church:—"In all the countries in Europe where the Catholic religion prevails, it has been found difficult to restrain the ambition of ecclesiastics without lessening that reverence and respect, without which the sacred functions would produce no effect on morals, and the Church would prove a mere inanimated excrescence on the state." Of course these writers thought that Louis XIV. had attained this arduous object, but the Catholic author or reader will hardly be of that opinion. "He maintained the right of appealing to the parliaments, (in which he attained an undisputed authority,) from the decrees of the ecclesiastical courts, whenever such decrees affected the royal prerogative. Thus he frequently supported the national privileges against the clerical ambition, and maintained the right of the Gallican Church against the usurpation of the pontiffs. His right of enjoying the revenues of bishoprics, and disposing of the dependant benefices during the vacancy of the episcopal chair, was once disputed by the two most eminent and virtuous prelates in France. Louis exerted his prerogative, and the prelates thundered out excommunication. They engaged the Pope in their quarrel, and the king, disregarding both, seized their temporalities and confirmed his authority." This was the monarch who, under a pretence of zeal for the Catholic faith, recommenced the persecutions of the Protestants. It was not the spirit of religion but of revenge. He was a worthy descendant of Philip le Bel, and pursued the same policy. The spirit of self-will, which made him a rebel to the Church, rendered him a despot to his people. He reduced the Church to such a state of subservience and enslavement, that she lost her influence on the morals of the nation, and became a mere inanimate excrescence on the state. For three centuries the Church had been under the control of the Crown. The seed had been sown, the long reign of Louis XIV. ripened the rank fruit which such a corrupt soil could not but nurture; and in the reign of Louis XIV. the fruit was reaped.

It was in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV. that he commenced his persecutions of the Protestants, whose heresy had now continued in the country for upwards of a century, repeatedly recognized by law, and sanctioned

by prescription. Under these circumstances measures of coercion, as they were too late to stop the progress of the heresy, can only be considered as persecution. If the king had confined himself to prohibiting the synods of the Protestant ministers, which had proved nests of sedition, or even had he been contented with the prohibition of their public worship, and of all proselytism, there might have been discovered in the events, and the sterner experience of the times, enough of palliation. But when, in 1685, penal laws were virtually enacted against the Protestants, it is impossible not to see that the spirit of intolerance was at work, that it was less a zeal for Catholicism than the instinct of despotism, which led to such persecution. In fact, the king persecuted the Protestants precisely in the same spirit as that in which he ruled the Church—the spirit of arbitrary power, of absolutism and self-will. The same haughty self-will would lead him to domineer over Catholics and Protestants: the pride for the royal supremacy would seek to gratify itself in the Church and out of it. The decree of 1686, denouncing confiscation and imprisonment upon those who relapsed into Protestantism, commences thus: "*We order, and it is our pleasure.*" That was the reason of it. It was in no spirit of conformity to any suggestions from the Holy See. It was in no single-minded zeal for the interest of religion. At that very time the king was living in adultery. Perhaps, indeed, this had something to do with this measure. He would gladly compound for his impurity by his bigotry, and hope to make up for his adultery by his ardour against heresy. A prince more pure would have been less cruel.

It was just a century before the Revolution that Louis XIV. consummated, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, a series of measures, the object of which was to make the profession of Catholicism the only path to temporal prosperity. Anything more calculated to spread the infection of religious insincerity could scarcely be conceived; and there can be no reason to question that it had that effect. But the persons who professed to relinquish their Protestantism in order to preserve their property, would not *really* do so, and would, of course, retain in secret the tenets of heresy they pretended to abandon. Thus the system must have been widely spread, if remaining in outward communion with the Church, while secretly not adhering to her faith. One shudders at the awful amount

of profanation, impiety, and sacrilege such a system must have occasioned. And let it be marked, that it continued down to the era of the Revolution. The children of those who were coerced or seduced by Louis XIV. to profess an adoption of Catholicism, must have been living at the accession of Louis XVI. But the next generation would improve upon the last, and would systemize the insincerity which their fathers had extemporized, and would find a *theory* of hypocrisy in *Jansenism*. There they were taught how they might remain *in* the Church, while not *of* the Church; and reject the faith while retaining the *power* of Catholics. The *reaction* from such a system could scarcely be less than decisive, and its *results* could not fail to be immorality. Add to this a deeply-rooted contempt for royalty and nobility, caused by their having long been preeminent in depravity and hypocrisy, and we have the ingredients of the spirit which led to this Revolution—the elements of that terrible catastrophe in which morality was so awfully revenged, and impiety so signally developed. In that, as in all such cases, the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children, (for this among other reasons may assist in making reparation for the crime)—and just a hundred years after Protestant fugitives from the hypocritical cruelty of Louis XIV. were stopped by the sword, *royalist* emigrants were brought back to slaughter.

Alison ascribes the Revolution in a great degree to the depression of Protestantism by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. He says:

“The Romish hierarchy had long regarded with a jealous eye the privileges conceded to the Protestants by the generous toleration of Henry IV. and the edict of Nantes, by which his wisdom had settled the religious disputes of the sixteenth century, was to them in an especial manner, the object of disquietude. The old Chancellor Tellier, at the age of eighty-three, requested the king to afford him the consolation, before he died, of witnessing the recall of the hateful edict; and so great was the influence of the *violent* Romish party, that his desire was soon accomplished. On the 5th of Oct., 1685, the fatal revocation appeared, and the whole of the Huguenots of the kingdom were abandoned at once to persecution, violence, and military execution. Such was the fanaticism of the age, that a perfidious act of despotism, which, in its ultimate consequences, induced the ruin of the Christian religion in France, and brought the great-grandson of the reigning monarch to the scaffold, was celebrated by the ablest divines of the Romish Church as the greatest triumph to the true faith which had occurred.”

And then he quotes Bossuet (who, it is to be presumed, the great Protestant historian classes among the “*violent Romish party*”), omitting altogether to observe or to draw attention to the fact that the language of Bossuet clearly indicates that the cause of his exultation was a conviction on his part that there was a universal reaction in favour of the true faith, and that the measure was not more an arbitrary exertion of absolute power than the royal sanction of a national movement. It is thus that Bossuet writes :

“Nos pères n’avoient pas eu comme nous, une heresie inveterée tomber tout-a-coup : les troupeaux revenu en foule, et nos eglises trop étroites pour les recevoir, leurs faux pasteurs les abandonner sans même en attendre l’ordre, et heureux d’avoir à leur assigner leur bassissement pour excuse—tout calme dans un si grand mouvement.”

Heedless of this, Alison hastens to add :

“Eight years after these Io Pœans were sung by the Romish hierarchy, an obscure individual was born, who shook to its foundation the Roman Catholic faith in France, and derived his chief weapons from this atrocious act of perfidy—*Voltaire*.”

“The act of perfidy” was the act of a monarch who withheld from the Church her liberty ; and who was as detestable for immorality as for tyranny. His despotic spirit rendered him as insolent to the Holy See as he was persecuting to Protestants ; but his tyranny was less injurious than his immorality, the infection in which originated that immorality whence arose the infidelity of which *Voltaire* was the apostle, and the Revolution the result. At the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the Church of France had long been labouring under the benumbing influence of Gallicanism, and, as we shall see, was becoming infected with Jansenism. This it is to which we are to ascribe the sad destruction of those happy prospects as to the revival of religion, by which, rather than the recurrence to persecution, the eloquence of Bossuet was inspired, though Mr. Alison must be aware that the bishop of Meaux was not what would be termed “*ultramontane*” in his ideas, and regarded the exercise of royal authority in religious affairs not quite with orthodox views.

That a season of irreligion did follow the event referred to is unquestionable, but, as we have seen, it preceded it, and we shall afterwards show its connection with Jansenism. Mr. Alison says :

“From the revocation of the edict of Nantes is to be dated the commencement of a series of causes and effects which closed the reign of Louis XIV. in mourning, induced weakness and disgrace on the French monarchy, spread the fatal poison of irreligion among its inhabitants, and finally overthrew the throne and Church.”

Here is a distinct admission that the *fatal poison of irreligion* was the great cause of the Revolution. This is our own conclusion. We only differ from Mr. Alison as to the source from which that fatal poison flowed. Does he think that the “series of causes and effects” to which he ascribes its hideous effects commenced only from the revocation of the edict of Nantes? Why in his own showing it must have commenced far earlier. If the decree were as atrocious as he terms it, then the real cause of any ill effect it produced was not the decree, but the state of public mind in France which led to it. Right or wrong, the decree resulted in a previous state of the national mind, for it is Mr. Alison’s own account of the matter, that the decree was, to a great extent, in harmony with the policy of the nation; taking his own view even to be correct, we must go further back than the decree itself for the cause of the events that followed. And this is what we have endeavoured to do; strange that it should not have occurred to the historian to do so. He himself mentions the depravity of the court of Louis XIV. Had that nothing to do with the infidelity which followed? Why does a Protestant historian find greater affinity for infidelity in bigotry than in immorality?

There is a very eloquent passage in a recent work of that illustrious Catholic, the Count de Montalembert, which conveys a vivid idea of the state of the Gallican Church at this corrupt era, and a truer idea of the cause of the Revolution than occurred to the Protestant historian.

“Never again shall we witness a return of those days when rebellion against Rome, and the imaginary necessity of contesting her prerogatives, had seized upon the purest and greatest minds; when Bossuet appealed from the ecclesiastical court to the parliament of Paris, against a bull that had been issued five years before; when twenty bishops might have been seen at the king’s levee; but when it would have been considered a crime against the State for any one of those bishops to have thought of repairing to Rome, to visit the tombs of the apostles, in fulfilment of the vow which he had taken at his consecration; when the sentiment of Christian fraternity had become so extinct in the heart, that the continual persecution of Ireland,

the atrocious treatment inflicted by Charles III. and Pombal upon the Jesuits of Spain and Portugal, the barbarous cruelty exercised by Catherine towards the Polish Catholics, failed to excite a single word of commiseration, I do not say in the breasts of the philosophers and philanthropists of the time, but in those of the prelates and priests of France and Germany; when the jubilee brought to Rome but one solitary French priest, Father Bridaine; when corrupt prelates, like the Cardinal of Briennes, presided over the suppressions of the monasteries; when the gigantic monuments of the faith of our forefathers were turned to ridicule by minds as exalted as those of Fenelon and Fleury, and systematically devastated by those to whose keeping they had been confided; when the whole history of the great Catholic ages was unworthily forgotten or falsified, the lives of the saints mutilated, the glory of the most illustrious Popes denied, and of deference to miserable prejudices; when Jansenist puritanism was adopted and practised by the sincerest adversaries of Jansenism, as a sort of preservative against the contempt which must have been shown towards Gallican servility; when the liturgy, that sacred deposit of the Catholic faith, piety, and poetry, was arbitrarily altered, and varied in every diocese, to suit inspirations of the most suspicious nature.'

After this, it is historically untrue to represent corruption which led to the Revolution as the result of Romanism. It was the result of Gallicanism, and the Church can never be rendered responsible for the moral state of a nation in which she is not allowed free action. It is as untrue to attribute the persecution of that age to the Church, as its corruption. The revocation of the edict of Nantes was a measure actuated by the same spirit of despotism which dictated the four Articles of the Gallican Church, in 1682, and the prelates who approved the one applauded the other.

The conduct of Louis XIV. with regard to the Church is the exact prototype of that of Napoleon. He assumed at once to deal with the temporalities of the vacant benefices as his own, and to fill up the vacancies; and he did so in spite of censures and excommunications. He defied the authority of the Pope, and seized the Papal territories, in order to enforce his own nomination of prelates, and sent hostile forces to enter the Holy See, and overawe the successor of St. Peter. He expected from the Vicar of Christ implicit obedience to his mandates, and behaved towards him in the insolence of the haughtiest despotism. He established in 1684 four "Articles," which, in substance, almost substituted the royal for the papal supremacy over

the Gallican Church; and which reduced it to a state of servile subjugation. He treated the religious affairs of Catholics and Protestants with equal tyranny, and persecuted both if they thwarted his arbitrary will. In the same spirit of despotism he revoked the edict of Nantes, and established the four articles; and he imprisoned the Jansenists from the same temper which led the parliaments to persecute the Jesuits. An embodiment of egotism, and therefore of Gallicanism: his maxim was, "l'etat c'est moi;" and in his construction of it the State included the Church. His language was, "His majesty wishes that the utmost severities may be enforced against those who will not adopt *his religion*. His majesty wishes you to express yourself in the most severe terms against those who are determined to profess a religion which displeases him." In all this he was the successor of Philip le Bel, and the precursor of Napoleon. The spirit of despotism is the same in every age. It was in the corrupt age of Louis XIV. when Jansenism arose. It was propagated in France by the abbot St. Cyran, who had been at his accursed work a great part of 20 years before he was, in 1638, imprisoned by Richelieu. He was kept in confinement until 1643, and died the same year. We need hardly mention that his adherents included some of the most intellectual men in France—Arnauld, Nicole, Quesnel—and one who was himself a host—Pascal. Moreover, not a few of the French bishops gave his bad cause their countenance. It is well known what zealous opponents the new heresy found in the then newly-founded Society of Jesus, who seemed to have been raised up for the special purpose of combating Protestantism in all its subtle forms of heresy. Of these, beyond all doubt, Jansenism was the most subtle and insidious. We will describe, in the language of Mosheim, the conduct of the Jansenists in this great controversy:

"The Jansenists enervated the decrees of the Pope or the mandates of the king by the most subtle distinctions and interpretations, nay, by the very sophistry which they condemned in the Jesuits; to the menaces of great men and bishops they opposed the force of the multitude, and physical force they vanquished by the miracles of which they boasted. They actually sought to persuade, and did persuade many to believe that God himself espoused their cause, and that he had by prodigies and miracles placed the truth of their teaching beyond controversy."

They themselves avowed that they relied on miracles in

support of their cause,* the fame of which created great noise in Paris from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, but of which, as they were all miserable impostures, the ultimate result must have been an immense increase of scepticism. And in point of fact, as the age of Jansenism succeeded that of Gallicanism, we shall see the age of Deism followed that of Jansenism. It was in 1650 that these pretended miracles commenced; and in 1731 they were consummated by the indecent impostures practised at the tomb of the Abbé Paris.

The dishonest nature of Jansenism was illustrated in the conclusion of the contest. In 1665, the Pope having condemned five propositions as embodying its spirit, the supporters of the heresy actually raised an issue as to whether these propositions were to be found in their works; and maintained that the Holy See, however infallible on questions of theology, was not so upon questions of fact. Wretched sophistry! As if it was not a question of theology what was the theological bearing of certain theological treatises! Or as if the supremacy of the Holy See could be consistent with allowing national or local tribunals to determine what came within its sway! This was a sophistry quite in keeping with the system of Gallicanism, which, while nominally admitting the supremacy of the Holy See in matters spiritual, sophisticated it away by maintaining that ecclesiastical matters were not spiritual, and that royal or national authority ought to determine what was so. Here we see clearly that Jansenism and Gallicanism were systems of kindred character, and had similar causes and consequences. Both found support in the spirit of nationalism, which was equally held by the court and by the parliaments, and, we are compelled to add, the episcopate of France. For in 1669 not less than three-and-twenty French bishops gave so far a qualified support to Jansenism, as to oppose the papal condemnation of it, and, under the auspices of Anne of Bourbon, extort from the Holy See the decree which was called the peace of Clement IX., and which was interpreted into an indulgence to the maintenance of the heresy; an interpretation, however, which, in 1679, was, by the exertions of the Jesuits, formally condemned; and then Jansenism was dealt with in

* *Memoires de Port Royal*, tome 1, p. 256.

the same way as Protestantism, and, as in both instances, it was too late, with the same result, indeed, probably with like success. Persecution only introduced dissimulation, and Jansenism was a system of greater dishonesty and subtlety than simple Protestantism. It had long relied upon the subterfuge of pretending to retain Catholic doctrines while practically sophisticating them away. The Jansenists had only now learnt to keep their sophistications secret; and doubtless they did so. And though the leaders fled, the heresy was not suppressed, but lurked like a poison in the social body, all the more fatal because so insidious. Nor can there be a question that the result of this system of insincerity and the reaction from the iniquities perpetrated by Jansenism, was to augment the mass of scepticism which was rapidly infecting the whole mass of French society, and converting it into a nation of Deists. One sufficient evidence of this is in the simple fact that though the Jansenists were apparently suppressed, they in reality ultimately triumphed. The spirit they infused into French society, rankled and worked until it resulted in the *expulsion of the Jesuits*. Serpent-like they left their venom in the wound, and destroyed their destroyers. The Jesuits rose again, indeed. But first France had her retribution. It was, the *Revolution*.

And now our readers will be prepared to appreciate the nervous, masculine, and masterly narrative which Father Dalgairns, in his valuable and original little work, has given of the rise of Jansenism. It is only with the historical portion of the book that we have at present to do. That part of it which has a theological or devotional aspect, would be foreign to our subject, though we cannot refer to it even thus casually without expressing our grateful and warm appreciation of it. Father Dalgairns writes :

“Jansenism was a planned systematic conspiracy against Rome ; but not in the same sense as that of Luther and Calvin. Geneva and Augsburg waged an open war ; Jansenism was a secret plot. Its strength did not lie in its doctrines, but in the terrible tenacity with which its disciples clung to them, and the no less terrible obstinacy with which they determined to remain within the visible communion of the Church of God, for the very purpose of eating into its vitals, and braving its decrees.”

Elsewhere Father Dalgairns speaks justly of the dishonest spirit of Jansenism, and the reader has been pre-

pared for it by the review we have taken of the insincerity on the subject of religion, which had for a century before the rise of Jansenism, infected the character of the leading men of France. The French nation, as a nation, had never accepted Protestantism.

“Accordingly, Henry IV., after having fought his way to the throne of France, felt that he could not be its genuine king while he remained a Huguenot; and the fall of la Rochelle proclaimed for ever that Protestant power was at an end, at the moment that the ‘Augustinus’ was working in the brow of Jansenius, and the plot was ripening in the restless mind of St. Cyran.”

“That there was from the first a plot to form a party within the Catholic Church, and to overwhelm her, there is abundant evidence to prove.... That there was at the outset of the existence of Jansenism a dishonest scheme for remaining within the Church, to alter her whole discipline, and to thrust upon her doctrines what were not hers, is sufficiently plain. Before the publication of the ‘Augustinus,’ before what was called Jansenism existed, the eagle eye of Richelieu had been fixed on St. Cyran, and the future heresiarch had been lodged in Vincennes. The act may have been arbitrary, but there was abundant evidence of a conspiracy against the Church in the huge collection of manuscripts found in his cabinet. When entreated to release St. Cyran from his prison, Richelieu answered, ‘If Luther and Calvin had been dealt with as I have dealt with St. Cyran, France and Germany would have been spared the torrents of blood which have inundated them for fifty years.’”

But it is impossible not to remark, that if Protestantism had not been dealt with in the way which Richelieu dealt with it—upon the mere policy of *expediency*—these torrents of blood would never have flowed, and the effusion of greater oceans still would have been spared. Where policy did not interpose, Richelieu, no doubt, was sincere in zeal for Catholicity. On this occasion he was prompt; but prompt as he was, he was too late; which he never was in matters of state policy. “St. Cyran’s party,” says Father Dalgairns, “had been already formed, and its most important acquisitions made, before he was consigned to prison.” The greatest of these acquisitions were the family of Arnauld. We beg attention to what follows:

“It was an indication which the history of the party never belied, that it would have on its side one great political power in the realm—*that of the Parliaments*. The Abbess of Port Royal belonged to one of the great legal families of France—to the noblesse de la robe. Her father was one of that race of bold lawyers who were equally

ready to plead a cause, and levy a regiment of musketeers against the (Catholic) league. Her grandfather had been a Protestant, and had narrowly escaped with his life on the day of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Afterwards he became a Catholic; but he left as a baneful inheritance to his family the principles of *Parliamentary Gallicanism* in their worst form. He was the fitting type of the spirit of the parliaments of France."

The history of this single family will do as well to illustrate our argument as the history of many. Here we see clearly the affinity between Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Jacobinism. The spirit of the parliaments of France, who, we shall see, compelled the convocation of the States General, which resulted in the national assembly, and the sovereignty of Jacobinism—was a spirit of nationalism opposed to Catholicism; and hence its sympathy for Jansenism.

"Those great legal bodies of the realm were ever distinguished for their hatred to Rome. Sprung, as they were, from the monarch who dragged Boniface VIII. from Anagni, they ever showed signs of this original sin of their existence. Such a party was glad enough to have a faction within the Church to help them: and they were ever in the stoutest league with the Jansenists, so soon as the death of Louis XIV. left them to their natural instincts."

How admirably, in a terse sentence or two, does Father Dalgairns describe and confirm all that we have been labouring to establish by our review of French history! Nothing could be more graphic than his description of the evil work which went on in the seclusion of Port Royal.

"Who, in looking down from the heights above on its peaceful conventual buildings, could suspect for a moment that he was standing on the crater of a volcano? Yet the solitaries who dwelt in that valley were in league with the machinations of the Fronde. If there are barricades in the streets of Paris, and fighting about the Palais Royal, the Duke de Luynes, a *Jansenist*, is a member of the upper council of the rebels, and the Chevalier de Sevigné, another *Jansenist*, commands the regiment levied by De Retz. The coadjutor himself,* the wild and turbid spirit whom his own confessions have revealed to us,—while he was evoking from the alleys and hovels of Paris the haggard artizans, whose descendants in the great Revolution travelled the road to Versailles with pike and gun, *de Retz himself was in league with Port Royal.*"

"During the tumult it is said that there was as much hurrying

* Cardinal de Retz was coadjutor to the Archbishop of Paris.

to and fro between Paris and the Thebaid of the solitaries, as between the capital and a royal residence in a time of war. Nor can the utmost charity suppose them to have been ignorant as were many others, of the character of De Retz, when his paramour, the princess de Guémené, when he was as yet only Abbé de Goudi, was the friend of Arnauld d'Andilly, and oscillated between Port Royal and the scene of her guilt. The same dishonourable spirit marked the whole policy of the party. They carried into theology the spirit of lawyers, and of dishonest ones too. They fought the whole battle with Rome by a series of quibbles, of which a respectable attorney would be ashamed. And while this disgraceful contest was going on, and consciences were perplexed and tortured by it, the solitaries did not disdain machinations of other sorts, in other places. There were intrigues up the back-stairs of palaces, and courtiers in the halls of the Tuilleries executed schemes which had been planned in the solitude of Port Royal. When Fouquet, the minister of finance fell, mysterious relations between him and Port Royal were discovered, and Louis XIV. was surprised into choosing an Arnauld as the colleague of Colbert and Louvois."

The vigour with which this picture is drawn, is only equalled by its fidelity. The connection between Jansenism and Jacobinism is strikingly shown. As clear is the connection between Jansenism and Rationalism. It was a spirit of scepticism.

"In this zeal for primitive times the Port Royalists did not spare the Acts of the Martyrs. The beautiful stories of the virgin martyrs—St. Cecilia and St. Agnes—were discredited on the very ground of their being supernatural, as though Christianity was not a supernatural religion, and as though there was anything intrinsically improbable in the descent of angelic visitors, or the outburst of heavenly visions in the dungeon of a martyr. They thought themselves happy, if with painful erudition they discovered that the narrator of the triumphant death of a martyr made some blunder in the name of a Roman legion, or in the official title of some Roman magistrate; while they treated with contempt even as a mere historical testimony the fact that the tradition of the Church had consecrated the legend from time immemorial."

That this spirit was the offspring of Protestantism is as plain as that it would infallibly lead to Rationalism. Elsewhere Father Dalgairns speaks of the "*strong hard heart*" of Jansenism; and we know of no expression more descriptive of Jacobinism:

"Such," says Father Dalgairns, "was Jansenism in its first stage, the most repulsive and the most dishonest of heresies. Its fatalist

doctrines, *its stern and arrogant spirit, its unmercifulness*—all is un-Christian and unlovely about it.”

The teaching of such a system, and diffusing it in such a spirit, would hardly have had any other effect than to pave the way for a cruel and remorseless Revolution. Calvinism is the sure precursor of scepticism ; and scepticism is cruel and sanguinary because it knows nothing of *souls* : and looks on human beings as a tribe of insects, to be trampled upon without pity, and extinguished without remorse. So wrote Robert Hall of modern infidelity, which found its saturnalia in the Revolution. The *moral* connection between Jansenism and Jacobinism is as clear as the *historical*.

“As time went on all the evil characteristics of Jansenism came out with greater prominence. Arnauld died true to his heresy in the arms of Quesnel : Pascal went before him to the tomb. But if they could have risen from their graves, and seen the party which they served better than their God in the days of its degradation, when ridiculous and indecent attempts at miracles, such as would disgrace a congregation of Jumpers, were performed at the tomb of the Abbé of Paris, how would their proud foreheads have blushed for shame. What if they had looked forward some years further, and had seen Jansenism in an unnatural alliance with infidelity, pushing the prelates of France off their episcopal thrones, and investing themselves in whatever share of the spirit their new friends chose contemptuously to fling to them. Here was Jansenism in its true shape, a mere faction and a party ; and, like everything else which is a mere party, it hung itself on to every power, imperial or republican, which could give it a chance of success. Its professors were courtiers at Vienna, and wore the red cap of liberty in Paris. During the period immediately preceding the French Revolution, and during its first stages, the Jansenists were the tools of every party : their great principle, that it was possible to belong to the Church, and yet be her opponent in matters in which she was not infallible, and their claim, at the same time, to be the judges of those matters, was a convenient weapon for a despot like Joseph II., as well as for the revolutionary leaders, who established the constitutional Church. The last miserable remnant of them perished on the scaffold, dragged to the guillotine by the hands of the men whom they had assisted to destroy the Church. Fenelon, in 1705, was still alive, consecrating all his energies to the destruction of Jansenism. He died in 1715, with his dying breath entreating Louis XIV. to carry on the fight against it.

“After Louis XIV. was dead, the power of the parliaments rose, and with them rose a party which had all along clung to them. The question almost ceased to be a doctrinal one ; it assumed

everywhere a legitimate form of a revolt against ecclesiastical authority. The parliament of Paris had only been overawed by the authority of Louis into registering the bull *Unigenitus* as a law of the land, and now used that bull as a war-cry against the Church. Four years after Louis XIV. was in his grave, the parliament of Paris ordered the letters of two bishops in favour of the bull to be burned by the hands of the public executioner. The bishop of Marseilles, in 1720, was a special mark for the enmity of the parliament of Provence on account of his zeal against the Jansenists, and the temporalities of his see were more than once sequestered in revenge for his efforts in favour of the reception of the bull *Unigenitus*."

The vivid and vigorous pen of Father Dalgairns has thus carried us into the centre of the reign of Louis XV., the reign immediately preceding the Revolution, and has sufficiently depicted the rise and reign, the nature and the spirit of Jansenism. We can show from the pages of Mr. Alison its connection with Jacobinism and the Revolution.

Strange that in this corrupt age and country the devotion to the Sacred Heart should have arisen, and become established contemporaneously with that sad state of things which led to the Revolution. The history of the devotion is thus closely and curiously associated with that of Jacobinism and Jansenism. It has a singular effect upon the mind to pass from the outer world of depraved courts and caballing parliaments, to the inner world of the Church, with its calm cloisters and saintly contemplation. This is the charm and the peculiarity of Father Dalgairns' book, and one of the most striking passages in it is that in which he thus contrasts these two worlds at the era of the rise of this devotion.

"It was to this gentle and holy nun, (Margaret Alcoque,) that Jesus chose to entrust the spreading of the devotion to the Sacred Heart. There were men enough in France, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, to help on the work of God. Bossuet was there, high in favour with Louis XVI., yet his commanding influence was not brought into operation to aid the poor nun of the Visitation. The lowly sister of an obscure convent, in a little town of Burgundy, was too deeply hidden to meet the eye even of the far-sighted eagle of Meaux. Then there was Fénelon, the high-minded and unworldly prelate, still ruling over the archiepiscopal See of Cambrai; it would have been well for him if he had but bent his bold and noble intellect, his fluent speech and perfect mastery over the artistic structure of his native tongue, to the adornment of a

theme well suited to his affectionate piety, and far other than the mystic dreams of the visionary who deceived him. And what was St. Sulpice about that it ignored the lowly nun? M. Olier was dead, but his spirit still lived in his congregation, and it was the most influential body in the Church of France. If the advocacy of the devotion to the Sacred Heart had been simply entrusted to them, nothing would have been easier than to propagate it, granting that it was an earthly thing to be spread by earthly means. But God did not choose that anything strong with the strength of the earth should be the source of His work, He would have it all His own. No aid was given to the holy virgin to whom Jesus gave it in charge, to make known to the world the yearnings of His Sacred Heart. There is no single great name of all that then adorned the Church of France, which is even mentioned in her history."

Well would it have been for France had the devotion spread so speedily as to have seized on the souls of the millions of the rising generation. What oceans of blood would have been saved! But, alas! the devotion did not spread speedily. Father Dalgairns powerfully describes the obstacles and obstructions it met with; its chief opponents were Jansenists, its chief supporters the Jesuits.

Myriads would revolt from the horrors of the Reign of Terror, or the more flagrant iniquities of Jansenism, who would, nevertheless, harbour in their minds the elements of character in which Jansenism had its rise, and to which Jacobinism owed its origin. "The history of Jansenism," says Father Dalgairns, "shows us how men may believe in the great doctrines of Catholicism, even in the abstract infallibility of the Church, yet may play into the hands of Protestants or infidels, by believing as little as possible, and rejecting all which, though technically not of faith, yet is the universal practice of good Catholics." Father Dalgairns applies this particularly to the devotions of the Church, which, he says, are the legitimate consequences of her doctrines, so that a contempt for them shows that the doctrines have no hold on the mind that despises them. This observation he illustrates with special reference to the Sacred Heart, and does so most impressively. He hits the real cause of all these heresies or infidelities in Catholic countries, when he speaks of those on whose mind the doctrines of the Church have no hold. That is to say, they are not in earnest; they act as though the doctrines were not true, and thus tempt others to persuade themselves they were not so, if they do not end in think-

ing so themselves. There can be no more fertile source of infidelity or heresy, and hence it is that between Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Jacobinism, there has been so much of a deep though latent association. Tepid Catholics were the first who set up the liberties of the Gallican church against the Holy See; bad Catholics were the first Jansenists, men who had not imbibed the spirit of the Church, nor realized her doctrines; and Jacobites were only men who acted as if Gallicanism and Jacobinism were true, and developed those vitiated elements of character from which they emanated, especially that intense egotism which was equally manifested in the despotism of Richelieu or the Jacobinism of Robespierre.

Here we must introduce some powerful passages from the book of Father Dalgairns, which will show the connection between our subject and his, between the devotions to the Sacred Heart and the Holy See, and will throw the clearest light upon the real causes of Jacobinism.

“During the Orleans regency and the reign of Louis XV. the efforts of the episcopate of France were utterly paralyzed by the power of the parliaments, in all the measures which they adopted against the fearful torrent of infidelity and vice. Humanly speaking, it seemed as though Christianity itself was disappearing. It is not wonderful that we find the devotion to the Sacred Heart everywhere the subject of the ridicule of the Jansenists. It is a significant fact that the prelates of France, who were most devout to the Sacred Heart, were at the same time marked out for the special hostility of the formidable parliaments, on account of their efforts against Jansenism. Of the two bishops whose letters in favour of the bull *Unigenitus*, the parliament of Paris ordered to be burned by the hands of the common executioner, one was Languet, bishop of Soissons, the author of the famous life of the Venerable Mary Margaret Alacoque.”

One of the most striking features of Father Dalgairns' book is, the masterly way in which he connects the latent principles of antagonism or association springing out of the spiritual state of men, thus throwing a very vivid and original light on the events of history. He describes, in a most powerful way, the manner in which the bishop of Marseilles, in 1720, suppressed the plague by processions and devotions in honour of the Sacred Heart, and then points out that this prelate was a special mark for the enmity of the parliament of Paris, on account of his zeal against the Jansenists.

“So true is it,” he says, “that a courageous defence of the faith against the Jansenist heresy, always went hand in hand with devotion to the Sacred Heart.” It might occur to many readers that no two subjects could have less connection than a devotion to the Sacred Heart and the political power of a parliament; but the perusal of the work of Father Dalgairns will not only show this to be a great mistake, but will show that this is the very feeling to which Gallicanism and Jansenism and all their prolific fruits of evil are to be ascribed—the idea that the spiritual should be separate from the temporal, the supernatural from the natural, whereas the great object is to influence the natural by the supernatural, the temporal by the spiritual, and out of the neglect and defect of this the tremendous tragedy of the Revolution arose. We gladly quote again from Father Dalgairns, who will make more clear than we can our argument and his own.

“The heresy broke out after a century and a half in the court of Vienna, and on the very frontiers of the States of the Church. In the hands of Joseph II. it had dropt its doctrinal character. ‘The Church is infallible in doctrinal matters,’ was his language, ‘but there is a vast body of opinion in the Church which it is possible for men to disbelieve, and yet be very good Catholics. Let us keep to what is matter of faith, all the rest belongs to the jurisdiction of the state.’ And he proceeded to make war on the discipline of the Church and its devotions.

“He abolished all confraternities, he laid a restriction on the number of masses, he forbade any devotions to be used except such as were strictly provided for in the rubrics of the Church. As Jansenism in France aimed a mortal blow at piety, by discouraging frequent communion, so Joseph II. took upon himself to destroy all the popular devotions which, without being indissolubly bound up with the Church, yet are tolerated and authorized by her. It was, however, in the Jansenist Synod of Pistoja that this spirit was embodied in rules, and took a definite shape. In spite of and in direct opposition to the Holy See, Ricci, the schismatical bishop of Pistoja, collected a synod of his clergy, the decrees of which have been severally condemned at Rome. It is in this famous synod that almost all the practices of piety, universal among the faithful, are reprobated and forbidden, on the ground that they are not of faith. The members of the assembly lay down as a fundamental maxim, that ‘a great distinction is to be made between what is of faith and of the essence of religion, and what simply belongs to discipline;’ and then they proceed to assume that the discipline of the Church may be most freely discussed, as though there was no competent authority to make it binding. They attack the adminis-

tration of the sacrament of penance, and the giving of absolution before the performance of the penance enjoined. They condemn devotion to particular images, and the common doctrine of indulgences, novenas, and indulgenced prayers. They reprobate excess of devotion to our dear Lady, and finally, out of all the particular devotions of the Church, they single out that to the Sacred Heart as being novel, erroneous, and dangerous."

No one will question that Father Dalgairns has made clear the secret association between Jansenism and opposition to devotion to the Sacred Heart. Equally clear is the association between Jansenism and Jacobinism.

There are some most important passages, in which he shows the moral character of Jansenism, from which we may readily conceive the tendency it would have to promote a reaction into sensuality and infidelity :

"It is not to be supposed that the religionists who held, in opposition to the Church, that Christ did not die for all mankind, could easily brook the less rigid discipline by which pardon was given to the sinner the instant that he gave morally sufficient signs of repentance, without waiting for the tardy process of years to assure the Church of his reformation. One of the chiefs of the Jansenist party wrote a book against frequent communion. It was one of their opinions that absolution was invalid if it were given before the penance imposed was performed, and in all cases they wished to revive the ancient canons by which absolution was deferred until years of public penance had been undergone. Books were written against devotion to our Lady. Port Royal became the centre of a great *intellectual movement*, by which France was inundated with works depreciating the traditions and the discipline of the Church. Under their influence all that was tender, loving, and beautiful in the Christian faith perished in this fanatical attempt to bring back what could never return. Such was Jansenism in its first stage, the most repulsive and most dishonest of heresies. Its fatalist doctrines, its stern and arrogant spirit, its *unmercifulness to sinning souls*,—all was unchristian and unlovely about her. The attempt to remain in the Church when they were not of her turned a great number of men of great talents and energy of character into traitors. They attempted what was impracticable; they tried to be Catholic without being Roman—to believe in the infallibility of an abstract Church of the past or the future while they rebelled against the present everliving Church of God. All withered under their touch, hagiology, ecclesiastical history, spiritual reading, and devotion."

The reader cannot fail to observe in this able description of Jansenism its strong resemblance to Gallicanism as regards its *result*, and its substantial identity with Ration-

alism, as respects its *rise*. Its *source* was pride of intellect: its ultimate issue, scepticism. Father Dalgairns describes the reaction, from rigidity to licentiousness, and the process of corruption from hypocrisy of heresy to the depravity of immorality.

“ Their pretensions to strictness of discipline broke down under the force of circumstances. They became all things to all men, by a base truckling to the interests of their faction. They allowed of the impure romances of Mademoiselle de Scudéri, because their party was praised in the *Clélie*. While the Jansenist discipline was carried out in one of the parishes of Paris, and penitents excluded from Mass beat their breasts outside the church, the Princess de Guémené was living in the environs of Port Royal. The severity of Jansenism could hardly be a greater guarantee for repentance than the mild discipline of the Church when it was compatible with the impenitence of a De Retz, and the feeble penance of such a recidive as Anne de Rohan.”

Thus the rigidity of Jansenism had resulted in an increase of vice: and its hypocrisy augmented the depravity of the age, and must have tended to extend the fatal infection of infidelity, as well from these causes as from its pandering to human pride, and its idolatry of intellect; and so it was rapidly developing into the Rationalism which resulted in the Revolution. Those who have observed anything of the effects of sin upon the soul are well aware (and none could have known it better than the Jesuits, the intrepid antagonists of the Jansenists,) that the worst of its most deadly effects is its tendency to alienate the soul from God, and keep it in a state of estrangement, so as to preclude the soul ordinarily, and, apart from any very special grace, from exerting, while in that state of sin, any effective acts of contrition, or of supporting any degree of devotion or attraction for God; and that this is peculiarly the effect in regard to the sin of impurity, which so corrupts the affections and so enfeebles the mind, that the unhappy subject of it can scarcely raise the most languid dispositions of contrition, or resist the most casual temptation; especially if the sin be habitual, as it was with the mass of the higher classes in the seventeenth century in France. Hence the effect of the Jansenistic system of repelling men from absolution until they were in a condition not only to make an effective act of contrition, but to endure temptation and support penance for a considerable period—was practically to exclude such persons from the benefit of

sacramental absolution, and there can be no reasonable doubt that its result must have been, in myriads of instances, relapses—fatal and permanent relapses into sin; that is, in the cases in which the system was carried out. In those in which it was not, the same result would be produced in another way—by producing a sense of insincerity, destructive to religious dispositions, and likely to lead to general unbelief. Such we shall see, at all events, was the *result* of Jansenism.

We must come to the “beginning of the end.” In 1752, when the contest was carried on between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, a cold and keen observer, Lord Chesterfield, wrote thus :

“The affairs of France grow serious. The people are discontented. Those who have religion are divided in their notions of it, which is saying that they hate one another; the clergy will not forgive the parliament, nor the parliament forgive them; the French nation *reason freely* (which they never did before) on matters of religion and government; in short, all the symptoms which I have ever met with in history previous to great changes and revolutions in governments exist and increase in France.”

Very acute observations these; and marvellously accurate prognostications. Forty years elapsed before the Revolution was consummated which Lord Chesterfield predicted; and forty years before it came it was foreseen; and foreseen chiefly on account of the unsettlement of the French nation in matters of religion; mainly caused by the controversies and contests raised by Jansenism. At this very time the struggle was raging. In the midst of it the Abbé Turgot, who had abandoned the ecclesiastical state because he said he could not wear a mask all his life, and had become a disciple of the illuminists and economists, published some letters in favour of *toleration*; i. e., of latitudinarianism. The Abbé was a true pupil of Jansenism. The fruit of his “toleration,” ten or twelve years after, was the expulsion of the Jesuits. It was a toleration ready to tolerate anything but Catholicism.

The retribution of Providence was never more remarkably illustrated than with regard to the proximate cause of the Revolution. That cause was immorality, but what was the cause of that? Beyond all doubt the infectious depravity of the sovereigns and nobles. And what had caused that? The depravity of the prelates and other ecclesiastics attached to the court. And *how came they there?* Through the Crown having secured the chief

control in the patronage of the Church, and the Holy See having lost its due influence over it. Fenelon was the tutor of the Duc de Bourgogne, whose death was such a loss to the world, and who proved so worthy of his preceptor. But Fenelon was a rare exception to the class of prelates commonly found about the French court. The abominable Abbé Dubois was the preceptor of the Regent Orleans, who did so much to influence the character of Louis XV., the iniquities of whose reign were so awfully avenged in that of his unhappy son. The immorality of the court reacted on the episcopate; the immorality of the episcopate reacted on the court, while the immorality of the priesthood, the result of both, reacted upon the people, and spread the infection of scepticism and depravity. Here was the consummation of Gallicanism and Jansenism.

Ever since the Council of Trent the crown and realm of France had been in a state of revolt from Rome. The canons of that council, as to discipline, had never been admitted; not merely the sovereigns but the parliaments had been against it; the secular power had succeeded in having its own way to the utmost extent consistent with nominal orthodoxy, and now we see the result; and we shall soon see the retribution. A clergy corrupted by the Crown, corrupted the people, and the parliaments, which had connived at the corruption of both, destroyed all, and wrapped France in the flames of Revolution. Let the great lesson be well read. Royalty had its own way in the Gallican Church, and *ruined* it, and with it ruined the realm, and destroyed itself.

One remarkable fact will show how the system of State influence had worked during the century preceding the Revolution. Alison states that when M. de la Vrillière surrendered the seals of the home office, which he had held for half a century, to Malherbes in 1775, there was no party, religious or political, the chiefs of which he had not, on some occasions, sent into exile or immured in the bastille.

“The Jesuits and the Jansenists, the leaders of the Church and the philosophical atheists, had *been indiscriminately visited* with this terrible penalty. He had immured the Molinist friends of the Pope at the desire of the Regent Orleans, who depended on the parliaments: he had next sent to the bastille the Jansenists in great numbers, to pay court to the Abbé Dubois, who was intriguing at

Rome to obtain a cardinal's hat ; under Cardinal Fleury he had confined the leaders of the parliament who opposed the court."

Such had been the system under the same minister for half a century before 1775. That carries us back to 1725, the age of Richelieu, from whom, we need hardly say, the system was borrowed, and who had only developed and extended what he found established. The spirit of Gallio governed those who ruled the Church: what wonder that it was infused into the Church and the nation, destroying the one, and demoralizing the other. The Church, it was clear, was made a vast State machine. The reaction from this wretched system was indifference.

It is thus that Mr. Alison describes the contest between the Crown and the parliament, on the subject of Jansenism, in which our readers will clearly see the seeds of Jacobinism.

"Orders were issued by the Archbishop of Paris to refuse the sacrament to those of the Jansenist persuasion. This was met by censures and persecutions from the parliament of Paris against those who obeyed these orders. The Crown issued a mandate to stay all such prosecutions; the parliament remonstrated, and the royal commands were renewed. The parliament retorted, by suspending all judicial business in these courts. The Crown issued a mandate enforcing the repeal of these restrictions of suspension, the parliament immediately attached the revenue of the Archbishop of Paris. An attempt was made to form new courts of justice instead of the parliament, but the letters patent constituting these new courts were not valid until registered in the inferior courts, and these courts, espousing the cause of the parliament, refused to record them. The nation was now roused; the provincial parliaments everywhere met and supported the parliament of Paris. The clergy who refused the sacraments were generally prosecuted. Thus, on the one hand, the holiest rites of religion were suspended, on the other hand, the most important legal courts were closed. The necessity of applying a remedy at length prevailed over the stubbornness of the Court," (the stubbornness of the court!) "the parliaments were recalled, and the archbishop was exiled."

And the Revolution was anticipated and in substance accomplished. From that hour the royal power passed away. The Church and Crown were equally creatures of the parliament, which absorbed the whole temporal and spiritual power of the realm. Forty years afterwards, when men were living who had shared in this struggle, those who destroyed the Church and the Throne, did but carry

out the consummation of what was really completed at the moment when the Church and Throne succumbed to the will of the heretical parliament of Paris. In a word, Jacobinism was only the result of Jansenism.

In plain truth, were not the members of the parliament of Paris, who held out in a rebellious contest with the Crown, until the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church was sacrificed, were they not Jacobins as well as Jansenists? What was Jacobinism but the assumption of supreme power for the so-called representatives of the people? What was it but political Jansenism? And of Jansenism, what was the essence but self-will and pride, stern and stubborn pride?

The Jansenists had not long attained their triumph ere they wreaked their vengeance on the Jesuits. Seven years after, in 1764, they procured a decree for the expulsion of their illustrious antagonists, and by what corrupt influences, and for what corrupt ends, the Protestant historian shall describe.

“The Jesuits became obnoxious to the most powerful interests in the court, from the incessant intrigues they kept up,” (Jesuits must be at intrigues,) “and the disagreeable manner in which they interfered with the mistresses and council of Louis XV. Madame Pompadour and the Duc de Choiseul, the chief minister, united their strength to effect the destruction of a rival authority, and they were powerfully supported by the parliament of Paris, and the numerous body in France, both in and out of the Church, who belonged to the Jansenist party. Louis XV. long held out, but at length, when in his declining years, he became more devoted to sensual pleasures, and found that the Jesuits about the court might interfere with the orgies of the *Parc-aux-cerfs*,* he yielded to the persecution which the parliaments had long carried on against this celebrated sect, and by a royal decree, in 1764, their order was entirely suppressed in France.”

Never did consequence follow cause more plainly and more palpably than the Revolution the expulsion of the Jesuits. That was the proximate and immediate cause more than any other that could be assigned. Only a single generation interposed between the crime and its retri-

* The horrors of which the pen cannot depict, without a violation of decency. The torrents of blood which poured down the streets of Paris during the Revolution, were requisite to satiate the Divine vengeance.

bution. It was in 1764 that the Jesuits were finally expelled from France, by decrees of the parliaments. In 1794 the Revolution was consummated, and the Reign of Terror had now shed its oceans of blood. The boys who would have been trained under the Jesuits, had they remained in France, became the men who committed the atrocities of the Reign of Terror. The Jesuits had, ever since the foundation of their order, been the "salt of the earth," preserving every Catholic nation in which they lived from the social dissolution which the wide-spreading depravity and scepticism of the age was calculated to produce. Their influence on the youth of each generation mitigated the evil and averted the catastrophe. Once removed from the country the evil augmented with immense force, the vengeance advanced with rapid strides, and the catastrophe, ere the same generation had passed away, fell with terrific fury. Protestantism, or Jansenism, could not avert the progress of scepticism, or stop the spread of depravity. Forces far too weak were they to combat with such fearful foes, or rather they were of the "earth, earthy," and the weapons of such a warfare required to be spiritual, sharpened in an armoury, and welded with a power only to be found in the Catholic Church. Protestantism and Jansenism were reduceable to Rationalism, and myriads whose faith was shaken by the subtle sophistries of these heresies, passed into infidelity. The Crown was not likely to retain an allegiance which the Church had lost. From Rationalists they became Revolutionists. The Jesuits fell. The Jacobins arose.

There can be no question as to the corruption which existed in the Church of France, and it is equally clear what was the cause of it. Alison himself points out that the source of the corruption was the worldliness infused into it by the influence of the Crown and the aristocracy. Generally speaking, he says, the dignitaries of the Church were drawn from the same class as the marshals or princes of the empire. "While the bishops and elevated clergy were rolling in wealth, or glittering in the sunshine of royal favour, the humbler clergy toiled in virtuous obscurity." "The dubious class of abbés brought discredit on the Church, from the profligate lives which many of them led, and the general devotion of the body to worldly interests and enjoyments. The sceptical philosophers took

advantage of these abuses to influence the public mind against the Church."

Here the connection between Gallicanism, scepticism, and Jacobinism, is clearly shown. Whence came these "bishops glittering in the sunshine of royal favour?" Whence these dubious abbés? Came they from Rome or Paris? What laid the Church open to attack? Corruption. And what had caused the corruption? Worldliness. And whence came the worldliness? Had not Gallicanism chained the Church to the Court, and had not Jansenism clung to the parliaments? Had the Holy See retained its due control over the French Church, the "sceptical philosophers" would not have found her so easily open to attack. It was royal, not papal, influence, which had corrupted her.—Though the Crown opposed Jansenism, it was in the spirit of Gallicanism, and both parliaments and sovereign acted on the principles of nationalism, at variance with Catholicism.

In discussing the cause of the French Revolution, Mr. Alison comes very near the truth when he alludes to the sceptical writers, who acquired so infamous and mischievous a celebrity in France in the eighteenth century. Nor does he wholly ignore the association between Jansenism and scepticism. "Louis XIV.," he observes, "made no attempt to curb the literary genius of his age, provided it did not interfere with political topics; and, in the mental strife which occurred before the Revolution, no more energetic speculation (he says) is to be found, than exists in the writings of Pascal." A very striking testimony this, and strongly confirmatory of our argument. "Religion and policy, however," he proceeds, "became the subjects of thought under the feeble successors of the Grande Monarque. In the philosophical speculations of the eighteenth century, in the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and the Encyclopedists, the most free and unrestrained discussion on morals and religion took place, instead of politics; and by a singular blindness the constituted authorities, despotic though they were, made no attempt to curb these enquiries, which being all couched in general terms, appeared to have no direct bearing on the tranquillity of the country." Just so, the rulers of France cared not about religion. It had been made too long an affair of state. Political matters were all they cared for. The temporal occupied their sole attention, and for the spiritual

their only object was to keep the Church passive and neither to be active themselves nor allow her to be so. "A direct attack on the monarchy, or still more on any of the ministers or royal mistresses, would have been followed by confinement in the Bastille, but general disquisitions excited no alarm. So universal was this delusion, that the young nobility amused themselves with visionary speculations concerning the original equality and pristine state of man." And equality and "rights of man" were ere long the watch-words of the Revolution. "The speculations of the eloquent philosophers spread widely among the rising generation." The Jesuits were gone, whose chief vocation was the education of youth, and who alone could have combatted these delusions, and counteracted the infection of these speculations. One illustration may serve as an example as to the state of education. Madame Roland we find, at the age of nine years, wept because she had not been born a Roman citizen, and carried "Plutarch's Lives" with her when she attended Mass. A merely nominal Christian, she wept that she had not been born a heathen! and, as we shall see, she died like a heathen. And this was after the Jesuits had been got rid of, and education had lost their powerful influence.

Who were the philosophers and writers of that age, who were now enthroned as instructors of the nation, instead of the Jesuits? There was Montesquieu, who had closed his career ten years before their expulsion, leaving as his legacy to France a work which is sufficiently described by the affected and inflated eulogy of the infidel Voltaire, "He rediscovered the titles of the human race;" or by its own fundamental principle, that the ruling principle of government in a republic was virtue. This was the cardinal principle in the sceptical speculations of Rousseau, and the sanguinary measures of Robespierre, whose great maxim was that the people were never wrong, and that he was the embodiment of their will. The explanation of all these speculations is simply their irreligion, the fact that they ignored the existence of sin, and the depravity of man, of which, as we shall see, they speedily tasted by experience after affording in their own persons the amplest evidence. Montesquieu, as he was a tutor of Robespierre, and a coadjutor of Rousseau, was a disciple of Pascal. When on his death-bed reproached with some of his sentiments, he took credit to himself for never having

written against religion, but declared that he would not yield anything to the Jesuits. These men had an inflexible instinct which taught them that the Jesuits were their necessary enemies. And whence did this arise but from a consciousness of their own enmity to religion?

Voltaire was the eulogist of Montesquieu, and the admirer of Pascal. His influence extended over half a century of French history at this eventful era, a half century extending nearly thirty years after the death of Montesquieu, and nearly twenty after the expulsion of the Jesuits. His contemporary was Rousseau, whose ardent disciple was Robespierre. Here we have the genealogy of Jacobinism—Robespierre, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Pascal. From Jansenism to Rationalism—hardly more than a generation—the result, Revolution.

“The writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Diderot, Helvetius, and their successors, exercised an influence over the opinions of whole educated classes in France, of which no previous example had existed in the world. Almost the whole of the philosophical and literary writers in Paris, for a *quarter of a century before the Revolution broke out, were avowed infidels*; the grand object of all their efforts was to load religion with obloquy, or turn it into ridicule.”

Would it have been so had the *Jesuits* been in France during that fatal quarter of a century? It was in 1764—just a quarter of a century before the Revolution—that the Jesuits were expelled from France. The Jesuits were the great directors of Catholic education, the “salt of the earth,” which, in a corrupt age, preserved the moral soil of France from putrefaction. They were thrust out, and, exactly a quarter of a century afterwards, the disruption of society, and the destruction of the State and Church were brought about by the very generation of whom they would have had the training and the teaching had they remained in France. The boys of 1764 were the men of 1796; they ought to have been pupils of the Jesuits—they were pupils of infidels instead: the result was—Revolution. For nearly fifteen years before and after the expulsion of the Jesuits, Voltaire and Rousseau had unchecked influence in France: during all that terrible thirty years the apostles of infidelity were active, while the most active teachers of truth were first discouraged, then dispersed.

How could the end be otherwise than what it was? France sowed the wind, and reaped the whirlwind.

It is a curious circumstance that out of the mouth of Robespierre we can describe and condemn the more immediate authors of the Revolution :

“The Encyclopedists contained some estimable characters, but a much greater number of ambitious rascals. Many of them became leading men in the State. Whoever does not study their influence and policy would form a most imperfect notion of our Revolution. It was they who introduced the frightful doctrine of atheism ; they were ever in politics, below the dignity of freedom. In morality they went as far beyond the destruction of religious prejudices. Their disciples declaimed against despotism, and received the pensions of despots ; they composed alternately tirades against kings, and madrigals for their mistresses ; they were fierce with their pens, and rampant in ante-chambers. That sect propagated with infinite care the principles of materialism, which spread so rapidly among the great and beaux esprits. We owe to them that selfish philosophy which reduced egotism to a system, regarded human society as a game of chance, where success was the sole distinction between what was just and unjust ; probity an affair of taste and good breeding ; the world as the patrimony of the most dexterous of scoundrels.

“Among the great men of that period was one distinguished by the elevation of his soul, and the greatness of his character, who showed himself a worthy preceptor of the human race.* He attacked tyranny with boldness ; he spoke with enthusiasm of the Deity. His masculine and upright eloquence drew in colours of fire the charms of virtue ; it defended the elevated doctrines which reason affords to console the human heart. The purity of his principles, his hatred of vice, his supreme contempt for intriguing sophists who usurped the names of philosophers, drew upon him the hatred and persecution of his rivals and his friends. Could he have witnessed our Revolution, of which he was the precursor, and which bore him to the Pantheon, can we doubt he would have embraced with transport the doctrine of justice and equality ?”

About the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits, an anonymous letter was addressed to Louis XV., which, as Mr. Alison very truly says, could have been written by no common man. In it occurred this remarkable passage :

“Open war is carried on against religion. The Encyclopedists

* Rousseau, whose remains had shortly before been translated to the Pantheon.

under pretence of enlightening mankind, are sapping its foundations. *All the different kinds of liberty are connected*: the philosophers and the Protestants turn towards republicanism, as well as the Jansenists; the philosophers strike at the root, the others lop the branches; and their efforts will one day lay the tree low."

Fourteen years after, Turgot was minister, and Voltaire wrote:—

"The priests are in despair: we are at the commencement of a great Revolution; we are condemning in secret the fabric of the imposture founded seventeen hundred and seventy five years ago."

Voltaire rightly appreciated the apostate Abbé—disciple of Rousseau—precursor of Robespierre. Alison justly says of him:

"A believer in the perfectibility of the human mind when guided by the light of philosophy, he was leagued in secret with those who aimed at the overthrow of Christianity."

He had been, we have seen, a friend of the Jansenists before he became a follower of Rousseau, and a tutor for Robespierre. He had learnt at their feet the principle of rationalism; and now he was sowing the seeds of Revolution. His first measure was to recal the parliament of Paris, which had expelled the Jesuits. They re-assembled, to prepare for the subversion of the Church and of the Crown.

"In a general assembly of the Clergy, held in 1770, the most rigorous remonstrances,' says Alison, 'were made against the multiplication of irreligious books. This was just six years,' he observed, 'after the expulsion of the Jesuits, and when Voltaire was supreme in Paris.'

"Impiety has passed from the capital to the provinces; it is found under the roof of the artisan and the cottage of the peasant; it misleads alike their ignorance and their simplicity. It is making inroads alike on God and man; *it will never be satisfied until it has destroyed every power, divine and human. Anarchy is the gulf into which irreligion will plunge the nation.* To accomplish that infernal object it breaks down by degrees all the bonds which attach man to his duties. It teaches that there is neither a Supreme Being, a soul, nor a world to come. It sees in the priesthood only a vile league against the human race. It teaches nations that kings have no power but such as it has pleased them to entrust their sovereigns with; that the people have a right to restrain it and even to extinguish it at their supreme pleasure. It is this spirit which has given rise to the endless multiplication of sects among the English, but it

is fitted to produce effects far more disastrous than among the French. There it will be found in the inconstancy of the nation, in its love of novelty, its activity, its inconsiderate ardour—an additional means of producing the most frightful Revolutions, and precipitating it into all the horrors of anarchy."

Never was a more remarkable prophecy put forth; and scarcely a quarter of a century afterwards, within a single generation, it was awfully verified! Of the clergy who then survived, such as escaped slaughter, had to seek refuge in exile, and doubtless many of those who concurred in the prediction, in their own persons lived to experience its terrible fulfilment.

An *incident* is often more illustrative of the conditions of an age or a country than anything else. In 1780, le grand officier de France and his brother were traversing the Rue St. Antoine of Paris in a coach and six. At that time a priest happened to be in the street—portant Dieu à un malade; the religious cortège had not time to get out of the way of the carriage; the priest was overturned and wounded; the seigneur laughed; the people were indignant; the carriage rolled away; and there was an end of the affair—an end of it *for the time*. But twelve years afterwards, a scaffold was erected in that very street, on which was poured an ocean of the purest and proudest blood in France. Does it not read like some of the retributions of Divine Vengeance narrated with stern brevity in the Holy Scriptures? The incident above alluded to speaks expressively of the contempt in which the court held the Church, which for centuries it had enslaved and degraded. We have seen what men were Louis XIV. and Louis XV. And what must have been the condition of a Church under their supreme patronage! We can conceive what it was, when we think of the Abbé Dubois.

Before coming to the great event which proved the direct cause of the Revolution—the convocation of the Tiers Etat—we must call particular attention to a very remarkable illustration and result of the influence of Gallicanism on the condition of the French Church at this epoch. Every one is aware that the disposition of the Church is to claim the best from all classes, and especially from the masses of the people, for her service; and that such is the tendency of her system when unshackled by the State, is shown by the state of the Church in the Ages of Faith, when Abbots, and Bishops, and Popes were frequently men of

the lowest extraction. The Church in France had now for three centuries been chiefly under the influence of the Crown; and what had been the result in this respect? Let Mr. Alison tell us:

“A large portion of the prelates—all persons of high birth and aristocratic connections—lived habitually in Paris, to the frequent neglect of their dioceses, and too often spent their time and fortunes in the dissipation of the capital. The prestige of their situations, the respect due to their sacred character, was thus weakened, and the aristocracy of the Church came to be considered as subject to the same weakness as the lay-nobility.”

It is a curious instance of the onesidedness of Protestantism, that the historian, acute enough to see the mischief, never seeks to ascertain the cause; and stops not to ask, “Who appointed these courtly prelates?”

“The dignities in the cathedrals and elevated offices in the hierarchy were also entirely in the hands of the aristocratic clergy, who were chiefly to be found in Paris, or the provincial capitals; while the immense body of the curés or country clergy, toiled in obscure usefulness among their flocks, hardly distinguishable in fortune or education from the burghers and peasants by whom they were surrounded. This numerous class, the representatives of which composed three-fourths of the clergy in the States General, all sprung from the *Tiers Etat*, and had no sympathy of policy, and still less identity of interest with the high and dignified clergy. On the contrary, they considered them as their most bitter enemies, because, belonging to the same profession, they monopolized its duties and honours, without discharging the heaviest parts of its duties. The bishops had no influence over them, because their plebeian birth precluded their rising to any of the dignities of the Church.”

It does not occur to the Protestant historian that possibly the aversion of the working clergy to their bishops might have arisen rather from the worldliness of the latter.

“It will appear in the sequel with what fatal consequences this preponderance of the plebeian clergy was attended on the opening of the States General. But the evil was inherent in the state of the Church as it was constituted in France, and would not have been remedied by keeping its representatives in a separate chamber from the *Tiers Etat*, for the numbers of the curés was so considerable, that it greatly preponderated over the representatives of all the noble clergy put together.”

Thus the fatal separation of classes, which was the result of worldliness in the Church, as of irreligion in the nation, must have made the convocation of the States General a step perilous to the monarch, even had the treachery or fatuity of Necker not left it an open question, whether the three orders should sit and vote together or in separate chambers. The States General, as we have seen, were first convoked by the Crown against the Church. And now royalty was to suffer a fearful retribution, and was to receive its death-blow from those same states, mainly, (so far as proximate causes are concerned,) by reason of the effects of its non-influence upon the Church, and the estrangement between the upper and lower classes, as well of the clergy as of the laity.

It is not worth while entering into the political or financial circumstances, which were the direct causes of the convocation of the States General. Mr. Alison, with perfect truth, states that the policy of Turgot paved the way for the Revolution. And the thoroughly Protestant character of the abbé's mind is indicated by the edicts he passed, authorizing the sale of meat during Lent, and the omission from the oath of the clause against heresy. The character of his policy was powerfully described by a protest of the parliament of Paris, in these terms:—

“We are tempted to believe that there exists in the state a secret party who seek to overturn its foundations; our legislators make it their object to overturn everything. The experience of ages is treated by these new preceptors of the human race with an insulting contempt, which could spring from nothing but the reveries of a disturbed imagination, stimulated by the *enthusiasm of a false philosophy.*”

And the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XVIII., wrote thus, in a memorial to the king, of which Mr. Alison speaks most highly.

“Turgot says to the French, ‘For a thousand years you have had laws and usages, they are chimeras; become a new people, let the reason of the primitive age enlighten you.’ The evil genius of France, in the shape of Anglo-mania, has got possession of the councils, and abused the nation, and its fatal influence *will precipitate a Revolution.*”

Turgot held office only a short time, in which he did nothing but mischief, and he was succeeded by Necker, a Protestant, a statesman of the same school, if not,

of the same class, who mainly contributed, as Mr. Alison observes, to bring about the Revolution. Indeed, when he retired from office, the Revolution had begun. Is it possible to trace its origin more closely? Its parentage is plain, its pedigree undisputable; the offspring of Rationalism, the work of the Rationalists, who were disciples of the Jansenists.

The parliaments of Paris and the provinces, those hotbeds of Jansenism, had been dissolved by Louis XV., were recalled by Louis XVI., at the instigation of the false illuminists of the age, and forthwith became the seats and sources of Jacobinism. Led by the influence of Turgot, this fatal step was taken, and twenty years after the throne of France was subverted amidst a sea of blood. This man cared nothing for the Church and everything for the state; he would receive a royal edict with veneration, a papal brief with unconcern; but he was a Rationalist in religion, and in politics a Revolutionist. He was ready to rob the Church of her property, and have it administered under the control of the state, applying part of it to the purposes of education, in knowledge and morality, without any religious instruction. Of Necker we will only say, in the words of Mr. Alison, "he had a devout faith in human perfectibility, and an extravagant belief in popular virtue, which afterwards, by making him sacrifice everything to his love of popularity, brought unheard of disasters on the monarchy." The fact is, these men were pupils of Rousseau, and therefore precursors of Robespierre, whose great maxim was, that the people were never wrong.

Such were the men under whose auspices France was led to clamour for the convocation of the States General. Among those who raised the cry some of the most influential were ecclesiastics. The Archbishop of Artois, along with Crebellon, governor general of the parliament of Aix, took an active part in this agitation; and the Archbishop of Brienne, who was the successor of Necker, in the office of premier, gained his position by supporting the same cry. Here we see the old union between the parliaments and the worldly prelates; and in the case of Brienne it is the more observable, because even in that lorn age he had been for ten years previously repeatedly denounced for tampering with the discipline of the Church, which was not to be wondered at, as he had been the associate of

Condorcet and D'Alembert. This profligate prelate it was who first shadowed forth the fatal edict which Mr. Alison calls the death blow of the French monarchy, the edict which announced the convocation of the States General, and declared that the *Tiers Etat* should possess as many voices as the clergy and nobility put together. The edict was actually issued by Necker, whose title to be considered a disciple of Rousseau, and a master of Robespierre, can be shown by a single sentence of his own, expressing those absurd ideas of human nature, which both those apostles of deism advocated with such fatal effect, and which found in the Protestant minister a practical embodiment. "The *Tiers Etat* must ever be strangers to political passions. Their intelligence and goodness of disposition are a sufficient guarantee against all apprehensions as to excesses." What was this but the maxim which Robespierre borrowed from Rousseau, that the people can never be wrong? What is it but a denial of Revelation, and the revival of deism? The character of Necker, and the character of the age and country in which he was for a time so popular, because he embodied its character, can be depicted in a few lines of his celebrated daughter, Madame de Stael.

"Après ses devoirs religieux l'opinion publique etait ce que l'occupait le plus : il sacrifiait la fortune, les honneurs, tout ce que les ambitieux recherchent à l'estime de la nation : et cette voix du peuple alors non encore alterée avoit pour lui quelque chose de divin. Le moindre nuage sur sa reputation c'était la plus grande souffrance que les choses de la vie pussent lui causer. Le but mondain de ses actions le vent de terre qui le faisait naviguer c'était l'amour de la consideration."*

It is easy to see that the essence of this feeling both in Necker and in the nation, which so idolized him, because he entertained it, was that same spirit of pride which was the secret cause of Jansenism, and forms the latent principle of association between it and scepticism. It is the common cause of Protestantism, Gallicanism, and Rationalism, and was the great moving cause of all the unutterable horrors of the Revolution. It is as true of some of the chief actors in the Revolution as of many of its chief authors, that they had no vice but this, the evil spirit of

* De Stael, *Rev. Franc.* i. 94, 172.

pride, which led them to idolize human nature in general, and their own ideas in particular, and to reject all authority which claimed their obedience, and exacted the homage of their reason. This spirit had led the nation, as we have seen, to aid the Crown in rejecting the authority of the Holy See, and now it was about to lead the nation to revolt against the authority of the Crown. The spirit was identically the same in Richelieu or Rousseau, in Arnauld or in Necker, or Robespierre, in Louis XIV. or Lafayette. This will be the more strikingly apparent when we remark that it was among the clergy, so long corrupted by secular influence, and so long accustomed to exalt nationalism above Catholicism, and to prefer the royal authority to the papal, that the chief danger to royalty now lay. Profligate prelates and unprincipled priests were among the most active promoters of the Revolution. The Abbé Sabatier first fixed the mind of the nation on the convocation of the States General, and the Abbé Sieyès was the first to excite the people in favour of the power of the *Tiers Etat*. These men played upon the feelings of the nation by pandering to its vanity, and the convocation of the States General was at once the expression and the retribution of Nationalism.

On the fatal 1st May, 1789, the great assembly was convened, on which France had fixed her hopes. Cursed are they who fix their hopes on man! That assembly almost to a man had placed their confidence in human legislation, rather than in the regenerative power of religion. It was convoked in a spirit utterly antagonistic to Catholicism. And when the bishop of Nancy, preaching in the Church of St. Louis, commenced in the usual formula, "Receive, O God, the homage of the clergy, the respects of the noblesse, and the humble supplications of the *Tiers Etat*," the murmurs which arose sounded as the knell of the Church of France. "Two ladies," says Mr. Alison, "viewed the splendid spectacle from a gallery, one was Madame de Montmorin, the other the illustrious daughter of Necker, Madame de Stael. The latter exulted in the boundless felicity which seemed to be opening under the auspices of her father. 'You are wrong,' said Madame de Montmorin, 'this event forebodes miseries to France and to ourselves.'" Fearful prognostic, too fatally fulfilled. Her tragic story is but a specimen of myriads similar. She herself perished on the scaffold with

one of her sons, her husband was massacred in prison, one of her daughters was slaughtered in gaol, and another died of horror and sorrow.

It is scarcely necessary to recount the sad and shameful narrative of the States General, until it merged in the National Assembly, and the Revolution was commenced, or, perhaps one might say, consummated. Hardly more than a month elapsed, a "little month." The progress of the Revolution was rapid, for its promoters were reckless. Mirabeau, now its most eloquent orator, Alison thus portrays:—"Impetuous in passion, unbridled in desire, miserable in temper, vain, yet proud, alike without shame and without remorse."

The portrait, with more or less of immaterial variation, merely arising from the different degrees in which the one of these passions or the other preponderated in their character, will do for the rest of them. Of one feature they all partook, inordinate vanity, or over-weening pride. Such were the elements and moving causes of the Revolution. No marvel that the course was rapid. In all the incidents of its rise and progress one sees the vanity which was of the essence of Rationalism and deism. Thus when the majority of the clergy seceded from their order, and united with the *Tiers Etat*, the first great downward step, it is obvious that the moving motive was vanity. When the first curés appeared at the bar of the *Tiers Etat*, their own account of their conduct reveals this feeling. "May it secure for us the esteem of all good Frenchmen!" They had their reward in the thunders of applause which greeted them. But the Jacobins were already organized, and in a few months the clergy were proscribed, and thousands of them expiated by their death the encouragement they had given to the Revolution. The secession of the clergy stimulated the *Tiers Etat* to declare itself the National Assembly, and the Revolution was in principle consummated, in act commenced. Nationalism was triumphant, and royalty in reality was no more. The monarchy of France had been for two centuries rebellious to the Chair of St. Peter, and now was to reap, in a bloody Revolution, the bitter retribution for its infidelity to the only power which could uphold it in the hearts of the nation. Blood was soon shed, and it was a curious circumstance that the revolts which destroyed the dynasty of the Bourbons,

began by an assault upon an arsenal, in which the sword of Henry IV. was among the the spoils of the mob.

The declaration of the Rights of Man was the theory of the Revolution, and it was essentially deistical, ignoring the duties which religion prescribes, and the embodiment of that human vanity, which now found universal expression in the wild cry of equality; the clamour of equality arising from the impatience of obedience, and loss of the spirit of reverence, which had been the root of Protestantism, the spirit of Gallicanism, and the essence of Jansenism was the war cry of Jacobinism. What was it in the mouths of the raving mobs of the Revolution but the same in principle, in the language of Gallican prelates towards the Holy See, or Jansenistical writers towards the Church? "Are we not all *equal*?" "We will not have this man to reign over us," was the burden of the cry, whether uttered against the papacy by Louis XIV., or against royalty under Louis XVI. The "Rights of Man" was but the development of the Rights of Nationalism, and the French nation only followed in the footsteps of the French Church. The Church and the Crown had been impatient of the Pope's sovereignty, and the nation revolted from theirs. In three months' time the payment of annats to the court of Rome announced an approaching destruction of the Church, and Mirabeau supported the abolition of tithes, and the payment of the clergy by state salaries. This was only the development of Gallicanism. The clergy speedily received their retribution for their sacrifice of duty to Nationalism. The first fruits of the Revolution was the spoliation of the Church. And the spirit of Nationalism led the Church to submit to it.

The archbishops of Paris and of Aix, in the presence of the Assembly, signed an unqualified renunciation of their benefices, and many of the bishops followed their example. They received their reward in tumults of popular applause, and in a few months fell victims to popular fury. It seems almost incredible how deep-rooted was that reliance on popular virtue, which was the result of the national vanity and the idolization of Nationalism. It amounted to absolute infatuation. Miserable nation! which had so long distrusted the Holy See, and now was doomed to fall a bloody sacrifice to the most inordinate confidence in themselves! The archbishop of Paris, M. de Zuigne, exclaimed, "We surrender the tithes into the hands of a just

and generous nation. Let the Gospel be preached, let the divine worship be celebrated with dignity and decency; let the Churches be provided with virtuous and zealous pastors; let the poor be succoured; these are the objects to which we devote our tithes." "Such," said the Cardinal de Rochefoucault, "is the wish of the clergy, and they put their trust in the magnanimity of the nation." Better had they put their trust in the wisdom of the Holy See. But the French Church had long lost the habit of having recourse to the councils of the successors of St. Peter. It never occurred to the prelates of France to ask of the Holy See whether they were justified in surrendering the property of the Church to a convention of rationalists, illuminists, and deists, and becoming, with their clergy, the paid servants of an irreligious and rebellious body. They preferred the policy of expediency, which had long been the bane, and was now the ruin of the monarchy. The spirit in which they surrendered the Church to the people was just the same as that in which their Gallican predecessors had surrendered it to the Crown. Intoxicated by the vanity of the nation and the age, they preferred the applause of the mob to the dictates of conscience, and the requisition of obedience. Instead of standing up to arrest the progress of the Revolution, they precipitated it by their subserviency; they did but accelerate the fate they perhaps imagined they averted; they perished in the paroxysms of the Revolution, they might have been the martyrs, they preferred a course which made them merely its victims. Even the monarch, weak-minded as he was, saw the fatal fallacy of the course they were taking, and wrote thus to the Archbishop of Aix:—

"Je ne consentirai jamais a depouiller mon clergé: je ne donnerai pas ma sanction à des decrets qui les depouilleraient. M. l'Archevêque vous vous soumettez aux decrets de la Providence. Je crois me soumettre en ne me livrant a cet enthousiasme qui s'est emparé de tous les ordres, mais qui ne fait que glisser sur mon ame."

In the debates of the Assembly on the subject of the Church, they soon came down to deism, and in language which showed it the development of Jansenism. "A worship," said Roland de St. Etienne, "is a dogma, a dogma depends on an opinion, an opinion on free-will. You attack freedom if you constrain a man to adopt a worship other than what he inclines to." In another month all the

property of the Church was confiscated, and the clergy were declared public servants. In a few more months the Assembly assumed the entire interior reorganization of the Church, on the failure of the state, the bishoprics being reduced to the same number of the departments, and the clergy and bishops declared elective by the people. It is instructive to read the Protestant historian's comment on this. "The Church, purified of its corruptions, might still have maintained its respectability, had no spoliation of its possessions taken place." Here is to be seen the secret sympathy between Gallicanism and Protestantism, Jacobinism and Erastianism. The Church may be degraded into a mere creature of the state, but must not be despoiled.

The cathedrals and chapters were now suppressed, and Robespierre thus supported the reduction of the Church to bishops and parochial clergy :

"Premier principe : toutes les fonctions publiques sont d'institution sociale : elles ont pour but l'ordre et le bonheur de la société : ils disent qu'il ne peut exister dans la société aucune fonction qui ne soit utile. Devant cette maxime disparaissaient les benefices et les établissemens sans objet, les cathédrales, les collegiates, les curés, et les archeveques, que ne demandent pas les besoins publiques. Seconde principe : les officiers ecclesiastiques étant institutés pour le bonheur des hommes et pour le bien du peuple, il s'ensuit que le peuple doit les nommer. Il est de principe qu'il doit conserver tous les droits qu'il peut exercer : or le peuple peut être ses pasteurs comme les magistrats et autres officiers publics. Troisième principe : les officiers publics étant établis pour le bien de la société il semble que la mesure de leur traitement doit être subordonné à l'intérêt et à l'utilité générale et non au désir de gratifier et d'enrichir ceux qui doivent exercer ces fonctions."

What was all this but the development of the insolent spirit of Gallicanism, ignoring altogether the supremacy of the Holy See, and the hypocritical spirit of Jansenism, affecting an austerity, the mask for aversion to authority, and the application to things spiritual, of a principle of false and sordid economy. The secret sympathy between all this and Protestantism is apparent. What was it but the development of the doctrine of the Reformation? The only difference is that which was done in one case by royal, was done in the other by popular power. In imposing on the clergy of France an oath to the constitution, what are the Revolutionists to do but follow the example of the

Crown in England and France, when it established in one avowedly, and the other partially, the royal supremacy in place of the papal? They only substituted the tyranny of the people for that of the Prince.

We will here enrich our narration by a brief but vivid sketch of the progress of the Revolution, so far as it affected conventual establishments, borrowed from our able contemporary, the *Rambler*, in one of those articles which form such valuable contributions to the Catholic view of history.*

“On the 12th February, 1790, religious vows were abolished in France, and all convents and monastic orders suppressed, by a decree of the Constituent Assembly. This was one of the first blows levelled against religion, and almost the first step openly taken upon that declivity at whose foot lay the abyss of infidelity, of blasphemy, and of sacrilege. The originators of this and similar propositions do not seem to have been aware of the full consequences of the acts which they were perpetrating; and some of them, at least, would have shrunk back with horror could they have foreseen the results of the policy which they were blindly advocating. They believed themselves to be engaged in the task of reforming the Church of France; and their efforts were directed to the same objects which have in all ages excited the zeal of the so-called religious reformers. After having introduced a principle of uniformity into the administration of justice and the civil constitution of the country, they thought that nothing was more natural than to proceed ‘to secularize religion, and to constitute it on the same plan with the other branches of the public service.’† These alterations, as they were called, which may have appeared to some of their advocates to have been of a merely superficial and unimportant character, while in reality they struck at the root of all religion, were not proposed by the fiercest and most forward of the revolutionary party. Camus and other Jansenists, who are numbered by M. Thiers amongst the most pious of the deputies, were the authors of what was called the civil institution of the clergy.

“It was Treilhard, a lawyer, and the advocate of the clergy, also a Jansenist, who, after having, on the 17th December, in the following year, proposed the dissolution of religious corporations, and the payment of their members by a state salary, proposed on the 12th February, the decree to which we have called the attention of our readers. Finally, it was on the motion of Barnave, a Protestant, that on the next day but one permission was given to all the reli-

* See the *Rambler* for May, which appeared after these pages were composed. Another has since appeared, from which we cannot extract.

† Thiers, *Histoire de la Revolution*, vol. i., chap. 5.

gious orders of both sexes to leave the cloister, and to secularise themselves.

“It is a curious and interesting subject of speculation, to trace the similarity of the process by which the enemies of the Church invariably arrive at their conclusions, however those conclusions may differ among themselves. There is no subject upon which Protestants are fonder of descanting than on the French Revolution; and they imagine that they are using an unanswerable argument against the Catholic religion when they point out at what they are pleased to call a whole nation of Catholics giving themselves up to infidelity, and leaving the worship of the true God for the service of the goddess of reason. They would, however, be surprised, were it pointed out to them, as it easily might be, that the origin of the movement was precisely the same as of that they regard as the charter of their religious liberties; that the tendency of their own principles was in the same direction; and that it is to be attributed to accidental circumstances of time and place, that the Anglican Reformation in the sixteenth century had not the same results as the French Reformation of 1790. More than this, the apparent success of their English forerunners had, we doubt not, a large share in exciting the weak and mischievous charlatans who commenced the attack upon the Church in France, to follow their example.”

Our readers will perceive at once what a powerful illustration this episode in the history of the great tragedy affords for our arguments as to its origin, and the elements out of which it arose.

The same spirit which impelled Philip le Bel to impose upon the Church of France the canons of the council of Basle, or Louis XI. to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction, led the national assembly to insist on the French clergy taking an oath to the new constitution of Church and State. The remarks of Mr. Alison here are creditable to his sense of candour:

“Inflamed with resentment, the Assembly at length fixed a day for the adherence of all the clergy in France, and upon its expiring, the decree of forfeiture was universally and regularly enforced. In this extremity, and when the adherence of the clergy to their oath, or the sacrifices of their benefices” (it should be *salaries*, for the *benefices* had already been confiscated) “was unavoidable, the clergy, dignified and ordinary, of France, evinced a disinterested spirit and grandeur of character worthy of the illustrious Church to which they belonged, and which almost makes us forget the previous corruptions which had been instrumental in producing the Revolution. The Pope had refused his sanction to the civil constitution of the clergy, as established by the Assembly, and had written to two of the bishops to that effect; and, in addition to this, a consis-

tory had been held of the whole bishops in France, by whom it was unanimously agreed, one archbishop and four bishops only dissenting, that they would not take the oath to be faithful to the constitution, as it vested the whole nomination of the priests and bishops in a simple numerical majority of the several parishes or dioceses, to the entire exclusion of the appointment or control of the Church. It had become a matter of conscience with the clergy to refuse the oath."

Of the five prelates who sacrificed their consciences, one was the infamous Talleyrand, and another was the archbishop of Ars, whom we have seen so ready to surrender the property of his see for the sake of expediency; the same policy led him now to renounce the authority of the Holy See. But the majority of the French clergy now saw whence those principles came which they had so long encouraged, and whither they tended; and they resolved (alas! too late except for their character) to yield no further: only one curé took the constitutional oath in Paris. "So fell the Church of Rome," says Mr. Alison, "and never, certainly, did it more worthily evince the divine spirit of its faith." The same heroism a little earlier would have preserved France from the Revolution, and gained them the honour of being the saviours as well as the martyrs of their country. As it was, they were now marked out for massacre; and wherever there was found a priest there was a victim if not a martyr.

The course taken by the National Assembly with respect to the Church was the chief direct cause of the atrocities of the Revolution; in that way—that it aroused the resistance which provoked them. The prelates and priests who were expelled for refusing the oath to the new constitution, awakened the sympathy of a large portion of the nation by their heroism, and stimulated it by their sufferings and their appeals. The bishops, who remained faithful to the Holy See, denounced the constitutional clergy as irregular; and their administration of the sacraments as invalid and impious; the result was the revolt of La Vendée, and a wide spread spirit of disaffection and opposition to the progress of the Revolution. This exasperated its promoters, and led to its worst horrors and most remorseless massacres. The National Assembly and the Girondist Ministry demanded a decree of exile against the non-juring clergy: the king, who had weakly assented to the imposition of the unconstitutional oath, now too late saw its unlawful-

ness, and with tenacity, which, by its being so tardy, was as mischievous as his former facility, refused to sanction the decree which was designed to enforce it. Here we see the evil of expediency. Had the king acted at the outset firmly upon principle, he would have escaped the dilemma in which he now found himself—of agreeing to enforce a measure he felt to be impious, or exposing to popular vengeance thousands of the best of his subjects. The alternative was dreadful: he adhered to his opposition; the consequence was that the Girondist ministers resigned; the king was thrown into the hands of the Jacobins; and the nation was speedily a scene of slaughter and proscription. What was this but the development of Gallicanism, which, like Jansenism, leant on the power of this world to make the Church subservient to the Crown and parliament? It was the Gallicanism of the *people*; if the sovereign had sought to make his will the law of the Church, why had not the nation a right to impose theirs? The kings of France had taught them the lesson, and they “bettered the example.”

The massacres at the abbaye in September, 1792, were commenced by the slaughter of twenty-four priests, who refused to take the new constitutional oath. Similar tragedies took place in all the other parts of Paris, and in the religious houses, which were filled with victims. In the prison of the Carmes, says the historian, above two hundred of the clergy were assembled: in the midst of them was the archbishop of Arles, venerable for his years and his virtues, with several other prelates. Some, when the assassins approached, endeavoured to escape by flying into the garden, and climbing up the trees; they were all shot or pierced with pikes in a few minutes. Thirty, with the archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Beauvois, and saints in the spirit of the martyrs of old, repaired with steady steps to a little chapel at the end of the garden. Arranged around the altar, they heard the cries of the assassins, who clamoured at the gates; a few, yielding to the dictates of terror, had escaped, and were beyond the reach of danger, when, struck with shame at deserting their brethren in such an extremity, they returned, and shared their fate. The archbishop repeated, while the murders were going on, the prayers for those in the agonies of death, and they expired, imploring forgiveness for their murderers. Many were offered their life on condition

of taking the Revolutionary oath ; all refused, and died in the faith of their fathers. Similar massacres took place at Lyons, Rheims, and other cities. At the latter place, the Abbé de Lescar and eleven curés who had refused to take the oaths were massacred with refined cruelty. The next day the mob declared that they would burn the priests alive who did not take the oath ; and for this purpose they erected a huge pile in the principal square ; and two priests were brought to it, and, on refusing to take the oath, were thrown alive into the flames.

The foul spirit of irreligion was aroused into a ferocious frenzy like that of the demoniacs at the sight of our Saviour ; but this was only the result and retribution of its more insidious working in the national mind of France for generations. It had been born in lust, and was satiated in blood : the people of France had first lost their morality, and then their faith, and then, possessed by a legion of devils, which their depravity had summoned, burst forth into all the fury of remorseless ferocity. As the tree so was the fruit. Can any doubt the tree who sees such fruit ? The Revolution was the consummation of a revolt from authority, which began in Gallicanism and ended in Jacobinism.

We do not think attention has been sufficiently called to the fact, that the chief atrocities of the Reign of Terror were caused by the Gallicanism of Republicanism, the imposition of the constitutional oath on the clergy. Mr. Alison describes with great force and eloquence the sublime struggle of the people of La Vendée on behalf of their ancient faith. They were first aroused into resentment by the expulsion of their pastors, who refused to take the revolutionary oaths. They ceased to attend the Churches where the intruding clergy were installed, and assembled with zeal in the woods and solitudes, where the expelled clergy still taught their faithful and weeping flocks. Religious enthusiasm took possession of their minds. "Lay down your arms," exclaimed a number of republican horsemen to a peasant who only defended himself with a fork. "Restore me first my God," replied he, and fell pierced by two-and-twenty wounds. This is a specimen of their spirit, and it is scarcely necessary, for under the influence of the Catholic faith they had enjoyed as perfect happiness as ever was experienced on earth. "They were," says the Protestant historian, "gentle, pious,

charitable, and hospitable, full of courage and energy, with pure feeling and uncorrupted manners. Rarely was a crime, seldom a law-suit, heard of among them." Touching and triumphant testimony to the influence of Catholicism! sad and striking contrast to the revolting effects of Rationalism! One would almost imagine the providence of God had designed to display, for the instruction of the world, the portraitures of faith and infidelity, in the most marked contrast and antagonism. Such, at least, is the result in reading the thrilling story of the most noble but melancholy struggle which has immortalized the name of La Vendée, shedding eternal glory on religion, and never-dying infamy on the Revolution. It suffices of itself to show that the Revolution was of diabolical origin, and arose from irreligion, that this pure and uncorrupted people should have been driven to a death-struggle with it, and that their opposition to it could only be subdued by extirpation. The annals of humanity afford nothing more moving than the history of that terrible struggle which they had to endure, alas! so unsuccessfully, though so heroically, with the powers of darkness, on behalf of their holy religion, against which the spirit of the Revolution felt an instinctive antagonism and an unappeasable hate. Human nature was never exhibited under so heroic an aspect. If Paraguay displayed in perfection the influence of the Catholic religion in the milder forms of social happiness and domestic peace, La Vendée added to the picture more touching and thrilling traits of exalted self-sacrifice and enthusiastic devotion. At the first contest, in which the people were victorious, the historian records, "that in the line of retreat the republican forces followed, was placed a representation of our Saviour on Mount Calvary, and this arrested the progress of the victors, for all the peasants as they passed the holy spot fell on their knees before the images, and addressed a prayer with uplifted hands, before they resumed the pursuit; this continued under a severe fire; the peasants threw themselves on their knees within twenty-five paces of the post occupied by the enemy, and bared their bosoms to the fatal fire, as if coveting death in so holy a cause." We challenge the world to find in all its annals anything comparable to this in moral grandeur! "When they made themselves masters of the town, instead of indulging in excess or pillage, they flocked in crowds to the Churches

to return thanks to God, and contented themselves with the provisions which were voluntarily brought to them by the inhabitants. Everywhere the insurrection bore the same character; the indignities offered to the clergy were its exciting cause, and a mixture of courage and devotion its peculiar characteristic." An incident is often more eloquent than an essay or even a history. Two soldiers happened to quarrel, and weapons were drawn; the commander exclaimed from a window, "Jesus Christ pardoned His murderers, and a Christian soldier is about to kill a comrade!" The men abashed put up their weapons and embraced. When a town was carried by assault, in which horrible massacres had been perpetrated upon the royalists, there were no retaliations, a few hostages were retained, and the rest of the republicans dismissed to their homes. Yet the convention had passed a savage decree, ordering that every insurgent taken in arms should be shot without mercy. What an impressive contrast! When Carrière was inflicting republican retaliations, a hundred priests were doomed at a time, and the slaughters were so numerous as to create a pestilence. This was not until after a contest so protracted and severe, as showed that religious enthusiasm in a single province was nearly a match for all the forces of an empire. Had the Church throughout France retained the hold on the people as she had on La Vendée, the Revolution never could have occurred.

The leaders of the Revolutionary atrocities were certainly disciples of Jansenism and Rationalism. Take the case of Fouchet. His young mind was formed by the "Pensées de Pascal" and the "Essais de Nicole." Such the seed, what was the fruit? "He signalized himself," says the historian, "equally by his atheism, his rapacity, and his cruelty." "Tears of joy flow from my eyes," wrote the wretch on one occasion, "we send this day two hundred rebels to be shot;" the "rebels" being heroic defenders of law and liberty, against the atrocious tyranny of their atheistic oppressors. He was the associate of the hideous Collot d'Herbois in subduing Lyons by fire and slaughter, after its heroic resistance to the Revolutionists.

"The Churches were closed, the priests abolished, and every vestige of religion extinguished. Fouché instituted an impious *fête* in honour of Chaber, the republican governor of Lyons, a man of most execrable character, who had been put to death for innu-

merable crimes. The bust of Chaber was carried through the streets followed by an immense crowd of assassins and prostitutes. After them came an ass, bearing the cross, the Gospel, the communion vases, and all the most sacred emblems of Christian worship; the procession came to a place where an altar was erected, and Fouché exclaimed, 'We swear before thy sacred image to avenge thy death!' At the same time a fire was lighted on the altar, and the crucifix and Gospel were committed to the flames; *the consecrated bread*, (we are quoting Mr. Alison,) *was trampled under the feet of the mob*, and the ass *compelled to drink out of the communion cup the consecrated wine.*"

Such the fruits of "Les Pensées de Pascal.

The iniquities perpetrated at Lyons were repeated in Paris. The leaders of the municipality publicly expressed their determination to "dethrone the King of Heaven!" Gobel the Apostate constitutional Bishop of Paris, appeared at the bar of the Convention, accompanied by some of the clergy of his diocese, and there abjured the Christian faith. The base prelate (as even Mr. Alison most justly calls him) was shameless enough to declare that the only religion required was that of liberty, equality, and morality. Many of the constitutional bishops and clergy in the Convention joined in this impiety. Prostitutes, not more shameless than themselves, appeared at its bar, "trampling under foot the sacred vases consecrated for ages to the holiest purposes of religion." The municipality shortly after publicly abjured the Christian religion. The images of our Lord and of the B. Virgin were thrown down, and the busts of vile revolutionary wretches elevated in their places. During several weeks daily abjurations by the constitutional clergy took place at the bar of the Convention. This requires no comment. The fact speaks for itself as to the character of a "constitutional" clergy. Among others, Sieyès appeared and abjured like the rest. "I know no other worship," said the shameless ecclesiastic, "but that of liberty." This was quite true. Liberty to *self*: the licence of unbridled passions was the secret of the Revolution, and the cause of its hatred to religion. Soon the celebrated prophecy of Father Beau-régard was realized. "Beauty without modesty was seen usurping the place of the Holy of Holies." A monster was now enthroned on the high altar of Notre Dame as the Goddess of Reason, the existence of God was solemnly denied, and atheism was established amidst abominations

of lust. The perpetrators of these atrocities bore a testimony unconsciously to the truth they blasphemed. The impotence of Reason to control human passions was significantly symbolized in the very act of her enthronement, and the eternal union and essential association of pride and impurity, of intellectual exaltation and moral degradation was emphatically and terribly exhibited.

“The services of religion,” writes Mr. Alison, “were now universally abandoned. The pulpits were deserted throughout all the revolutionized districts; baptisms ceased; the burial service was no longer heard; the sick received no communion, the dying no consolation. A heavier anathema than that of Papal power now pressed upon the peopled realm of France; the anathema of Heaven inflicted by the madness of her own inhabitants.” Indeed, the words of the Protestant historian were, alas! too true, in a sense in which he never meant them. “A heavier anathema than that of Papal power,” which only inflicted deprivation, whereas this inflicted destruction, of the blessings of religion!—“the anathema of Heaven on the madness of her inhabitants.” Why had the anathema of Heaven fallen on them? What was the madness which had provoked it? Rebellion, long and deeply-rooted, to that Papal power, had been the real though remote cause of this terrible retribution. Ages had elapsed ere the “anathema of Papal power” had fallen on that realm of France. Alas! it had lost its terror, and the dread of it had for generations ceased to exert its salutary power. Well would it have been for millions of unbaptized, and millions baptized in their own blood, had the “anathema of Papal power” crushed the snake of Jansenism ere it had spread its subtle poison through the nation, which at last resulted in the infection of Rationalism, of which the fatal point was the horrible Revolution. Happy had it been for France had the anathema of Papal power proved as powerful as the influence of Royal power, and averted the corruption of the Church; then the madness of her inhabitants would have been prevented, and its awful chastisement, in the ruin of her Church and Crown amidst a deluge of blood, would never have occurred.

A more vivid idea can be obtained of the spirit of an age by looking at individual characters, than contemplating the general character of the whole community. Thus among the best, that is to say, the least vicious and most

sincere of the promoters of the Revolution, was that remarkable woman, Madame Roland. Her story is a sad commentary on the spirit of Rationalism. From the very first, we are informed by the Protestant historian, "she evinced a decided and energetic character, refused to embrace dogmas which did not convince her reason, and hence became sceptical on many points of the Romish faith, in which she had been brought up." The historian evidently approves of the process, however he may lament the result, which he no doubt ascribes to accident. He observes, with complacency: "She never became irreligious, and retained to the close of life a devout sense of an all-powerful Creator and of the fundamental principles of Christianity." He goes on to describe the effect: "Her ardent mind, deeply imbued with liberal principles, reverted at first with enthusiasm to the brilliant pictures of antiquity contained in the ancient writers. She wept that she had not been born a Greek or Roman citizen, and carried Plutarch's Lives instead of her prayer-book to Mass. Here we see the fruit of 'the fundamental principles of Christianity,' and of rejecting all dogmas which do not convince the reason." We have a Protestant lady (for Protestant in principle she was) weeping that she had not been born and bred a Pagan, so little sensible was she of the value "of the fundamental principles of Christianity," which she evidently deemed no better than Paganism; in which estimate of their value we conceive she was right, inasmuch as when carefully sifted and purged of all dogma, they come down to pure deism, and her own history proves it. "Religious ardour" (of a Jansenist character) "soon took possession of her mind, and she entreated her mother to be allowed to take the veil. Though this was not acceded to by her mother, she entered the convent as pensionary, and returned from it, with a mind enlarged and a heart softened." So the Protestant historian assures us, but leaves it doubtful whether it was to the entering into the convent or the returning from it, that he ascribes "the mind enlarged and heart softened." He is less dubious, however, as to the result. "The elevated reasoning of Bossuet first arrested her attention and aroused her reason; and the eloquence of the *Nouvelle Heloise* soon after captivated her imagination." Ah! and the imagination proved far more potent than the reason in the case of poor Madame Roland, as in unnumbered millions more. Of her imagina-

tion, under the influence of the eloquence of the *Nouvelle Heloise* and the fundamental principles of Christianity, Mr. Alison enables us to form an idea, by introducing us to her Memoirs, in which she alludes to *les besoins d'une physique bien organisée*, in a way which Sir W. Scott justly says is characterized by the indecency of a courtesan. But let the Protestant historian proceed with her portraiture. "Indefatigable in study, ardent in pursuit, she devoured alternately books on theology, philosophy, oratory, poetry, and romance, and became successively a Cartesian, a Jansenist, and a Stoic." Here is the secret sympathy between Rationalism, Jansenism, and Jacobinism. Madame Roland was for a time the life and soul of the Jacobins,—and ultimately became one of their victims. She died as she had lived, like a Pagan, uttering the memorable exclamation: "O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband committed suicide, not, as he declared, from fear, but from despair and disgust for human nature.

Nothing is more remarkable than the unconscious evidence which the main actors in the frenzies of the Revolution bore to the fatal fallacy upon which it was founded,—ignoring the depravity of man. When Danton was arrested he exclaimed: "At last I perceive that in revolutions the supreme power finally rests with the most abandoned." Camille Desmonlins, while in prison awaiting execution, wrote to his wife in these memorable words: "I had hoped to have founded a republic which all the world would have adored. I could not have believed that men were so ferocious and unjust." "I knew well the great," said Alfieri, after witnessing in Paris the fearful 10th of August, "but I did not know the little." Even Mr. Alison is struck with the obvious fact, that the prevailing delusion as to the virtue of human nature, and the perfectibility of society, were the root of all the awful errors and evils which arose. Robespierre proclaimed, and very likely was convinced, that the people could never be wrong. Terrible mistake, which the leaders of the Revolution first exemplified and then expiated. From the earliest to the latest they perished, victims to these foolish views of human virtue; and the great lesson they illustrate is, that there can be no security for virtue or liberty but in *religion*. They followed a chimera of their own deluded minds through oceans of blood. Truly does the historian say:

“Politicians have no right after this to reproach *religious* enthusiasm.” Deism has had its fanaticism and its frenzy.

The Reign of Terror was an horrible illustration of the tyranny of the human passions emancipated from authority, even a passion so apparently venial as vanity. In a little more than five weeks the Revolutionary tribunal in Paris had sentenced nearly 1300 persons to death,—all, be it observed, without the pretence of any offence, and without the farce of a trial. Yet, when the heads were falling at the rate of sixty or seventy a day, the Jacobin leaders required more slaughters, to inspire their opponents with greater terror. This was indeed nothing to the horrors perpetrated in the provinces. At one time and place nine thousand persons were destroyed. And among the papers of Robespierre was found a plan for cutting off the whole of the middle classes, and for that purpose arming against them the lower. This was all for the mere purpose of preserving his own power,—a power avowedly only to be upheld by terror. Never was it made more terribly manifest how remorseless are the human passions, even a passion so apparently innocuous as that of vanity. Perhaps, after all, this is the great lesson of the Revolution. It is beyond a doubt that Robespierre’s ruling passion was merely vanity. He imagined himself necessary to the nation, and the maintenance of his own power, at any sacrifice of life, essential for the public welfare. Horrible as were his slaughters, they proceeded simply from the idolization of self. He was a remorseless embodiment of egotism. He had none of the coarser passions, neither lust, nor avarice, nor, for its own sake, love of blood. He was disgusted with his associates, who showed that they loved slaughter for its own sake. He really resorted to it from an idea of its necessity, arising from the overweening, all-engrossing, overwhelming egotism of his character, which led him to fancy that his wisdom was the one thing needful for France. What cruelty can be caused by vanity a single incident will illustrate. One day there dined at his table a beautiful woman, Madame St. Amaranthe. She happened to drop an expression of regret at the number of executions. Two days had not elapsed before she and her mother were executed! She had wounded the vanity of the tyrant, and her beauty did not save her. Yet of Robespierre, like Madame Roland, it might be said, and is in effect said by the Protestant historian, that he never lost his respect for

“the fundamental principles of Christianity.” While about to recommence a series of proscriptions which was on the point of terminating in his own destruction, Robespierre delivered another oration, which the Protestant historian terms “eloquent and powerful,” in which he spoke flatteringly of the “Author of Nature,” who had bound together all mortals by the claims of love. Carefully examined, these elements of this monster’s character were very much the same as those of Louis XIV., Napoleon, or any other relentless despot. The character is one which in an individual is called egotism, and in a people rationalism; that absorption in self, that idolization of the will, which amounts to practical atheism, and only developed, leads to professed deism. What is this but the development of the very principles which led to Gallicanism and Jansenism? The atrocities of the Reign of Terror arose originally from the exasperation of Jacobin despotism at the resistance of the clergy to their will. What was that but the spirit of Louis XIV. and of Philip le Bel? What was it but the spirit of Napoleon? We have seen in what way Richelieu and Robespierre dealt with the Church; we shall now see how Napoleon acted towards it, who supplanted the Bourbons, and how the Bourbons when they were restored.

We must not lose sight of the connection of Jansenism with Jacobinism. We quite agree with Father Dalgairns, that “to judge of Jansenism we must follow it to its closing scene,—the French Revolution, and see a Jansenist, the comrade of Robespierre, holding a schismatical council in Paris, while the legitimate pastors of France were dying in the prisons or on the scaffold for the love of Christ.” Here its hidden spirit and real nature were made manifest,—ready to resort to any agency, however vile, and to conform to any system, however sanguinary or sordid, to escape the necessity of submission to the authority of the Holy See, and to satiate the self-willed passions of its “stony hard heart.”

Most cordially will the Catholic reader concur with Father Dalgairns, when he says:

“All honour be to the Society of Jesus, which from the first detected the spirit of the heresy and saw through its aims. Of the vast services which the children of St. Ignatius have rendered to the Church, not the least is the sagacity with which they discovered Jansenism, and the courage with which, through good and evil

report, they pursued it; while at the same time they were ever distinguished for a tender devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus."

This passage alone would suffice to vindicate our argument, and show the latent association between the three subjects which we have grouped together, in connection with the devotion to the Sacred Heart. Jansenists, Gallicans, and Jacobins, all instinctively recognized in the order of Jesus as common foe, and the order found in all alike implacable enemies; while on the other hand, the Jesuits and their opponents have been equally distinguished, the one by their ardour for, the other for their neglect of, the devotion to the Sacred Heart. We can find at once the reason and the cause of this, and convey the moral of our subject and the result of our whole argument in a single nervous sentence of Father Dalgairns, in which he speaks of Jansenism as the rationalistic exposition of the faith and practice of a tepid Catholic. The Son of God predicted that "the days would come when the charity of many would wax cold;" but there was a lower depth of depravity for the human heart than mere tepidity; it was to be tepid in theory,—to frame sophistries and construct systems, in which men might mask the deep-rooted depravity of their nature and their instinctive aversion to religion, by affected moderation and hypocritical prudence, or a simulated zeal for orthodoxy.

"After the regent Orleans and Louis XV. came the French Revolution. One small portion of the Jansenist body started back in affright at the rapid progress of this terrible phenomenon, but the great bulk of the party favoured it, for one of their own body, with the Revolution before him, called the Jansenists its precursors."

We might have made this sentence our text and theme; it is in itself an ample authority for our argument, and we hope to confirm and illustrate it. Father Dalgairns himself does so very powerfully.

"Forty Jansenists sat in the Assembly, and were the authors of the Constitutional Church of France."

We shall show that this was the real origin of the horrors of the Reign of Terror, which were first awakened by the resistance of the clergy to this constitutional Church. Jacobinism was Jansenism rampant and exasperated.

"Here the Jansenist principle was patent, that the Church has no perpetual ruling power within her. They separated faith from

discipline, and declared that they took primitive ages for their model when they introduced democratical principles into the Church, and caused the bishops to be elected by the people. The whole of the French episcopate but five refused to take the oath to observe this constitution, and were expelled from their sees. An innumerable number of the clergy followed their example; and throughout France the legitimate parish priests were expelled, to give place to Jansenist intruders."

The opposition of the people in the provinces to this was the root of the insurrections which elicited all the horrible cruelty of Jacobinism—the *noyades* and *fusillades* of Lyons and Nantes,—and the massacres of priests, begun at Paris and imitated throughout the land.

"It was at this period," says Father Dalgairns, "amidst the horrors of the French Revolution, that the devotion to the Sacred Heart was of inestimable value in keeping up the courage of Catholics. One fact which we have been able to recover out of the bloody annals of the time, will be sufficient to prove it. It will show how religion was preserved in France during the Reign of Terror. While Carriere was deluging Nantes with blood, a gentleman named De la Billière, with his wife and two unmarried daughters, were lying in the revolutionary prisons. He was accused of harbouring a Catholic priest in his house, was condemned, and perished on the scaffold. His wife and daughters were dragged before the same tribunal, but not even malice and calumny could find a pretext against them. At last it was proved that they had distributed pictures of the Sacred Heart of Jesus among the peasantry on the estate round their father's château. They were immediately condemned, and shed their blood with the greatest joy for the love of Jesus."

Rightly did the wretches judge, that those who cherished the devotion to the Sacred Heart would gladly shelter a priest who refused to take the oath of allegiance to an impious "constitution," and that they would have no sympathies for the Gallicanism and Jansenism of Jacobinism. The whole argument is embodied in that simple incident; and well might Father Dalgairns add, that "enough has been said to show the deep-rooted hatred of Jansenism against the devotion to the Sacred Heart." But we believe he greatly underrates the closeness of the connection between Jansenism and Jacobinism, if he considered it merely as indicated by the number of avowed Jansenists who sat in the National Assembly. We are persuaded that all those who co-operated in the Revolution, of those

who had any religion at all, were Jansenists at heart ; and of those who had no religion we are certain that they *had* been so, and that in the great majority of cases Jansenism was an intermediate state of mind conducting to Jacobinism.

One of the most powerful passages in the book of Father Dalgairns is that in which he portrays the theological history and heretical origin of the opposition of Jansenism to the devotion to the Sacred Heart.

“From the old brood of early heresies, which looked more like ghosts of ancient paganism than corruptions of Christianity, down to the more refined, intellectual, and subtle errors of later times, the way to bring them to an issue, and to force the demon within them out of his propriety, is to show them the Sacred Manhood as an object to be adored. The same evil spirit which troubled Christians about the Humanity as a whole, now raises a mist in our minds with respect to the worship of the Sacred Heart. The greatest aim is to inspire the intellect of man to invent new heresy, to prevent men from adoring the Sacred Humanity. The last of these efforts is the war directed against the devotion to the Sacred Heart. It is only one act in that great battle against the adoration of Jesus as man, which began with the fall of the angels, and will end only with the day of judgment. Its connection with heresy is no longer occult to us. We can no longer wonder *that doctrinal error, or Erastianism, that heresy of worldliness, so often accompanies repugnance to devotion to the Sacred Heart. Disobedience to the Holy See, opposition to Catholic devotions, low conceptions of Mary's honours, all seem to form a sort of organic whole.* It is not that they have anything substantial in themselves, it is that all are symptoms of the heretical spirit which, like a disease, lurks about the souls of all who are not thoroughly loyal children of the Church, ready to throw itself out at any moment and in any shape.”

Here is our argument enforced with a nervous power to which we should in vain aspire, and all we hope to have effected is to have afforded some historical illustration and confirmation of it.

There can be no question that Gallicanism arose from the absence of devotion. The simple fact is, that all the kings of France or England, who were disaffected to the Holy See, were immoral, notorious for pride, profligacy, rapacity, and impurity. The *great* Henry IV. was as perfect an impersonation of impurity as our Henry VIII., and the magnificent Louis XIV. was equal to either of them. They were as unlike St. Louis in morality and piety as in loyalty to the Holy See. And it is clear that

the corruption caused by Gallicanism diffused and deepened the profligacy in which it arose. Very likely the rigidity of Jansenism was a reaction from the laxity produced by Gallicanism, but then it is yet more likely that Jacobinism, or the scepticism in which it originated, was a reaction from the rigidity of Jansenism. Very beautifully and powerfully Father Dalgairns, in his book, illustrates the antagonism of the austerity of Jansenism to the loving spirit of the Incarnation, and its consequent opposition to the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and inability to grapple with the depravity of the age, and its tendency to increase it by producing a system of insincerity and hypocrisy, similar to its own systematic dishonesty. "The spirit of devotion to the Sacred Heart," says Father Dalgairns, "is adoration and love." "It is the worship of the love of Jesus." The fact that the Jansenists were opposed to the devotion reveals the real character of its system, and shows that it must have tended to augment the depravity of the age, and promoted the increase of infidelity. And certain it is that between the moral character of Jansenism and Jacobinism there was a remarkable resemblance. Both systems were characterized by intellectual self-idolization, a terrible tenacity of egotism, ready to sacrifice everything to its realization; relentless, remorseless, and unscrupulous. Reckless, first of the souls of men, and then of their bodies, and leading to a baptism of blood.

After the Jacobins came Napoleon, and the empire rapidly succeeded the Reign of Terror. We need not say that as regards the Church Buonaparte followed the fatal policy of the Bourbons, and when he restored the Church endeavoured to enslave her, and render her subservient to his policy. She proved in his case the rock against which, if a man stumble, it is bad, but which if it fall on him will crush him to pieces. Having, at the commencement of his career, committed an outrage on the Holy See, as indecent if not so brutal as the sack of Rome by the Constable of Bourbon, he consummated his career, and sealed his fate by seeking to extort from the Pope, Pius VII., a concordat, with circumstances of outrage as atrocious as those of Philip le Bel against Boniface. Here again we see the sympathy between Jacobinism and Gallicanism. The despotism of the sovereign or of the people led to the same course, though popular violence was carried

to greater excesses. Both sought to coerce the Holy See, and enslave the Church, and when thwarted, both resorted to all the violence of tyranny. There was no difference in principle between the outrages of Napoleon on the Pope, and the Jacobin massacres of the priests, nor between either and the coercive measures taken by the parliaments of Paris under the Bourbons in favour of the Jansenists. There was in each case the tyranny of the temporal over the spiritual, the tyranny of brute force over sacred right, the rebellion of the human against the divine, of the earthly against the heavenly, of the powers of darkness against the powers of light.

When, in 1801, the whole body of the "constitutional" bishops of France in council assembled, renounced those sees to which they had no better title than the will of the people, it was clear that a reaction had taken place in favour of the Holy See, and policy and expediency dictated the declaration on the part of the government of the consulate, that *la grande majorité des Français reconnaissait le culte Catholique Apostolique et Romane pour sa religion*. There was an air rather of insolence than of penitence in this haughty "recognition," which sufficiently showed how far the French nation still was from being exorcised of the evil spirit of pride which had proved its ruin. Of the national vanity Napoleon was now the impersonation and the idol; and in all his conduct towards the Holy See, displayed the overbearing violence of Philip le Bel, and the haughty insolence of Louis XIV. The result was his fall. The retribution in each case was signal. The retreat from Moscow was the counterpart of the victories of Marlborough.

No sooner had Jacobinism been subdued than a reaction arose in favour of the Church; the law denouncing exile against the clergy, the resistance to which by the king was the immediate cause of the atrocities of the Jacobins was repealed; and the priests were relieved from the necessity of taking the oath to the republican constitution. But when Camille Jourdan, the deputy from Lyons, pleaded the cause of the Church against the severe restrictions which the laws still imposed upon her, it was made manifest that the attempt was premature, and that, to use the language of Mr. Alison, "the principles of infidelity were too deeply seated; the council rejected the proposal by such a majority as showed that ages of suffering must yet

he endured before the fatal poison could be expelled from the social body." Words which are verified by the history of France ever since that period. She has been expiating during the last half century in a perpetual series of conscriptions and revolutions her awful crimes against the Church, and unlearning the pernicious principles which she was taught centuries ago in the schools of Gallicanism and Jansenism. France was destined to perpetrate yet greater crimes against the Church. The atrocities of the Revolutionary spirit, satiated at Paris, were removed to Rome. Buonaparte proved himself a worthy successor of the Bourbons, and his rascally army realized in the Eternal City the iniquities, if not cruelties, which equalled those of the Constable of Bourbon at the sack of Rome three centuries before. First the French pillaged the Pontifical States, and then sought to crush the Papal authority.

When Napoleon insolently wrote to the Papal government, dictating their selection of their officers, and directed his ministers to prevent the nomination of a successor to the Chair of St. Peter, and thus "to deliver Europe from the pretended Papal supremacy," he was true to the traditions of Gallicanism, and followed faithfully in the footsteps of Philip le Bel and Louis XIV. It mattered not that it was now the Gallicanism of a republic, instead of a monarchy, except, indeed, that the result was far worse; for a despotic monarch could and did bully a Pope or sack Rome, but the republican divines infused into the Roman population seeds of a vile, revolutionary, and infidel spirit, which have fructified there with a fatal influence, the effects of which we have seen in our own days. Pope Pius VI., who was eighty years old, met brutal outrage with the spirit of a confessor and the courage of a martyr. This is the account even of the Protestant historian:—"The Pope, who had been guarded by five hundred soldiers ever since the entry of the Republicans was directed to retire into Tuscany, his Swiss guard was relieved by a French one, and he was ordered to dispossess himself of his temporal authority." What a contrast was his answer, to the culpable connivance of the prelates of the French Church in the confiscation of its property by the National Assembly:—"He replied, with the firmness of a martyr, 'As supreme Pontiff I am resolved to die in the exercise of all my powers. You may employ force; but though you may

be masters of my body, you are not so of my soul.' Force was soon employed to dispossess him of his authority. He was dragged from the altar; his repositories were ransacked and plundered—the rings torn from his fingers—the effects of the Vatican inventoried and seized, and the aged Pontiff conducted, with only a few domestics, amidst the brutal jests and sacrilegious songs of French dragoons into Tuscany. But though a captive in the hands of his enemies, the venerable man still retained the supreme authority in the Church. From his retreat in the convent of the Chartreuse, he yet guided the counsels of the faithful; multitudes fell on their knees wherever he passed, and sought that benediction from a captive which they would perhaps have disregarded from a ruling Pontiff."

"The subsequent treatment of this venerable man," continues Mr. Alison, "was as disgraceful to the Republican government as it was honourable to his piety and constancy as the head of the Church. Fearful that from his virtues and sufferings he might have too much influence in Italy, he was forced to traverse often during the night the Apennines and Alps in a rigorous season, until he at length reached Valence, where, after an illness of ten days, he expired, in the 82nd year of his age, and the 24th of his Pontificate. The cruelty of the Directory increased as he approached their dominions; all his old attendants were compelled to leave him, and the Father of the Faithful was allowed to expire attended only by his confessor. Yet, even in this disconsolate state, he derived the highest satisfaction from the devotion and reverence of the people in the *provinces* of France through which he passed. Multitudes flocked to the road to receive his benediction, and he frequently repeated, with tears in his eyes, the words of Scripture, 'Verily I say unto you, I have not seen such faith, no, not in Israel!'"

In the *provinces*, let it be remarked. It was only in the *cities* where the influence of court and parliaments, nobles and lawyers, had prevailed and corrupted alike the laity and clergy: it was only in the *cities* that the people were alienated from the Church; only there that the evil spirits of Gallicanism and Jansenism had paved the way for, and resulted in Jacobinism.

Mr. Alison describes with great indignation the pillage of Rome by the French, an event which shows how identical in all ages is the spirit of irreligious rapacity. "The bloodshed was less, but the spoil greater than the disastrous sack which followed the death of the Constable of

Bourbon." It is singular that the man who supplanted the dynasty of Bourbon should have signalized the commencement of his career by an act of the same kind as that which first gave to the name of Bourbon an infamous celebrity. "The aggression of the French, however, on this occasion, was not," as Mr. Alison says, "confined to the plunder of palaces and churches." The territories of the church and convents were confiscated, and eight cardinals were arrested, who were faithful to the Holy See. Alas! they were in a minority, for, as the historian adds, "a base and despicable faction, among whom, to her disgrace be it told, were found fourteen cardinals,—followed in the train of their oppressors, and returned thanks to God at a public festival for the mercies they had brought upon the country." All these outrages were perpetrated at Rome, be it observed, when the Catholic religion had been restored in France, at least so far as to be recognised; and when the nation was at peace with the Holy See, and recognized its authority by having an ambassador in Rome. What could be more completely accordant with the spirit of Jansenism and Gallicanism, nominally and professedly recognizing the supremacy of the Holy See, and virtually setting it at nought? The atrocities in Rome were committed, be it observed, by those in authority. They were so much at variance with the feelings of the French people, that the army revolted at them, and remonstrated, solemnly declaring that they disavowed in the sight of heaven the crimes committed in the city of Rome and the Ecclesiastical States. Still the army and the nation had no objection to a violent intervention. It was merely a question of degree. This shows that the principle was identical with Gallicanism: the absence of a due spirit of reverence for the Holy See.

The reaction in favour of religion, compelled Napoleon, as a matter of policy, when he attained supreme power to re-establish the Catholic Church. But he did so in the spirit of a despot, and the concordat which he extorted from the Holy See (of course anxious to restore to France the blessings of the faith at any admissible sacrifice,) was the development and embodiment of Gallicanism. The first course was to nominate the bishops and archbishops—who were to nominate the parish priests, subject to the same authority; and a series of articles established what were called the liberties of the Gallican Church, replete

with that spirit of rebellion against the Holy See, which had conducted England to a Reformation, and France to a Revolution. No bull or brief from Rome was to be received without the sanction of the government. No legate of the Holy See was to exercise in France any functions respecting the Gallican Church without the same authority. No decrees, even of general councils, were allowed to be published in France without being first submitted to the approval of the government. No provincial synod was to be held without the leave of the government. An appeal was to be made to the Council of State from all ecclesiastical tribunals; especially on questions concerning the "liberties of the Gallican Church."

Mr. Alison observes upon these articles, "the Church in France was *practically rendered as independent of the Papal authority as the Protestant Establishment of Great Britain.*" Most important testimony, worthy of being noted, and marked, and kept as a perpetual remembrance, for they form a brief and decisive commentary on the true nature of Gallicanism, and contain a triumphant vindication of the Holy See in its perpetual protests against its principles—in all its kindred forms and systems. The spirit is ever the same. The articles of Napoleon's *concordat* come to much the same thing as the "Constitutions of Clarendon," which Henry II. sought to impose on the English Church, and against which St. Thomas was a martyr; they embody the same principles as the statutes of *præmunire and provisors* by which, under our Edwards, the way was prepared for the Reformation, and the acts of the Royal Supremacy by which it was established; and they embody the same spirit as the "Pragmatic Sanction;"—which a Louis XI. upheld, and a Louis XIV. developed—into much the same system as that on which the liberties of the Gallican Church were now maintained. The temper and tendency of despotism is always and everywhere the same; to engross all powers, spiritual and temporal: it matters not whether it assume a royal or republican form, except that the Gallicanism of the republic is the result of that of royalty, and far worse, because more widely diffused and deeply rooted, and less easily eradicated. It is lamentable to see how slowly nations are instructed by experience. Just emerged from the horror of the Revolution, the French people permitted the recurrence to the system of religious tyranny

which had produced it, and while yet the atrocities of the Reign of Terror were fresh in their recollection, restored in principle the hateful domination over the Church—a resistance to which first provoked them.

The Count de la Montalembert thus forcibly describes the state of the French Church at this era, and the spirit in which Napoleon acted towards it:—

“On the first of January, 1800, there was no Pope. Pius VI. had died at Valence, the exile and prisoner of an atheistical republic. Rome had only just been released from the hands of a hordo of Pagans, who had set up an apology for a republic in proclaiming the perpetual dissolution of the papacy. A most perilous interregnum of eight months intervened between the death of Pius VI. and the election of Pius VII. The sacred college expelled from Rome could only be assembled under the safeguard of a schismatical army, brought over from the interior of Muscovy to arrest for a time the parricidal arms of a people but lately the most eminent of Catholic nations. A few old men assembled to head the Russian lines, in an island of the marshes of Venice, that haughty and accomplished city, which had just been laid low, after having signalized itself by its shuffling hostility to the Roman Church, of which, during the middle ages, it had formed the bulwark and the home.”

“In the kingdom of Clovis and St. Louis the state of the Catholic religion was this. The entire body of the episcopacy was in exile: the clergy, decimated by the guillotine and banishment; the faithful hunted and harassed, long driven to the alternative of open apostacy or death, only just beginning to breathe, and enjoy in silence the tolerance of contempt. There were no resources, either material or moral. The least patrimony of the Church, formed by the love and voluntary donations of forty generations, was totally alienated. The religious orders, after a thousand years of glory and works of benevolence, were extirpated and oppressed; three thousand convents and monasteries were abolished, and with them all the colleges, chapters, sanctuaries, asylums of penance, retreats, study, and prayer. France, polluted by ten years of revolution, had just placed herself under the dominion of a young conqueror, who had delivered her from a state of anarchy, and deprived her of her liberty, who knew everything, could do everything, and willed everything; who in Italy had imposed on the Holy See the cruel treaty of Tolentino (of which it was said by his minister, ‘We are killing her by inches’), and was only known to the Church, which he was so gloriously to restore, by the acts of deception and spoliation he had practised upon her.”

And accordingly Napoleon told the French people, “My differences with the Pope have been happily termi-

nated by a concordat," and went on to declare, "I desire peace; it is necessary, but I will never conclude it save on terms suitable to the grandeur and interests of *my* empire." Here was the true spirit of despotism. It was just the language which had been held by Louis XIV. It expressed the egotism which is ever the essence of despotism. Whether manifested in oppression of the Church or of the nation, the spirit is the same. The evil spirit which sought to make an instrument of the Pope, laid the people under a remorseless system of conscription, which, as Mr. Alison says, "amounted to the permanent absorption of one in forty of the whole population in the profession of arms, whereas it has never been found by experience that an empire, how powerful soever, can for any length of time flourish with more than one in a hundred engaged in such pursuits." The same iron despotism which persecuted the Pope oppressed the people, and the conscriptions of the empire slew as many as the proscriptions of the Reign of Terror. It was not long ere retribution fell upon the insolent assailant of the Holy See. It fell upon Napoleon as it had upon the Bourbons, and Leipsic and Waterloo completed what Moscow had begun. As he had followed the example he realized the fate of Louis XIV., and the dynasty of Bourbon had one more opportunity of retrieving its character. They were restored to the throne, but they were untaught by experience, and reassumed sovereignty in the same spirit as respects the Church as that which had so long prevailed in their predecessors, a spirit not of open opposition or flagrant rebellion, but of disaffection and distrust, a system of reserve of policy and expediency, in short, the spirit of Gallicanism.

The eloquent pen of Mr. Macaulay perhaps supplies their only palliation for conduct which, of course, men consider their best title to approbation. "They came back to a land in which they could recognize nothing. Twenty years had done the work of twenty generations; events had come thick, men had lived fast, the old institutions and feelings had been torn up by the root. 'There was a new Church founded and endowed by the usurper.'" The change or aspect of the Church the more philosophical pen of Mr. Alison describes as "The total confiscation of the property of the Church, and the conversion of the ecclesiastical members from a powerful body maintained on its own estates, to a needy set of salaried functionaries

paid by the state, and occupying a very subordinate place in its establishment." Here was the consummation of Gallicanism. Its worst result was not the mere impoverishment of the Church, though the practical effect of that was of course to circumscribe its powers within the narrow limits of a selfish economy on the part of the state, which, like a dishonest guardian, had absorbed its estates, and returned as little as possible of its plunder. The constituent assembly had estimated the number of parochial clergy necessary for France at forty-eight thousand, but at the Restoration there were only thirty-eight thousand parish priests, though the population had increased six millions. An increase of six millions in the population, and a decrease of ten thousand in the clergy. This simple fact, of course, speaks volumes as to the practical results of Gallicanism. But this was not the worst. Of those six millions the majority were doubtless unbaptized, and of the whole generation which had risen up during the last fatal quarter of a century, the majority were practically without religion. The cause is obvious and has been amply shown.

The nation had been under the rule of scepticism even with nominal recognition of Catholicism. The Catholic religion had been re-established upon policy, quite in the spirit of Gallicanism. The ruling powers had no real care for it, and were not only not in earnest about it, but did not desire any one to be so, and here again is the spirit of Gallicanism. It was just the spirit of the age of Louis XIV. The leading men of the nation living as though religion were not really true, led of course the great mass of the nation to do so too, and diffused the fatal infection of a sympathetic scepticism. The results were the same as at the era of the Revolution. As Mr. Alison says, "A few eminent men, such as Chateaubriand, brought to the defence of the ancient faith genius of the highest order, philosophy of the most exalted kind. But the great mass of the educated citizens in towns, especially in Paris, were either openly infidel or utterly indifferent to religion, as a troublesome restraint on their passions." Dr. Newman could have written nothing more true upon the subject. It really is the pith of the question, the very marrow of our argument. Again in the history of France, was the same fearful result produced, and the same great truth illustrated, that Gallicanism, a system of government, which

is not in earnest about religion, and deals with the Church upon principles of state policy, without confidence in her divine mission, without confidence in her supernatural powers, and without deference to her sublime claims, is a system which, by leading the nation to live without being in earnest about religion, and to act as though it were not true, make them to come at last to think it not true, and plunge themselves in scepticism and corruption.

The concordat of Napoleon was in substance in force. And in 1823, the ambassador of Charles X., at Rome, thus wrote to his master on the subject of the conclave: "The French cardinals ought to be sent without any one's authority—without recommendation—without *conscience* I may say,—taking that word in a sense which would express a vanity occupied with its own affairs rather than with those of the king:" "they would labour at the work desired by the king,—recommended to their conscience as prelates appointed by the king, and who would not have been appointed had it not been for the king's influence." Here is the spirit of Louis XIV., as rampant as ever; and accordingly, the Count de Montalembert says, that Gallicanism produced in 1826 a counterpart of the declaration of 1682." How incurable is the spirit of egotism and nationalism—"the evil spirit (as the Count calls it) of independence and revolt!" What had the Church gained since the days of Bossuet? What advantage did she attain by substituting Bourbons for Buonaparte? Well, the old system produced the same result. Another revolution again brought retribution to Gallicanism. In 1830, after those years which the Count de Montalembert has described as we have stated—a revolution, brief, but bloody, expelled the elder branch of the Bourbons from the throne. Two years before the Jesuits—who had come back without being recalled, and with the old sentence of expulsion over their heads, passed in the fatal age of corruption which preceded the first Revolution—were again expelled. The expulsion of the order of Jesus, the great opponents of Gallicanism and Jansenism, the intrepid supporters of the supremacy of the Holy See, the zealous advocates of that interior power which is represented by their devotion to the Sacred Heart, speaks volumes of the character of an age in which it occurred. How remarkable that the renewal of the crime should so soon be followed by a repetition of the retribution!

Whether the revolution were just or not, no one will deny that the bloody tragedy itself, and the state of the nation out of which it arose, were equally national calamities. The spirit of Jacobinism was not dead. It had only slept. It was not satiated by the rivers of blood which flowed in Paris; even after the Revolution it shed oceans more at Lyons, and the horrors of the Reign of Terror were at once revived. And then came the charter, which recognized no religion as the religion of the state, and thus established the principle of rationalism, which is the proper development of Gallicanism. As to the reign of Louis Philippe, the Count de Montalembert, its *apologist*, speaks of the government as "yielding to the Voltarian tendencies of the literary classes and the political majorities." Why, what could be said worse of the age of Louis XV.? What could be expected from a monarch who had a Guizot for his minister? We admire M. Guizot as an enlightened and learned statesman, but he would disclaim all pretensions to be deemed a fit exponent of what he would call "ultra montane" ideas, or a proper minister to carry out a policy of freedom for the Church. In 1833 his great educational measure was carried, by which the Catholic curé has for his associates in the work of educating the rising generation, "the ministers of the religious denominations," a system professedly borrowed from Protestant Prussia. A Gallican king and Protestant Premier! Such the patrons of the French Church for upwards of fifteen years more, from the accession of Louis Philippe: nearly another generation. The character of this regime may be illustrated most forcibly by a single incident. The government of Louis Philippe expelled from France the Convent of Cistercian monks, whose history has recently been given to us. And in 1845 the French Chambers, on the motion of M. Thiers, the historian of the Revolution, passed an order of the day against the Jesuits and the government, and its ambassador at Rome obtained from the general of the order a compelled consent to their dispersion.

Gallicanism had now done its worst, and had its way, and reached its lowest development; and what was the result? Jacobinism had been suppressed, but there had arisen Socialism. Out of this, in the providence of God, came the triumph and ascendancy of Catholicism—the reaction for religion arose in the hearts of men, where

alone its power can tell,—and the result was, that which the Count de Montalembert describes with so much eloquence and exultation. It is impossible not to sympathize with the spirit in which he exults over the spectacle of revived Catholicism, and glories in what he considers the extinction of Gallicanism. And if to a certain extent we cannot but think he over-colours the picture, and is too sanguine in his ideas of the eradication of a poison which has rankled in the breast of France for centuries, and perhaps we can detect a little of that nationalism which he would disclaim, we at the same time rejoice to feel persuaded that there is a considerable degree of truth in his eloquent statements. Passages can be found even in the pages of this illustrious writer, which indicate a consciousness on his part that the Catholic spirit yet remains in France. In 1848, the day after the Revolution, a great number of Catholics, says he, priests and laity, were seen to hail with their sympathies what they called a new idea. “They spoke, wrote, and preached that Christianity was nothing but democracy, as it had been said, written, and preached under the restoration, that Christianity was monarchy.” Here was the old spirit of Jacobinism, even in the Church; in other words, the Gallicanism of a republic; the idolization of egotism in another form; the substitution of the human for the Divine. “It was even said that the republic dated from Calvary, and that liberty, equality, and fraternity, were three rays issuing from the heart of Jesus crucified.” The very language of the old Jacobinism revived, with too much of its spirit; the ancient spirit of revolt and independence essentially opposed to the spirit of Catholicism. As the Count says, “This base coin of the Gospel was soon out of circulation, and servile adhesions and generous illusions received a prompt and bloody check; and then,” as he says, “prelates came forward with adulatory addresses to the new power which arose.” Well might he say, “It is the same spirit, if the men are not the same.” The old spirit of nationalism, relying on human institutions instead of on the Divine mission and supernatural powers of the Church. It is always and everywhere the same. We have spoken all along of France, and made only a cursory allusion to Italy. The same evil spirit has been there and everywhere, and the result the same. The Count describes them thus; in a single sentence he sums up the history of Sardinia, that country where the evil spirit is doing its

fatal work now. "The whole modern history of the House of Savoy unfortunately bears the impress of that miserable spirit of rivalry against the Church, founded upon Gallican and Jansenist doctrines." As in Italy so in Germany; and we need only allude cursorily, as the Count does, to the acts of Joseph II., in imitation of the canons of the heretical synod of Pistoja, to which Father Dalgairns refers, as embodying the spirit of Jansenism; enforced, as they were, by the Jansenist universities of Pavia and Ricci. And even in France, although, as the Count says, "the Church appears again more powerful, more popular than at any other epoch of her modern history," the best proof of that is, not that "all powers invoke her support and sympathy," for that may be mere policy; since, as he himself says, "after the struggles that have swollen her history during the last sixty years, of all the powers which were standing in 1789, only two have gained anything, revolution and the Church;" and we may add—indeed he sufficiently shows—that Revolution has been taught by experience to seek the support of the Church. This is as much the spirit of Gallicanism as the regime of Louis XIV. It is merely making the Church serve the purposes of the State.

The best, the only proofs, however, of the triumphs of the Church are to be found in her influence on the hearts of men, and of these we find an abundance. As the Count says, "All solid faith in human authority has been uprooted." If so, then the conversion of the nation from the ancient error of nationalism is commenced, if not completed. It is not, however, as he says, the external victories which he enumerates with so much eloquence, but the *internal* movement, the conquest of souls, in which we may discover most strikingly the contrast between the present and the past. "What would it avail the Church," he asks, "to have recognized her external influence and liberty, if she were not equally victorious in them over heterodox tendencies,—the torpor and indifference of the faithful, their ignorance of or indifference to the glorious and vital powers of Catholicism?" "Now it is in this," he adds, "that the immense progress of Catholicity has been particularly displayed for the last fifty years, in the renewal of faith, the springing forth of charity." The powers which were based on policy have fallen, thrones have vanished, and dynasties have been destroyed; but

the Church, fresh in her eternal youth, has risen in her supernatural power, and has been silently working her sublime triumphs in the souls of men. "More Houses are offered to the Bishops than they can direct; to the Jesuits more pupils than they can instruct." Here are the real signs of antagonism to Jansenism, Calvinism, or Gallicanism. "The Jesuits, for the dispersion and extinction of whom every effort was excited at Rome and Paris, are now peaceably invested with the only right to which they have ever laid claim, that of devoting themselves to the salvation of souls." And what is the fruit of these claims? Not ten years have elapsed since an order was carried against them in the Chambers. Not four years have passed since a house of the Jesuits was closed by order of the present Emperor, acting quite in accordance with the traditions of Gallicanism and instincts of despotism; for if even there had been imprudence, was there not the Holy See to appeal to? But this is the essence of Gallicanism. It will act for itself, and seeks to substitute the temporal for the spiritual. Truly does the Count say, "The evil is still immense; the victims of a public education, insufficiently purified, are still too numerous; but how many sources of consolation do we find!" And then he fondly adverts to "the great associations destined solely, apart from the struggles and preoccupations of public life, to propagate the simple and severe practice of this Christian duty; and which have arisen in our own day in the midst of discouragement and apprehensions. That society of St. Vincent de Paul, the establishment of which we witnessed in 1834,—which has transformed so many thousands of students into vigilant tutors, and numbers 883 conferences, of which 500 are in France. Then, again, its rival, of still more modern date, the Arch-confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Mary, for the conversion of Sinners."

The Heart of Mary is ever near the Heart of Jesus. And now we have been brought back again to the subject of the book of Father Dalgairns,—the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It is time that we close; and how can we do so better than by recommending a work which so beautifully and powerfully advocates the devotion to that Sacred Heart, in the spirit of which devotion can alone be found the antidote for that evil spirit of egotism and self-will which is the root, whether in the individual or national mind, of the false systems of which we have been describ-

ing the rise and the results? What can subdue the spirit of self-will, which is, as the Scripture says, as the sin of witchcraft, and which is the root of bitterness, from whence has sprung such bitter fruits, but the realization of the Divine Mysteries of the Incarnation, the contemplation of a God made man, the Virgin Mother and her Creator-Child. In the words of Father Dalgairns :

“In the Incarnation what do we see but a God *in earnest* ; in earnest about the salvation of souls ; and what else can tend to make men in earnest about them ? To be thus *in earnest*, to *realize* what they profess to believe, to have *faith* in the Church, reverence for the Vicar of Christ, and fervour in interior religion,—what is this but to destroy those evil systems, and consume that evil spirit which has been among them ? And of this *earnestness*, this *fervour*, what is at once the symptom and the source but devotion to that Divine abyss of charity, the Heart of Jesus ?”

Would that we could transfer to our pages many of these fervid passages, in which the pious and zealous writer of the book we have been noticing describes this devotion, and shows how it embodies the mystery of the Incarnation, and how all the hopes of humanity are centred in the loving agonies and burning charity of that Sacred Heart.

ART. V.—*The Life and Martyrdom of Savonarola.* By R. R. MADDEN, M. R. I. A. London : Newby, 1853.

IT is the prerogative of truth to become clearer the more it is examined ; and more evident in proportion as it is opposed. As gold is refined in the fire which destroys whatever alloy of baser material may have been mixed with it, and as the diamond gains new lustre from the chafing which polishes its facets, so every renewed enquiry, every fresh and searching investigation into its details but brings forth more clearly and in greater relief the features of truth. And this prerogative of truth, which is at the same time its test, has ever distinguished the Church, which is the truth as it is in Christ. Men,

indeed, who have esteemed themselves her defenders have often ignored this fact: they have deemed that their aid was needed to shield from intruding inquiry, her whose strength, as her beauty, was from within. There have been those who have sought to stifle inquiry into the natural sciences, lest they might clash with revealed truth; and many have sought to slur over portions of history lest the follies and the crimes of her members, the dissensions amongst her brethren, the sins of some of her unworthy rulers should tarnish her fair fame, or weaken the love of her children. But in truth it is not so—the more searching the enquiry, the more clear will it be that the sins of her members affect not the Church's integrity; and that the strongest proof of the providence that watches over her is her preservation from the enemies which are of her household, or as Dr. Madden forcibly puts it—that the clearest proof that the Catholic Church is divine is, that such a Pontiff as Alexander the Sixth could not destroy it.

These remarks, though they apply preeminently to the Church, which is the everlasting truth, are also applicable with regard to the character of all truly great men; the more their lives are examined into, the more their actions are scrutinised, the more will their really great qualities be appreciated, and the smallness of those faults and imperfections from which none of the children of Adam are exempt be perceived.

Therefore is it that we rejoice to see the life of one whom we have long honoured as one of the Church's noblest champions, written by one who, like Dr. Madden, has laid down for himself as a rule to "nothing extenuate nor set down ought in malice;" and at the same time to observe as much as in him lay the canon of the father of English history (Lingard) "to take nothing on credit, but in every case to examine the original authorities for himself." *

* Dr. Madden seems to us to have carried this independence much too far, or rather to have mistaken its scope. In his preface he says, "I have abstained from consulting any persons either of the clergy or laity of any creed—resolving to think for myself, I abstained from soliciting or accepting any aid, advice, or co-operation, &c." Seeking the aid of others more learned than ourselves, with regard to facts, does not prevent us from thinking for our-

Hence Dr. Madden has produced a very valuable work, replete with information, and clearly shewing much research, and, if in the course of our remarks, we shall frequently be found to point out what we conceive to be faults of detail, it is because we deem the work worthy to be made as perfect as may be, and because we hold it to be the most valuable service which a critic can render both to the writer and the reader to point out any mistakes into which the latter may have fallen: the excellencies will approve themselves,—corrections require to be pointed out.

As in a former number of this Review we gave an historical sketch of the life of Savonarola, we shall not now repeat it here, but shall devote our attention to a brief investigation of some of the disputed points relative to his career, availing ourselves chiefly of the authorities contained in the work before us.

To judge a man rightly, he must be viewed in relation to other men, to those with whom he was associated, whom he succeeded, who followed him. The error of writers, such as Luther, Beza, and Arnold, was to associate Savonarola with men from whom he himself would have fled as from pollution; to class him with Huss and Wycliffe, with Calvin and Cranmer; to give him, so to speak, a false parentage and a race of spurious descendants. Dr. Madden's view of his character is, of course, the very reverse of theirs; but his estimate of the Monk of Ferrara, appears to us deficient in this; that he seems to look upon him too much as an isolated phenomenon, a character which has no parallel; a man who stands alone in history, who had no immediate mental ancestry, nor no mental posterity.

If, however, we examine the history of the Church from the eighth to the sixteenth century we shall find the same phenomena occurring in every age. We shall find that the world which had in vain sought to drown the nascent

self; and as one man cannot know everything, judicious information would have saved our author many a blunder in canon law, metaphysics, chronology, nay in Latin, Italian, and even English, and deprived the critic of half his pabulum of faults. As well might a writer refuse to read other writers, as refuse to consult living authorities with regard to facts and references. His *facts* cannot be his own unless he invent them; his *opinions* should be.

Church of Christ in the blood of martyrs, changed her tactics and sought to stifle the life of the Church in her own insidious embraces. Whom the sword had failed to extirpate she sought to corrupt with gold; and kings and princes were her ready instruments, and not least those who vauntingly professed themselves the patrons of the Church; and the weak sons of the Church unwittingly betrayed her, and the false sold her into bondage; and the great sin against the Holy Ghost infested the militant body of the Church like a leprosy, and seemed to defy all efforts for its complete eradication. And during all these ages of struggle and of contest God raised up into himself faithful witnesses, who took up each in his day the song of exhortation, and of warning, and of denunciation against all the scandals which stained the garments of the spouse of Christ; but more especially against the leprosy of simony, until that great evil, which saint after saint had preached against, which pope after pope had striven with, which council after council had denounced, finally received its death blow in the great Tridentine council.

The Church had hardly seen, for the first time, the purple of the Cæsars subdued to the cross of Christ, when the great Archbishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, raised his voice against the corruptions which had already commenced to rush in upon the Church. It were tedious to enumerate the long train of prophets who took up the same strain, and who number in their ranks St. Peter Damian, St. Bernard, the great Hildebrand, St. Catherine of Sienna, and a hundred others, till as the line commenced in Milan, so it may be said to have closed there when the successor of St. Ambrose, the great St. Charles, saw that plague against which this lengthened war had been waged finally rooted out by that great council at which he assisted, and whose reformatory decrees he was the first to carry into execution.

And, as a battle waxes fiercer as it draws to a close, and the tempest about to cease puts forth all its strength, so the period of the Church's hottest trial was the close of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century, those years which preceded the great disciplinary reformation and renovation of Trent. And it was in that hour of darkness that Savonarola preached, and taught, and struggled for that reform of discipline which

he knew would come, albeit it would be when his eyes had closed in death.

We need hardly tell our readers that the character of Savonarola has been very differently estimated by different Catholic writers, (for we need not trouble ourselves with the theories of a certain class of Protestants from Beza to Whiteside,) yet we believe that few, if any, who have attentively studied his life in his own writings, and those of his contemporaries, have formed any but a favourable estimate of it.

The first question which arises is naturally one with regard to his personal character. Was he really pious, humble, and devout? or was he a hypocrite putting on the mask of piety in order to attain ambitious or sensual ends?

Dr. Madden rests the issue chiefly on the intrinsic evidence of his writings; and we believe that no one could carefully study them and the times and circumstances of their composition, and believe the writer to be a hypocrite or a proud deceiver. But it is by no means necessary to rest our estimate of Jerome's character on internal evidence alone; the evidence of his contemporaries and those who lived immediately after him is equally favourable. Burlamachi, J. F. Picus della Mirandola, Fra Benedetto, Nardi, Machiavelli, Cardinal del Rovere, afterwards Julius the Second, who were his contemporaries all bear the highest testimony to his piety; and Pope Paul the Third, the blessed Colomba of Perugia, Benedict the Fourteenth, St. Catherine of Ricci, and St. Philip Neri, all esteemed him as a saintly man and an illustrious servant of God. On the other hand, of his contemporaries, the courtly Burchardt, Paulus Jovius, Ambrosius Politus, John Poggius, and Alexander the Sixth, are the only ones who impugn his motives or his character, and they have been followed by many Protestant writers, and some few Catholics of no great note. There can be no question then as to which side the weight of evidence is on, the good and holy ever loved and revered Jerome, the lukewarm, the venial, the bad, reviled and accused him. From his earliest youth Jerome had grieved over the flood of iniquity which covered the earth, and over the evils which oppressed the Church. Nothing can be more touching than the lament contained in those verses written in his early youth, which are entitled *De Ruina Ecclesiæ*, especially that stanza in which he repre-

sents the Church as mourning over the introduction of ambition in ecclesiastical dignities into Rome.

“Cosi diss’io alla pia Madre antica,
Pel gran disio che ho di pianger sempre ;
E lei, che par che gli occhi mai tempre,
Col viso chino e l’anima pudica,
La man mi porse, e alla sua mendica
Spelonca mi condusse lacrimando.”

“E quivi disse : Quando
Io vidi a Roma entrar quella superba, *
Che va tra fiori e l’erba,
Securamente, mi ristinse alquanto
Ove io conduco la mia vita in pianto ?”

“The ancient, holy mother I addressed,
Made, with accustomed sadness, my demand,
And she, likewise, with sorrows long oppressed,
Tho’ poor, most pitiful, now pressed my hand,
And deigned e’en while she wept thus to respond.”

“When I see Pride on holy ground intrude,
And worldly schemes by sacred persons planned,
My wearied spirit sinks, its strength subdued,
But theirs, with greater courage, seems to be imbued.”

We give the translation as we find it in the work before us, but it by no means fully expresses the meaning of the original.

That early sorrow clung to him to the last ; relieved, however, by the belief that God in His mercy would in His own good time hear the prayers of His Church and purify her from scandals. And, if in his weary and protracted combat against evil, Jerome ever erred in moderation or in prudence, or if in denouncing the sin he forgot the observance due to the position of the sinner, he might well plead in excuse that it was zeal for his Master’s honour that hurried him away. Imperfections do not hinder men from being great or saintly, as the last Dominican biographer of Jerome says : “Hanno anche gli uomini grandi i loro falli, ma non cessano perciò d’essere ammirandi, sempre, che le parti buoni transcendono da lunga mano le ree ; non essendo concesso ad alcuno rivestito della misera creta di Adamo andare affatto immune dalla fralezza che l’accompagna.”—*Marchese*. A sentence

* L’ambizione delle dignità ecclesiastiche.”—*Nota auctoris*.

which seems to us to sum up the character of the great Dominican of Ferrara.

We shall not delay here to vindicate Jerome from the silly accusations of those who would make him out a Protestant, since every line of his writings proves his invincible attachment to the Catholic Church; but as he has occasionally been supposed by Catholic writers liable to the imputation of having supported heresy, it may be well briefly to examine the charge. The only distinct charge of the sort against him is to be found in Burchardt, who states that he was accused of teaching the following heretical propositions.

“1. The Church of God needs a reform.

“2. The Church of God will be afflicted.

“3. The Church of God will be renewed.

“4. Florence also, after the affliction, will be renewed.

“5. And afterwards it was to be hoped the infidels would be converted to Christ.

“6. All those things would happen in our days.

“7. The excommunication lately fulminated against Savonarola was null and of no effect, and those who disregarded it did not sin.”—Diary, p. 47.

Now it is manifest that of these only the first and third are in any way susceptible of an heretical meaning; and these only on the supposition that, by saying that the Church of God needed a reform and a renewal, Jerome meant a reform of doctrine, and not that reform of discipline and practice which the reformatory canons of the Council of Trent were intended to effect. The latter, moreover was manifestly his meaning. He again and again reiterated that the Church could not err, that her teaching was infallible, both in doctrine and in morals,* but that her ministers were sometimes guilty of great crimes, and that licence prevailed even in her high places; and this was what had been reiterated by St. Bernard, St. Anselm, and St. Catherine of Sienna.

The last proposition may indeed have been erroneous, but can in no sense be considered heretical: but we intend to discuss the whole question of the excommunication a little later.

Even in Jerome's lifetime the objects he aimed at in the reform he preached in Florence, and the motives which

* See the “*Triumphus Crucis*,” *passim*, and ap. Marchese, p. 124.

impelled him to it were but imperfectly understood; and since then few of his biographers seem fully to have appreciated the question; even Dr. Madden seems to us hardly to have placed before his readers, as clearly as might be wished, the circumstances of the times which formed the justification of Jerome's conduct. Thus he speaks of him as though he held the opinions advanced by the Abbè Gaume, in his "Ver rongeur," that the use of the classics at all tends to corrupt the mind, and that they should be banished from Christian education. But this theoretic objection to the use of classical authors and classical literature and art is nowhere to be found in the writings of Jerome. His great master, St. Thomas Aquinas, had shown a far other system when, to use the expression of his own day, he Christianized Aristotle, and applied all the subtleties of his logic to the demonstration of the truths of Catholicity; so Jerome well understood how to apply to the uses of truth the weapons which were to be found in the armoury of the ancients; and he did so in due season; but different circumstances require a different line of action, and to appreciate the course he pursued in Florence we must understand the situation of society, and more particularly of society in Florence at that time.

Throughout the Christian world, and particularly in Italy, the fifteenth century had ushered in an era of relaxed morality and decayed religious fervour. The causes of this were multiform, but the most remarkable ones are well pointed out by Marchese (p. 102) to have been the great schism of the West, and the removal of the seat of the papacy to Avignon. The latter, by rendering the popes in some measure dependant on the kings of France, diminished their power to control the clergy, and diverted their attention from the government of the Church to intrigues of state; the former utterly destroyed all ecclesiastical discipline throughout a great part of Europe, and left the flock a prey to ravening wolves in the guise of shepherds. The people were dissolute, bloody and corrupt, and God in His justice inflicted on them that greatest of curses, a bad priesthood. European society was deeply tainted and demoralized when the destruction of the eastern empire, combined with other circumstances, to introduce a greater knowledge of the literature of Greece and Rome, and a more familiar acquaintance with the arts

of those former masters of the world. And society did, as all living bodies do, it assimilated the new food to its own nature; and what a healthy, Christian, and God-fearing society would have derived edification from and turned to the glory of God, it converted into a source of scandal and a worship of the devil, even as the diseased body converts healthful food into aliment for its disorder. Those who hated the God of Calvary because He was contrary to their works, were rejoiced to meet with the gods of Olympus; those who could not bear to read the Scriptures, or the Fathers, because their writings condemned the vices they practised, delighted to be able to assign as a reason for their neglect, the uncouth language in which, as they alleged, such unpalatable precepts were couched; and to be able to study and imitate writers whom they admired, not so much for the real beauties of their style as for the laxness of their morals. And as example is contagious, numbers even who had not such strong reasons for their conduct were carried away by the prevailing fashion of the day, and were as vehement classicists as those whose actions, as well as their language, savoured of the latter days of Rome. In a word, it was the popular idea of the age; just as liberalism is now, and the devil turned it to his advantage just as he strives now to pervert liberality and enlightenment to his own purposes.

It is difficult to form an adequate idea even after a lengthened acquaintance with the authors of that day; it is still more difficult to convey to others by a few quotations, an adequate idea how extensively vice had obtained possession of the public mind under the guise of classicism. It was not merely that the most lascivious of the ancient writers were chosen in preference; that Cicero, that Tacitus, that Demosthenes, that Homer and Virgil, were neglected for Apuleius, for Tibullus and Propertius; and that the pedants of that day exercised themselves in imitations of those writers which resembled the originals in nothing but their lasciviousness;* that artists were encouraged to ape the indecorousness of ancient art, whilst they neglected its beauties; that even clergymen and monks were sanctioned in using language, provided it were classical, unbecoming not merely priests, but Christian laymen.

* See the poems of Lorenzo de Medici, in Roscoe's Life.

It was that vice with a classic mask was exalted and virtue despised, because it was not draped in a toga.

And the tyrants of the hour who knew that liberty flourishes with piety, and that vice enervates a population, and paves the way for its subjugation, were not slow to perceive the advantages they might derive from the bent of the popular mind. They proclaimed themselves the protectors of classic studies—the Mæcenases of literary men, but it was on condition that they should be so many fawning pseudo-Horaces to mock-Cæsars; artists were patronised, but they might only sculpture lascivious Ledas, or ministering Ganymedes; their chisel might not dare to form the menacing form of a Cato, or an Harmodius. Historians and poets were salaried, but they might be only panegyrists. The stern eloquence of Tacitus, or Thucydides, might not be heard in the presence of those who imitated Nero and Dionysius, nor might the strains of Tyrtæus be sung in Florence under the Medician yoke. The soft notes of Morganti replaced the stern strains of Dante, and even the subtle secretary of Florence had been forced to veil his meaning in enigmas when he would depict the tyranny of the Italian despots.

Foremost in this revival of classical vice were the Medici: they were not content with the influence of their own personal bad example, but by the solemn institution of *canti carnescialeschi*, they sought to familiarize the people with vice.* These *canti carnescialeschi* were poems generally of burlesque mythology, which were acted through the streets in solemn procession: the subjects chosen were such as the triumphs of Bacchus and Ariadne, and other amatory and lascivious subjects of mythology. The results of such teaching may be seen in Boccaccio's tales.†

* Madden, vol. i. p. 368.

† To prove that we have not exaggerated the encouragement given by the Medici to licentiousness, it is only necessary to refer to the poems of Lorenzo, selected by his panegyrist, Roscoe, and given in the appendix to his Life. Not only are the amours of Venus and Mars celebrated in a style which shames Ovid (*Amori di Venere e Marte*). Not only does he address a married woman (and he reminds her of the fact) in strains of the grossest licentiousness ("Elegia"), but he parodies the most sacred truths of religion, in the "confessione" and the "Sette allegrezze d'amore." The last-named poem, which can find a parallel in grossness only amongst

Such, then, was the state of things in Florence when Jerome began to preach a reform; classicism was used as a cloak and a justification of immorality; and the Medici, the heads of the classicists, were the avowed patrons of vice.

Jerome, from the first, saw that no terms could be held with such a world of debauchery; that no partial remedies could affect the evil; that, to use the phrase of his own country, he must "break with the vizor down" with vice and its abettors. He was not blind to the consequences which would follow such a course: the world, which was steeped in vice, was to be aroused; and the world would hate the voice of him that startled it from its lethargy. The great ones of the city who patronized vice were to be denounced, and they would persecute him who dared to denounce them. His task was like to that of the prophets of old when they denounced the impending woes to the house of Israel; and his reward was to be like theirs, to seal his testimony with his blood. It was this abnormal state of society which induced Jerome to adopt a strange and unwonted line of conduct, and which forms his justification. Whilst vice remains in private, and pays to virtue the tribute of hypocrisy, the minister of religion may content himself with preaching against immorality in general, and with private exhortations; but when vice glories in its infamy, and proclaims its shame; when the bad openly advocate a wrong, and justify a scandal, it is mere timidity which would induce the preacher to shrink from the application of the sentence to him who has himself proclaimed his guilt. Hence that directness of invective and pointedness of appeal which characterized the discourses of Jerome, and which his contemporaries, who would have easily brooked tame generalities, complain of; nay, in cases of public scandal, as in that of the wife of Bentivoglio, in Bologna (Marchese, p. 110), he did not hesitate to denounce the individuals by name. But it was when he was appointed prior of St. Mark that Jerome was called upon most clearly to choose between the friendship of the great ones of the day, and the duty he owed to God; and as the circumstances have been much misunderstood, we think it well briefly to place them before our readers.

the worst excesses of poor Beranger, was written for one of the *canti carnescialeschi*, as appears by the two last lines.

“Savonarola was no sooner made prior of St. Mark, than he was informed that it was a customary thing with the superiors of all convents in Florence, on their appointment to the office of prior or head of their respective houses, to pay a formal visit to Lorenzo de Medici, as a recognition of his legitimate authority in his capacity of head of the republic, and for the purpose of recommending to his protection their several convents.”—Madden, vol. i. p. 127.

Two considerations must at once have struck the mind of Jerome: first, that though he had hitherto, as a private citizen, and one from his profession averse to politics, been content to obey the laws and submit to the existing authorities without question, yet that this formal visit would be an explicit recognition of an authority which he believed in his conscience to be an usurpation and a wrong: secondly, and this was more serious still, that Lorenzo was the avowed patron of that licentiousness which he (Jerome) was occupied in preaching against; and that consequently if he approached him it must be to remonstrate with him; otherwise it might justly be said, this man, indeed, preaches against the licentiousness of Florence, but he is the courtier and the parasite of him who is its leader; he, indeed, denounces vice, but he receives gifts from its patron; if, indeed, he seeks to reform society, let him begin with its apex; let him show that his eloquence does not basely flatter the leader whilst it scathes his followers. Under these circumstances Jerome determined on a line of conduct consistent alike with justice and prudence; he knew that to remonstrate with Lorenzo would be vain; he could not flatter him; he resolved to be silent and to avoid him. And when the brethren remonstrated with him, he answered, “Who has elected me prior? God or Lorenzo?” to which they replied, “God.” Then said he, “It is, my Lord, my God whom I wish to thank, not mortal men.” Yet it is remarkable that he is not accused even by his enemies of a word of invective against Lorenzo; and it was only when the latter, who could not bear the implied censure of Jerome’s silence, had sent to him again and again to corrupt or threaten him, that he uttered to Lorenzo’s five friends the memorable words, “Say to Lorenzo di Medici, that he is a Florentine, and the first man in the city, and I am a stranger, and a poor friar. Nevertheless, tell him that it is he who has to go from hence, and that it is I who have to stay. He shall go, and I shall remain.”

There is another point in Jerome's relations to the Medici which we have as yet only lightly touched upon. It is his opinion of the authority they claimed in Florence. Born and reared in a free state, and nurtured in the doctrine of St. Thomas, who set so high a value on freedom and free institutions, Jerome esteemed freedom as the highest earthly blessing, and valued a free government as the noblest of human institutions, and the most calculated to make men virtuous and happy here, and to promote, indirectly indeed, but powerfully, what he valued above all earthly things, their eternal happiness. Yet he had seen the free institutions of Florence gradually undermined and destroyed by the Medici, and a despotism of corruption substituted in their place. It is difficult enough, at this distance of time, to trace accurately the steps of this process; but it is tolerably clear that at the time of the siege of Volterra, 1475, a free government still existed in Florence; and that the institution of the council of Seventy by Lorenzo some years before his death, in 1492, by changing the fundamental law of the republic, was the death-blow of its freedom. What was Jerome's conduct during this time? Whilst he withheld, as we have seen, from a formal acknowledgment of the authority of Lorenzo, he, at the same time, refrained from taking any part against it, and confined himself to the immediate duties of his ministry. But other times were approaching in which it would be impossible for him to preserve this neutrality; and it may be as well to examine what were his opinions with regard to clerics taking part in politics. Dr. Madden has expressed his own views on the matter in the form of a series of interrogations (vol. i. p. 214), and they are plainly the same as Jerome held. That whilst the interference in political affairs of ecclesiastics and religious for party purposes, for the sake of notoriety, for the sake of popularity, for the sake of gain, is utterly incompatible with their vocation, and whilst, under ordinary circumstances, they should confine themselves to the more special duties of their ministry, and leave the cares of government to its secular ministers, interfering only by their counsels in favour of humanity, justice, and the interests of the poor, yet that at all times their interference in matters which concern religion and the eternal welfare of the people, is a duty; and that circumstances may and do arise which may

render their direct interference even in affairs of secular government, not only lawful, but obligatory.

Far other are the opinions of those who would, in modern fashionable language, relegate the action of religion and its ministers to a purely spiritual sphere, forgetting that in this mixed world there is no such sphere of action, and that this would be, in fact, to deliver over the government of the world and of men to the spirit of evil, forgetting that usurpation and tyranny are crimes; that the enactment of unjust laws or the unjust administration of lawful ones are sins; that it is the duty of religion and its ministers to direct the consciences of men; and of conscience, to direct their acts as well with regard to governments and to nations as to individuals; and that to banish religion from all government would be to banish conscience and justice. Far different were the opinions of Savonarola: he had shown under Lorenzo how he could submit in silence to the evils under which his country suffered, and content himself with praying for her welfare. But when, in 1494, Charles the Seventh, the victorious king of France, advanced against Florence, and Pietro de Medici, who had succeeded to the usurped authority of his father, and had, by entering into an alliance against the French king, drawn his anger on the city, endeavoured to conciliate to himself Charles by abandoning the Florentines, and surrendering five of their strongest fortresses to him, then, indeed, Jerome threw himself into the breach, or, in the words of Scripture, *subvenit ruinæ populi sui*. (Madden and Marchese.) The French were advancing rapidly against Florence, when the magistracy, in their distress, turned their eyes on him who had foretold their present misfortunes, and besought Jerome to go on an embassy to Charles, to make terms for the devoted city; he consented, and such was his first interference in politics. Subsequently, when Pietro de Medici, after concluding his traitorous treaty with Charles, by which he agreed to betray to him the Florentine fortresses (hoping in return to be supported in making himself tyrant of Florence), returned to the city he had betrayed, the indignant people expelled him, and sacked his palace, recalled the Pazzi and Neroni, and restored their ancient form of republican government. In all these tumults Jerome took no part (Madden, vol. i. p. 205); but when the French king returned to Florence, and that city was again menaced

with destruction, he exerted himself to call the people to repentance, and to plead their cause with Charles. How in the hour of her sorest need the poor friar stood between his country and destruction, is so well told by Dr. Madden that we must give it in his own words. Charles had determined to give up Florence to be sacked by his soldiers during the night; it was within two hours of the appointed time, when the Signoria learned the dreadful news. Stunned and bewildered, they were as men deprived of judgment, till some one suggested, "Go to the servant of God, Fra Girolamo." Instantly they hastened to the convent of St. Mark, although it was advanced in the night, to beseech him to devise some means of saving the unconscious citizens from impending death.

"There was one person, whoever it is to be believed, was not altogether unconscious of that danger, not apprised of it, like Capponi, by mortal man, and that person was praying to God to avert it. When the deputation arrived, Savonarola with his brethren were praying in the choir. Desiring them to continue in prayer, and taking for his companion Fra T. Bussini, he proceeded immediately to the palace of the Medici, where the king lodged, and having arrived at the entrance of the palace, he encountered the first sentinel, who said to him, 'Where are you going? Go back, you cannot enter here or have an audience.' The barons who were about the king had directed that no one should enter, in order that their designs might not be interrupted. The father then seeing that it was impossible to gain admission, and that the time was spent in vain, quickly returned to the convent, and gave himself up with great fervour and concentration of spirit to prayer. After some time he felt himself inwardly illuminated, and with the ears of the heart he heard a voice, saying, 'Return! return! you shall enter.' Turning to his companion (the friar) he said, 'Let us go back to the palace, for there I have to confer with the king.' The citizens who were present wondered very much at this. They returned with him to the palace, where the king was. The father advanced to the entrance alone; he was at once admitted, and quickly passing the second and third sentinel, he was conducted before the king, who was in his chamber, all armed, and ready to put in execution his most nefarious design. When he observed the servant of God, he looked at him for a little, and, according to the custom of the kings of France, he rose up to salute him. The servant of God took a small crucifix which he always carried about him, and advancing, he held it up to the lips of the king, saying, 'This represents the Christ who made heaven and earth; respect not me, but respect Him. He is the King of kings, the Lord of lords, who causes the earth to tremble, and gives victory to princes according to His plea-

sure and His justice. He punishes and brings ruin on impious and unjust kings, and will destroy you and all your army if you do not desist from such cruelty as you meditate, and abandon the design you have formed against this city. Otherwise, there being in this city so many friends and servants of God, and so many innocent souls engaged night and day in praising His Majesty, their cries will ascend to the throne of God, and confusion and destruction will fall on all your army. Let it suffice you to have the hearts of the Florentines. Leave, then, your most cruel and impious purpose, meditated against an innocent and most faithful people.' This and more said he, and with such ardour and efficacy did he speak, that those present were filled with dread. The king, with his ministers, began to weep."—(Madden, vol. i. p. 206.—We have a little abridged the passage.)

Florence was saved. And we may well believe that within her walls that night there were none found to speak of the unlawfulness of religious men interfering in secular affairs. Florence was now, however, almost without a government; the ancient constitution had perished under the Medici, and the times were little propitious to the growth of a stable government. Something however must be done, and in their trouble the new magistrates turned to Savonarola, and besought his advice. He believed the pressing need of the new republic justified him in mixing in her secular affairs; and from this time forth he was ever engaged, more or less, in aiding in the government of the city by his counsels, although he never held any office. It is difficult to form an impartial opinion on the prudence of the steps he advocated; that he was ever guided by a sense of justice is clear; that his reforms were extreme is probable; certain it is that the enemies of Florentine freedom ever considered Jerome as their greatest obstacle, and his destruction essential to its subjugation; and there is every reason to believe their opinion well founded. It is also worthy of remark, that those who desired the destruction of the Florentine liberties, sought to attain their object by urging the doctrine that all interference in secular affairs was strictly forbidden to religious men; "those who would ravage the sheep-fold," as Jerome said, sought to muzzle the dogs." Thus, when in the Gonfaloniership of Filippo Corbizzi, Jerome was accused before the Signoria, he was accused, not of having preached false doctrine, but of having meddled in the civil government of that city—a thing

which they affirmed from the authority of the sacred Scriptures and the fathers was strictly prohibited to the ministers of the sanctuary.”—(Marchese, p. 117.) Jerome’s answer was triumphant. He began by reminding them that in every age religious men had, in time of need, interfered, where charity required it, in secular affairs. That in the thirteenth century brother Nicholas Malabranca had been sent by Pope Nicholas III. as ambassador to the Florentines, and had done much service to the city; that in the fourteenth St. Catherine of Sienna had, at the urgent request of the magistracy and whole commonwealth of Florence, gone as their ambassador to the Pope at Avignon; nay, that a very few years before, their sainted Archbishop, St. Antoninus, had himself interfered in the government of their city. He pointed out how he himself had interfered only when called upon by the magistracy and the people in their need; and he recalled to their recollection that fearful night in which destruction hung over their city; when their magistrates were as men without counsel, and their strong men were as water, and asked who there was that then spoke of the unlawfulness of his interference in secular affairs. Alas! this theory of modern liberalism, of the relegation of religion to its own domain, and its banishment from all interference in secular government is nothing new. King John no doubt held the interference of Archbishop Langton, at Runnymede, to be most pernicious meddling of ecclesiastics in secular government; no doubt the emperor, Henry IV., of Germany, when he wanted to divorce his wife, and oppress his vassals, considered the interference of the Pope a mischievous interference with his prerogative: and now the doctrine comes back to us from republican America, where we hear of relegating the ministers of religion to their own sphere, and prohibiting their taking any part in secular affairs, lest they may denounce the iniquities of slavery, or canvass the obligation of laws made by the secular authority “in its own sphere,” which violate the laws of God.

The gravest question for Catholics with regard to Savonarola, and the one which has given rise to most controversy, is his opposition to Pope Alexander the Sixth. In discussing his conduct in relation to this Pontiff, it is most necessary to distinguish accurately the different transactions, and, so to speak, steps of the proceeding, so as to

separate those portions of Jerome's conduct which are clearly blameless from those that are of doubtful correctness; and again, the latter from such as may be considered deserving of blame; and finally, in regard to the whole, it is never to be forgotten that most unusual allowance must be made for actions occurring in a state of things such as the Church had never before seen, and such as we trust, in the mercy of God, she may never see again.

As to two modern writers against whose attacks Dr. Madden defends Savonarola, we think argument is scarcely needed. Mr. Brownson, with the dogmatism which characterizes his writings, and which led him to brand, of his own mere authority, as heretical, the writings of one of the greatest of modern divines,* although those writings had passed unscathed the ordeal of Rome, has in one sentence declared that "Savonarola lost his faith and virtue;" yet as he does not condescend to adduce any proof when he thus calumniates the dead, and as the infallibility of the "Quarterly" is not recognized at least on this side of the Atlantic, we may be content to hold the same opinion as the humble St. Philip Neri, though it differs from that of the great editor of the "Quarterly."

As to Mr. Brownson's dictum, that he "has yet to see full evidence that any pope, after he became pope, was a very bad man," of course it is incontrovertible, for he adds, with regard to the testimony, or what he calls the concessions, of certain Catholic historians, "we protested against them as unwarranted by the facts of the case." Now the testimony which he thus rejects is the evidence of contemporary Catholic historians, as to the facts which occurred within their own knowledge, and, of course, if Mr. Brownson knows what occurred in their own days better than Machiavelli, Corio, Burchardt, Mirandola, Julian del Rovere, and others, there is no disputing his conclusions, he is at once evidence and judge. Besides, who shall say what Mr. Brownson would consider a *very bad man*. To be sure his contemporaries unanimously accuse Alexander the Sixth of simony, but even were he to admit for a moment their evidence as to the fact, he might deny that that would prove him a *very bad man*.

* Dr. Newman.

As to Rohrbacher and Jorry's* sort of half defence of Alexander the Sixth, and semi-condemnation of Jerome, they hardly needed notice; both these writers, with that timid charity which shrinks from calling vice in high places by its true name, speak of Alexander with bated breath and ambiguous phrases. Rohrbacher, after mentioning his crimes, says, "la conduite d'Alexander VI. n'etait pas bien edificante." Jorry says, "But even if Alexander the Sixth had all the vices with which he had been charged, these vices would be counterbalanced to a certain extent by the brilliant qualities which distinguished him." Alas! brilliant qualities will avail little at the judgment seat of God to palliate crimes. But as neither of these writers seriously discuss the facts of the history, or bring forward any specific charges against Jerome, their testimony is of little weight.

With regard to the accusations against Jerome, that he attacked the Pope in his writings, and denounced the vices which disgraced the court of Rome, we need not seek for a precedent and a defence. Respect to the office of chief pastor has never prevented the servants of God from admonishing, and that with an apostolic freedom, the successors of St. Peter of their short-comings. What can be more pointed than the remonstrances of St. Bernard to Pope Eugenius the Fourth.

"Where shall I begin?" he says in one place. "I will begin with your worldly affairs, because it is with regard to this I participate most deeply in your grief, if indeed it be a grief to you; and if not, then is my sorrow only the greater, since the disease is even the more perilous for him by whom the sickness is not felt. What can be at once more slavish and more unseemingly a Pope, than to be employed, not only every day, but every hour, in such matters and for such men?"†

Similar was the language held by the blessed James da Todi to Boniface the Eighth; even sterner were the remonstrances of St. Catherine of Sienna to Gregory the Eleventh, and Urban the Sixth. Nay, in Jerome's own lifetime the blessed Colomba da Rieti wrote in a strain of stern expostulation to Alexander the Sixth. Yet could Jerome safely say that in preaching against vice he had

* See Madden, vol. i. p. 182 et seq.

† Ap. Madden, vol. i. p. 359.

never forgotten the regard due to the person of the Pontiff, or to his office, and that respect he repeatedly expresses in his correspondence with Alexander the Sixth, as may be seen in the extracts given by Dr. Madden.

When Alexander first interfered in reference to the conduct of Jerome in Florence, he contented himself with requiring him to come to Rome to answer certain charges which had been made against him, on the score of novelty in his style of preaching, and this citation Jerome professed himself ready to obey, although at the same time he gave some reasons why it would not be safe for him at the time to undertake that journey; with these reasons Alexander declared himself satisfied, and allowed Jerome to continue preaching.* And it is here well to observe that Jerome never disputed the authority of the Church in morals as well as in faith, and of the Pope as its head: this is evident from many passages, as well as the following taken from his latest work.

“Ne si puo dire rationabilmente che Christo sia cosi capo della chiesa, che essendo asceso in cielo la habbia lasciata in terra, senza altro capo, perche da questo ne nascera grande divisione et confusione in ipsa: perche le varie opinioni circa la fede e circa il ben vivere Christiano non si potria determinare, non si sapiendo a quale sententia si avessi a stare.”—Triumphus Crucis.

“Nor can it reasonably be said, that Christ is in such a sense the head of the Church; that ascending into heaven, He left it on earth without other head, for from this great divisions and confusion would arise in it, because the various opinions concerning matters of faith and of *Christian morals* could not be decided, since it could not be known what decision should be followed.”

.. And again from his letter to Alexander.

“Dignetur sanctitas vestra mihi communicare quod ex omnibus quæ dixi et scripsi sit revocandum, et ego et libentissime faciam, nam hac vice et semper, ut dixi et scripsi me ipsum et omnia mea dicta subijcio correctioni.”†

“Let your Holiness deign to inform me, what of all which I have spoken or written should be recalled, and most willingly will I recal it; for now and always, as I have said and written, I submit myself and all that I have ever said to correction.”

This was in 1496, and licence was given him by the Pope to preach the Lent of that year in Florence; this

* See Madden, vol. i. p. 417.

† Hist. Savon. ap. Madden, vol. i. p. 419.

licence was some months after withdrawn, and in October 1496 he received another citation to Rome, and a brief was addressed to the superiors of St. Mark's, stating that authority had been given to the vicar general of the Lombard congregation of his order, to inquire into the matter, but that in the meantime Jerome was to abstain from preaching. Jerome had, however, in the meantime learned much that tended to change his opinion of Alexander the Sixth. He had formerly looked on him as the undoubted successor of St. Peter, and his authority as indisputable, although in his, Jerome's, own case, Alexander was misinformed and unjust. But he learned from the cardinal of St. Peter in vinculis, Julian del Rovere, that grave doubts were entertained of the validity of Alexander's election, that there was undoubted evidence of its having been procured by simony,* and that he and many other cardinals were seeking his deposition as unduly elected, and were for this purpose labouring to have a general council called. Jerome was easily led to embrace these views; he saw the evil under which the Church groaned, he could see no appropriate remedy, and he was induced to write letters to the emperor of Germany, to the kings of France, Spain, England, and Hungary, urging them to depose Alexander the Sixth, and, at the same time, he persuaded himself that he was not bound to obey the commands of one whom he looked on as no true pope. We are not seeking to justify Jerome's conduct in these matters, we are only pointing out the circumstances which seemed to justify it in his own eyes, and which forms a palliation such as no other case perhaps can present. In truth, had the election of Alexander the Sixth been originally void for simony, it would be difficult to say that it had not been ratified by the subsequent consent of the cardinals; and the Cardinal del Rovere and his friends seem to have tacitly admitted this, as on their supposition that Alexander never was duly elected, the chair of Peter was vacant, and the cardinals might at once proceed to a new election, a proceeding which they never ventured to propose. On the other hand, as the Pope alone can summon a general council, no council called by the princes could lawfully depose Alexander.

* Cardinal del Rovere, when himself Pope under the title of Julius III., obtained a decree to be passed, declaring any election to the Papacy, vitiated by simony, to be void ab initio.

But above all, as no individual may lawfully disobey the commands of a duly constituted authority, nor even those of an authority which, however defective, *bona fide* exists, although he may seek to have its incompetency declared, Jerome was clearly bound to obey the prohibition to preach, until either Alexander could be got to retract it, or until he were lawfully deposed. Our opinion, then, fully coincides with that of the learned father Marchese, where he sums up by saying,

“Adunque il giorno 11 di Febrajo, 1497, domenica della settuagesima Fra Girolamo, con aperto trapassamento d'un divieto, che comunque fosse ei dovea sempre rispettare, ascese nuovamente il pergamo di S. Maria del fiore.”—p. 140.

“Thus, the 11th of February, 1497, Septuagesima Sunday, Fra Girolamo, in open violation of a command that he should, under every circumstance, have respected, ascended anew the pulpit of Sta Maria del fiore.”

This was the one fault of which he was guilty, and it was only when, in consequence of his ceasing to preach, vice had again raised its head in Florence, and at the urgent request of the Signoria that he thus violated the duty of obedience; and as Paulus Bernardinus, in his defence of Savonarola, justly remarks, he could not be accounted a schismatic; as he never denied the supreme authority of the Pope, but at the most as pertinacious and obstinate.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain with perfect exactness all the grounds upon which Jerome himself would have sought to justify his disregard of the prohibition to preach. When he was on his pretended trial, he was not asked for any defence on this head, since even if he admitted his error in this matter, it would not have justified his death, and his enemies, who sought his blood, were contented with such charges only as, (though false,) were calculated to ensure his destruction. It is very remarkable that the only fault which could justly be charged on Jerome, seems hardly to have been alluded to in his process of condemnation. We are, therefore, left to gather his own defence from the expressions he used in his sermons subsequent to that fatal Septuagesima. From all these we plainly see that he felt the difficulty of defending himself, but that at the same time he was worked up to such a state of excitement, that he no longer judged coolly

his own position. In several instances he alludes to the invalidity of Alexander's authority as a ground for disregarding it. (Madden, vol. i, pp. 432-9.) Again, he alleges that the Pope's sentence being manifestly founded on misrepresentation, might be considered as null, (Sermon of 18th Feb., 1498. Madden, p. 440,) overlooking the fact that the permission to disregard the orders of authority when manifestly founded on a mistake, only applies to cases of necessity, and until the authority can be informed of its error. In this sermon, and also in the one preached on the text "Etenim oportet obedire Deo magis quam hominibus," (Madden, p. 424,) he rests his defence on other ground; he says, "On all occasions when it can be obviously seen that the commands of superiors are contrary to the commandments of God, and especially the precepts of charity, none should obey in such a case." It was, however, a manifestly forced interpretation, to allege that the command not to preach was contrary to the commandments of God, or that there was any positive obligation of charity to preach in opposition to authority. Fourthly, in the sermon of the 18th May, (Madden, p. 428,) he rests his defence on the direct internal command of God.

"Know, then, that I have ascended the pulpit to obey Him who is the Prelate of all prelates, the Supreme Pontiff of all Popes, and who makes known to me what is contrary to His will, and in nature opposed to it."

This is a ground which in his cooler judgment Jerome himself would have condemned; it was a claim to a particular inspiration, which could not be sustained, and which was disproved by the very fact of the admissions extorted from him by the torture of the rack, since had he been directly inspired by God, God would not have suffered human weakness to retract one word of that which He had directly inspired.

But whilst we thus admit Jerome's fault of disobedience, it must never be forgotten that it was not for this that he was condemned and burnt on the piazza of the Pallazzo Vecchio, that it was on false accusations of heresy and schism, and on perjured testimony and the falsified documents forged by the notary, Francesco de Arone, and that, therefore, the guilt of all concerned in his death is not the least diminished, nor the sentence

pronounced against him one whit less unjust and unfounded.

The latter part of Dr. Madden's twenty-first chapter (vol. 1.) is employed in examining the lawfulness of Savonarola's opposition to the excommunication. And "in stating the opinions of Catholic persons of high authority on the subject of the power exercised by the Popes in regard to excommunication, and the right of questioning or resisting that power," unfortunately he mixes up with it a deal of utterly irrelevant matter relating to a wholly different subject, the infallibility of the Church, of general councils, and of popes in relation to matters of faith, and this very loosely selected, from the popular explanations of Dr. Doyle, in his essay on the Catholic Claims, and the scholastic treatises of Melchior Cano, and Devoti. With similar looseness of reasoning he says of Alexander the Sixth, that his "was an authority, but was it of that kind which St. Paul deems entitled to obedience?" And then quotes, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but from God, and those that are, are ordained of God. —obey your prelates and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls." But immediately adds, "St. Paul's idea of the qualities which a bishop should possess is expressed in the following sentence:—

"For a bishop must be without crime, as the steward of God; not proud, not subject to anger, not given to wine, no striker, nor greedy of filthy lucre."—vol. i. p. 446.

Now what does Dr. Madden mean by this passage? To give it any consecutive meaning, and make it correlative and an answer to the first sentence, "was Alexander's an authority such as St. Paul deems entitled to obedience?" We must supply (as we are sure ninety-nine readers out of every hundred will do in their own minds,) the logical copula, and read it; St. Paul orders us to obey the authority of our prelates, but only if they fulfil the description of a bishop given in the latter passage. Dr. Madden will probably protest against this interpretation of his meaning, as one which would justify any ill-disposed subject in disobeying his bishop, since he would always allege that he did not fulfil the description given to Timothy; but he must see that his loose and enigmatical

way of expressing himself leads necessarily to this inference, however earnestly he may disavow it.

The subject of the alleged prophecies of Savonarola is one of extreme difficulty; of course we do not mean for those who decide all such questions by the *à priori* argument of impossibility, but for those who believe that God does sometimes reveal to his chosen servants more or less knowledge of future events. Savonarola himself speaks in different places of his own allusions to future events in various ways. In some instances he speaks of them as being rather the conclusions of enlightened reason. In others, especially in the prologue to the *Compendio di Rivelazioni*, he claims for them the authenticity of true prophecies. Yet, at the same time, as Dr. Madden points out, (vol. i. p. 315) he includes in this same book the vision of heaven, which he clearly intends to be received as a work of the imagination although directed by God.

It is clear that our opinion of Jerome's moral character and sanctity need not be at all influenced by any conclusions we may come to as to his prophecies. Whether they were all the work of direct inspiration, or the effect of a fervid and exalted imagination, and founded on a mistake, although a sincere and *bonâ fide* one, or whether they were partly the one and partly the other. Whether he was sometimes permitted by God a foreknowledge of future events, although at other times he mistook the aspirations and wishes of a pious mind for inspiration, may be doubtful; but it is clear that his piety was sincere and his zeal fervid—that he was raised up by God for mighty purposes to bear testimony against a corrupt and carnal age; and that truth he upheld to his last breath. The Church, even in the case of canonized saints, has ever refrained from pronouncing any decision as to their alleged revelations. And we need only give as an example St. Catherine of Sweden, in whose revelations Cardinal Turrecremata, who himself promoted the process of her canonization, pointed out two grave errors.* It seems however to us that no one can carefully examine the evidence without being convinced that in many instances Jerome really foretold future events, notably in regard to the death of Lorenzo de Medici, the events of the French king's expedition, and his own death. Whilst in other instances he seems to have laid too

* See Alban Butler and the Bollandists on the 8th of October.

much stress on the general insight which was given him of the wars about to fall on Italy and on the Church, and of her future reformation. But, indeed, the time in which he lived was such as to task the strongest intellect and the firmest faith. And well might he strive to look forward to the future for light when the present closed so dark around. Well might he turn to read and expound with ardent longings the prophecies which told of the Church's never failing life and perpetual renovation, when he saw so many of her ministers around him sunk in vice, and simony enthroned on the chair of Peter. The *Compendio di Revelazioni* was published in 1495, when he already foresaw the storm which was gathering against him, and when the fiery death which had been present to his mind for years was imminent, and the gibbet already flung its black shadows over him.*

In 1498 his last exhortation to penance was heard; his last mournful lamentation over that Florence which he had sought so long to arouse to a sense of the divine justice, was uttered. The end approached; in his own words, God having used it, was about to lay aside the hammer of his justice,† or rather, he was about to purify by trial and by fire his chosen instrument from human frailties, from human weaknesses, and granting him the grace to bear the testimony of blood, and by that testimony to wash out "whatever through the frailty of the flesh he had committed in human conversation," to take him to Himself.

On the night of Sunday, the 7th April, 1498, the convent of St. Mark was assailed by a lawless mob, encou-

* He explicitly foretold his own death in a sermon in 1490, and in 1491; expounding the psalm 'Expectans expectavi Dominum,' he said: "The wicked will come to the sanctuary with fire and sword, and will break and burn the doors; and they will seize on the just, and in the principal place in the city they will burn them. And the remains of them which the fire shall not have consumed, nor the wind carried away, they will cast into the Arno."—Madden, vol. i. p. 318.

† "Let the Lord do His work; He is the master of the forge who handles the hammer, and when He has made use of it, lays it not on what He has wrought, but casts it from Him. Thus He did with Jeremiah, whom He permitted to be stoned to death when his preaching mission was accomplished, and thus also will He do with this hammer, when He has used it after His own manner."—Sermon of 18 March, 1498.

raged by the Signoria, and after a night of outrage and massacre, Jerome and Fra Domenico da Pescia, and Fra Silvestro Maruffi, were conducted prisoners before the magistrates of the Signoria, with a promise that they should be returned to their convent in safety *sani e salvi*. Before leaving his convent for the last time, Jerome addressed a fervent exhortation to the brethren.

“ ‘The road to heaven,’ he told them, ‘was by tribulations, and they were not on any account to allow themselves to be cast down; for himself, he was ready to suffer all things with alacrity and contentment for the love of his Lord Jesus Christ, knowing that a Christian life consisted in doing good and enduring evil.’ He then made his confession to Fra Domenico da Pescia in the library, and received the Blessed Sacrament at his hands. Fra Domenico then confessed to him, and likewise received the Sacrament.”—vol. ii. p. 53.

But we cannot afford space to dwell on all the horrors of the mock trial that ensued, the tortures inflicted on Jerome seven different times; the falsification of the answers of the accused by the notary Ceccone, and all the other steps of this unjust process. The animus of his judges may be gathered from two brief facts.

“On the first assembling of the sixteen judges, one of them, named Francesco degli Albizi, though opposed to the friars, seeing the great malignity of the measures about to be taken against them, said ‘he would not stain his hands with the blood of the innocent.’ He went away from the assembly, and never returned to it.”..... “When Romolino, one of the Pope’s agents, who was inclined to spare Fra Domenico, was urged by one of the Palleschi to include him in the sentence, he answered, ‘Un frataccio più, o un frataccio meno non importa, mandatelo pure alla morte.’—‘A monk more or a monk less matters little, off with him to the gallows too.’”—(Burlamacchi, ap. Madden, vol. ii. p. 29)

“On the 22nd of May it was announced to Savonarola and his two companions that they were to die on the following day.”..... “While the condemned stood ranged at the foot of the cross that was erected in centre of the pile, Fra Domenico said to his companions, ‘Why do you not call on me, and remind me (as of old) that I should sing the *Te Deum*?’...The executioners now coming forward to do their office, the three fathers knelt down and prayed, each before his crucifix.....

“Fra Sylvestro was the first to ascend the ladder. He did not speak, but tears stood in his eyes. When he had mounted sufficiently high, the executioner, having tied the rope that he had put round his neck to one of the arms of the cross, pushed him off the

ladder. And after he was suspended, an iron collar, that was fastened by a chain to the same arm of the cross, was put round his neck. The same course was pursued with Fra Domenico ; he was suspended from the other arm of the cross. Lastly, Fra Girolamo ascended the ladder with closed eyes, repeating the creed. When he reached the summit, however, he gazed all around on the ungrateful people who thronged the square. In a few seconds he was pushed from the ladder, being suspended in the middle between his two brethren.”—vol. ii. p. 106.

So perished the last worthy son of free Florence. Padre Marchese concludes his account of the triumph of Savonarola over paganism in art and literature with the words :

“ And now it sickens the soul to think that this solemn triumph, which he had achieved over the licentiousness of his age, should soon be followed by error and immorality. The partisans of the Medici, who were working for their restoration,—a ruler far more potent than the Medici, the libertine artists who battered on corruption, and who had fallen in popular esteem, the literary men, too, who could not tolerate the severe maxims of the friar,—all conspired and swore to effect Savonarola’s overthrow. Then arose the sect of the Arrabbiati, who were the partisans of everything infamous, and who thirsted for vengeance. Foiled in their first attempts, they retired for a while to knit themselves more closely together ; and seizing the occasion of the disputation on May 23, 1498, they inaugurated their triumph. In that very square, and on that very pyre, whereon, a few months before, Savonarola had attempted to consume revived paganism, he was himself burned. Illustrious and hapless victim ! In thee was realized that aphorism of Machiavelli, ‘ Ill fares it with prophets who expose their unarmed breasts to the fury of factions.’ But though his enemies destroyed his body, they could not destroy his memory, which has been honourably recorded by every writer who does not shrink from stating truth. For more than two centuries, on the anniversary of his death, the ground that drank his blood has been covered with garlands, and this will attest the veneration in which the friar is held, and prove that his grand precepts have not perished from the memory of the Florentines. Ten years after Savonarola’s death on an ignominious scaffold, Raphael painted him amongst the doctors of the Catholic Church, in the halls of the Vatican, and this is his most splendid religious rehabilitation, the most luminous proof of his innocence, and the most convincing evidence of the perfidy of his persecutors. Julius II. charged Raphael to execute these grand works, and surely he would not have allowed an impious man, or one who outraged the honour of the Pontificate, to figure amongst the champions of the Church, in the ‘disputation on the sacrament.’ Mark how Julius proclaimed Savonarola’s innocence : ‘ The death

of the friar preceded, by a few years, the death of the Republic.' ”
—Dominican Artists, trans., vol. i. p. 329.

Thus far we have gone with Dr. Madden through the life of Savonarola, and have endeavoured to give our readers the means of judging how far our conclusions, which are substantially the same as Dr. Madden's, are well founded. And before we quit this portion of the subject we feel it at once a duty and a pleasure to bear our willing testimony to the industry, research, and love of the truth displayed throughout the work. We may not, however, close our remarks on this work without briefly noticing Dr. Madden's opinions with regard to the connexion of Church and State, the possession of temporal states by the popes, the seat of the papacy, and some other questions of which he treats at considerable length; and whilst, in some points, his statements are truisms, and in many we agree with him, in others he seems to us to use language calculated to convey erroneous impressions, chiefly from that fallacy of language which Dr. Whately has so ably analysed, the use of words in an ambiguous sense, or what logicians call an ambiguous or double middle term. Unfortunately this is an increasing evil in the writings of the present day, and especially in those which treat of subjects connected with religion, from the extreme vagueness of English popular notions on this subject. The subject to which Dr. Madden most frequently recurs, and to which he devotes two entire chapters, is the connexion between Church and State, and as it is a very popular one at the present day it may perhaps be well to devote some little space to endeavour to obtain clear ideas on the subject.

Dr. Madden states, in his preface, that one great object of his work is “to make the calamitous results to religion and its ministers, of connexion between Church and State manifest to the world as the sun at noon-day.” In another place, “all experience demonstrates that the less secularised a church is, the more spiritual is its government and its teachers. All reasoning on the results of that experience leads to the conclusion that the more spiritualized is a church, the more likely must it be to be regarded with favour by its Divine Founder.”—p. 6. Now what is meant by the connexion between Church and State? Probably our readers will at once exclaim, “Oh,

every one knows that," yet it may be found that three or four different things are jumbled together by this phrase. Before, however, we proceed to answer this question we must obtain clear ideas of some words which are used with several, and therefore ambiguous meanings. One is *Church*, which is used in several senses as "the Church," meaning "the Church of Christ, consisting of all the faithful under one head, which is Christ, and His vicegerent here on earth," in this sense it applies only to the True Church, and is infallible, indefectible, and essentially independent of all human power, since no earthly power can bind the spouse of Christ: the word is also used to express the form of the Church's government on earth, and in this sense may be said to form a connexion with the State, and to receive favours from the latter, and to allow it to share in its temporal administration, as by the presentation to benefices, &c.: the word church is also used to express portions of the Universal Church and their local governments, as the Church of Milan, the Church of France: * the word is often used also to express divers false religions, and thus we speak of the various Protestant Churches.

Another word which has various meanings is *religion*. it either means "the whole body of revealed truth," that is either true religion, apart from the professors of that truth, or is applied to bodies of doctrine which profess to be true as we speak of divers false religions; or it means *individual* or *personal religion*, that is, each man's sense of religion and personal piety, or, speaking collectively, of the religious sense of bodies of men: thus we say of such a man or people, that he or they have much religion, or very little religion, or that religion flourished in such a town, at such a period, or was at a very low ebb, meaning not that the truth ever changed, or is capable of more or less, but that the liveliness of each man's faith, or the fervour of his practice was greater or less. Now it is clear that the non-discrimination of these meanings must lead to the utmost confusion of both language and ideas, yet unfortunately, in Dr. Madden's work, they cannot in many instances be distinguished; thus, "the *spiritual power* in Italy, throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

* See Catechism of Council of Trent on the Ninth Article of the Creed.

in its various contests with the feudalism of those ages, wherever it was successful the material interests of the people were benefited by its protection, or the domination of its influence. But whether *the Church* itself benefited by its intervention in the political affairs of States.”—p. 22.

“There is a great moral in the lesson of the life and death of Girolamo Savonarola, which deeply concerns the interests of *Christianity*, the interests of the members of *all churches*, the interests, temporal and eternal, of all men who believe in the Gospel, and think that divine revelation was intended to promote the good of all grades of society, to advance the glory of God, to separate *His Church* from the worship of Mammon, and to preserve *religion* from all corrupting influences and connexions inimical to its purity, simplicity, and independence.”

“It seems to be generally felt by the Christian world, that *religion* has been too long and too closely connected with the State, and that the protection it has afforded has not been beneficial to *religion*, to morality, or even to the civil rights of any people where *the Church* has been thus connected and enslaved.”—p. 103.

“*The Church* was instituted to establish a new dominion of mercystrife and selfishness disappeared before the face of *that new Church* at the onset of its career, and of its ministry in their early triumphs.....But selfishness in course of time crept into the *Church*, and with its progress *religion* went on losing its spirituality.”—p. 195.*

Now if we glance back over these various passages, (and they might be much multiplied,) we shall easily perceive

* In this page Dr. Madden expresses an error which he does not mean; he says, “In the darkest periods of the history of that Church, there was ever a voice to be heard in some part of its precincts, within its sanctuary, or in its cloisters, or at its porch..... The truth is never without some illustrious witness, &c.” This is the error of those Protestants who support the theory of an invisible Church, and allege that at different times the truth was held and borne witness to only by individuals. The whole Church of Christ has ever held, testified to, and preached the whole body of revealed doctrinal truth; otherwise she would have failed: what Dr. Madden means is, that there never wanted individuals in the Church who protested against and laboured to extirpate corruptions of practice, decay of zeal, and evils in the administration of the Church.

that throughout them the words "church," "religion," and those used for them, "spiritual power," "Christianity," are used indiscriminately in all the senses we have shewn they bear, sometimes with one meaning, sometimes with another, sometimes with a doubtful or double meaning. In the second extract "Christianity," and the third extract "the Church was instituted," the word is evidently used in its first meaning; immediately after, the words "that new Church," seem rather to imply the third meaning; in the second extract the words "all Churches," the word is evidently used in the fourth sense, whilst throughout all the extracts, the first and second meanings are confused and interchanged. The ambiguity is evident in the use of the word religion, nor is it more clear what definite meaning Dr. Madden attaches to the word "secularised."

✓ If now, we revert to our question, "what is meant by the connexion between Church and State?" we shall perceive that it involves several distinct ideas, and that the view we take of the matter must intimately depend on what our belief is with regard to the nature and being of the Church, using the word in its first sense. Thus the extreme view on the one hand is that of Dr. Arnold, who held that the functions of the Church and the State were inseparable, and in fact identical, that the State was entitled to demand conformity from its subjects, and bound to provide them with a religion; in fact, that a rightly governed State was the authorised authority in religion. In such a theory, of course, the connexion between Church and State was not only lawful, but necessary, or rather it was only another mode of expressing the identity of the institution,* and followed logically from Arnold's view of the Church. This view must, to a certain extent, influence also the opinions of all consistent members of the Church of England; by the royal supremacy, the Church and State in their highest power are indentedified; the Church and State then, in the person of the queen, are not so much connected as identical. On the other hand, those who believe in personal religion, but not in the existence of the Church, that is, who believe religion to be purely subjective, and each man to be an independent guide to himself, reject the idea not only of all community, but of any

* See Arnold's Lectures on Modern History.

relation between the State and any aggregate of religious individuals, which is their idea of a religious body or of a Church. With them, every man is a law unto himself; there is for them no Church with a law of its own, (which may or may not clash with the laws framed by a local State), with a power to command or forbid, independent of, and it may be in opposition to any State.

With Catholics the question is necessarily viewed in a different light from either of these. They believe the Church of Christ to be one compact body, not only with a law of its own, but with a governing power of its own, essentially independent, and to use a technical word, autonomous.* It exists locally in states, but is independent of them, and its law binds its members antecedently and with a superior obligation to the positive law of any state: true these two laws never ought to clash, and, in fact, do not very frequently come into collision; but this does not change their independent nature. It is to be observed that this view of the Church embraces both the first meaning we have assigned to the word Church; "all the faithful under one head," with its immutable law of faith and morals, and also the second meaning of the government of the Church, in as far as it is essentially the government of the Church (apart from any external accidents) with its laws of discipline.† If we reflect for a moment on this idea of the nature of the Church, and couple it with that of the nature of a state, we shall at once perceive that they must necessarily have many relations, the one with the other. These relations may be friendly or the reverse; but they must exist, for they follow from the nature of the objects. The Church had relations with the state, in the Roman empire, when it bade the thundering legion not only fight but pray for the success of the empire; and again, when it bade that same legion submit to an unjust sentence. It had relations with that same Roman empire when it forbade those

* "With a right to govern itself."

† "As far as it is essentially the government of the Church." Thus the office of a bishop is essentially the governing the Church, but his local position, external power, &c., are accidents, though, it may be, accidents intimately connected with his office. Again, the creation of a bishop is essentially within the power of the Church; a power which she cannot delegate to any other authority; but she may suffer herself to be guided as to whom she will create a bishop by external accidents.

who were at once its subjects and those of Nero to offer incense, though the laws of the State commanded them to do so ; and when it ordered the consecrated virgins to preserve their chastity, although those to whom the temporal laws gave their disposal had bestowed them in marriage. And again, the Church had relations with that same empire, when, become Christian, the State forbade any, whether relations or otherwise, to molest the sacred virgins; and when it exempted the ministers of religion, who might not lawfully handle arms, from the obligation of the conscription. The Church and the State must have many relations the one to the other ; it depends on the latter whether they shall be friendly or not. If they be friendly, this constitutes, in its widest sense, a connexion between Church and State : and the more closely and carefully the question is studied, the more intimate will appear this necessary connexion between Church and State. There is hardly a subject of legislation which does not trench, mediately or immediately, on the domain of the Church. The State may pass a law compelling all her subjects in turn to defend her in war, whilst the Church forbids her ministers to mix in deadly strife ; or the Church may confide the government of a portion of her flock within a state to one whom that state has for just reasons prohibited from entering into her territory. We might load our pages with examples ; but the instance of Ireland during the last fifty years, is the clearest proof how almost all legislation involves the connection of Church and State.

There is another species of connexion between Church and State ; it is the union, more or less perfect, of the functions of the State with those of the Church, in the same person or body. This connection is not like the former, essential and natural : it is adventitious, and may or may not be productive of good, either to the one function or the other in the particular instances. To this class are referable all instances of the interference of ecclesiastical characters in *purely secular affairs*.* This was very common in the middle ages, a circumstance arising from

* In purely secular affairs ; for in all matters which, though temporal in their outward form, affect religion, the Church must intervene, as in the instances given above from the Roman empire ; and in all matters where a question of right or wrong arises, her influence must equally intervene.

many causes, amongst which the chief were the intimate connexion in a simple state of society between all political and religious questions; and the dearth of the knowledge necessary for government amongst laics; the results (whilst not unfrequently injurious to the ecclesiastical functions of the government) were almost invariably beneficial to the State. It is, however, manifest that this mixing up of two duties, this mingling of two functions must be injurious to the adequate discharge of one or other; and the one which suffered was almost invariably the Church. The ministers of the Church had been set specially aside, that they might devote their whole energies to her service, and every assumption of other duties was an abandonment of their first charge. But there was a much greater evil which sprang from this source. Those who governed the Church assumed the functions of the State; those who governed the State strove in turn to assume the functions of governing the Church. The State has always been ready enough to interfere with the proper action of the Church; but this gave her additional pretexts and additional power to do so. The State frequently conferred favours on the Church, and these favours* are in themselves indifferent, nay, the Church may be bound to accept them; but in return the State almost invariably seeks to control the government of the Church, to fetter her action, to tamper with her independence, and then the favours of the State are snares, and her blandishments temptations.

This latter connexion of Church and State is a fair subject of discussion, and perhaps most will unite in reprobating it; certainly we are no advocates for it, but it is not to be confounded, as is generally done, and, as we fear, would be the inference drawn from Dr. Madden's work, with the first explained connexion between Church and State, which is founded on nature, and inherent in the constitution of each. Neither is the freedom and independence of the Church to be confounded, with its isolation, and, so to speak, sequestration. We have had occasion before in this article to point out this distinction, and may recur to it again. Another point, which must not be confounded with

* Every act by which the State recognises the Church is in some sense a favour, such as the exemption of ecclesiastics from conscription, recognition of celibacy, exemption of fabrics of churches from taxation.

these essentials, is the question of pecuniary support for religion, one indeed, intimately connected with, but yet essentially distinct from that of the independence of, and separation from secular affairs of the Church. It is the intermingling and confusion of all these various questions which makes the whole ambiguity in the public mind at the present day, and which unfortunately prevails also in Dr. Madden's work. To make what we mean clearer, we will separate a sentence of Dr. Madden's into its parts, distinguishing the essential doctrine from its adventitious circumstances or collateral aids.

"The doctrine of the necessity for the independence of religion, and the full and unfettered right of every Church to carry out its own ecclesiastical government without any interference of the civil power."

Here is the essential doctrine clear and correct. But in the same sentence are mixed up with strange want of logic, ".....the separation of the clergy from political cares, from state influences, and pecuniary obligations to governments, the support of all Churches to the voluntary contributions of those who belong to them." If by "the separation of the clergy from political cares" be meant their withdrawal from purely secular matters, and the confining their influence and their action in public affairs to the purely religious view of them, and to enforcing the essential distinction of right and wrong, the meaning is laudable, though the distinction may, in some instances, be difficult to be drawn; and there can be no hesitation in assenting to the wish for the freedom of the clergy from State influences and pecuniary obligations to governments, meaning thereby all those thousand arts by which the State so often seeks to make religion her tool.

But if by the separation of the clergy from political cares he meant that they shall not be allowed to preach the command to do the right, because it be displeasing to the powers that be, or to denounce a wrong because it is inflicted by political authority; to call robbing and spoliation a sin, because perpetrated under the sanction of law, or to appoint pastors to the flock of Christ, because it be prohibited by human enactments; all Christians must repudiate such a doctrine as reversing the command to obey God rather than man.*

* To prove that such is too often the interpretation sought to be

There remains an important question, and one which we have purposely reserved for a separate consideration,—it is the pecuniary support of religion and of the clergy. It is one which well deserves a serious and enlarged consideration, one which cannot be determined by any Procrustean formula, but which must be considered in its historic bearings as well as in its modern aspect, and must be separately determined in the widely differing cases of various countries.

If we take England for an example, and examine the history of the means of support afforded to the clergy from the earliest ages, we shall find that the first provision for their clergy, amongst the Anglo-Saxons, was derived from the piety and liberality of individuals. Gifts of land were the usual mode of rewarding merit, and numerous manors were given for the support of the various churches. Ethelbert of Kent set the example, and it was almost universally followed, till in every estate a portion was set aside for the support of its church. And this formed the parochial glebe, thousands of which exist to this day. Gradually, when the whole nation had become Catholic, the moral obligation incumbent on every Christian to contribute according to his means to the support of his lawful pastors, was enforced by the canons of the Church. And as in those days the secular power commonly interfered to enforce the laws of the Church, the obligation became a legal one. Hence arose tithes, church-rates, &c.*

In the lapse of ages, however, great changes have occurred. The religion of England was changed first into one and then into a thousand forms of Protestantism, whilst a remnant remained Catholic. From this has followed that tithes and other taxes which were in their origin an obligation freely adopted by a nation wholly Catholic for the support of their pastors, have become a forced tax upon those, in great part, who abhor the doctrines they are thus compelled to support. With regard

put upon this maxim, we need only refer to the confiscation of charitable and religious funds in Spain, the ecclesiastical titles bill in England, the university law in France under Louis Phillippe, the fugitive slave acts in the United States, and the existing case of the Archbishop of Friburg in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

* For this account of the early Christian institution of England see Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, chaps. ii. and iii., 2nd edition.

to the endowments, however, the case is different. It is clear that had they remained in the hands of the original donees, they could in no sense be considered as contributions by the state to the support of a particular form of religion, but simply as property, the quiet possession of which, by the rightful owners the state was bound to maintain.* Confiscation is not the less confiscation because the property confiscated is that of the Church, not of an individual; robbery is not the less robbery because the plunder is the patrimony of the poor. The act which sequestrated the property of the monasteries in England, under Henry the Eighth, and that which confiscated the lands of the Irish chieftains under James, were in principle identical. The decrees of the French convention, which deprived the French nobility of their estates, and that which took away the property of the churches were equally unjust. In both cases the state which had perpetrated the injustice and profited by the wrong, was bound to restitution. In both cases the power of prescription and the intervention of new rights limited that obligation. The emigrés received back a portion of their property, and the churches of France received an annual endowment. The same wrong and partial reparation has occurred in Spain in our own days. To condemn the rulers of the Church for accepting such partial restitution, is to hold that the ordinary obligations and rights of property do not obtain in relation to property belonging to churches. That ecclesiastics are outlaws, who may be robbed, but cannot claim restitution; in a word, to hold, as it appears some Franciscans did,† that if a priest be stopped by a thief, and stripped of his clothes, he may not lawfully seek to recover them by applying to the nearest magistrate.

Thus far as to endowments coming from gifts bestowed on individual churches or charities, or being commutations

* The fact of the nominal religion of England having been changed by the act of the State, and the endowments forcibly transferred to the new holders, of course considerably changes the question of right. What the State gave the State may take away; and it has as good a right now to transfer the endowments of the episcopal churches to new churches, as it had to take them from the expelled bishops in Elizabeth's time, and bestow them on her newly-created ones.

† See Madden, vol. ii. p. 209.

of such endowments. A second question arises as to the right, and as to the adviseability of a nation, *being all of one religion*, voluntarily to tax itself for the support of the ministers of that religion.

It seems to us that there can be no question as to the lawfulness, and little as to the prudence. If it be right for a community to impose a rate for the supply of water, for sewerage, for public libraries, for schools, for the support of the poor, every argument in favour of these measures applies equally to the building of churches and the support of teachers of religion. And the analogy may further teach us, that as single dissidents cannot justly claim to obstruct the action of the whole community, and one man may not keep the whole town unwashed because he dislikes water, so neither need the whole community defer building their churches until every individual assents.

But the analogy of education will at the same time teach us, that as education, so religion, flourishes most when relying most on spontaneous individual support. And history proves that in a series of years the Catholic Church may always confidently rely on the gifts of her members, provided only they be not torn from her, and that our churches and our charities will soon be rich enough if the property devoted to these purposes be protected by the ordinary laws. A third question is, whether it be just in a community consisting of individuals, professing many various religions, to tax them all for the support of one, or of all. To tax all for the support of one form of religion is a manifest injustice; to tax all by mutual consent, and then divide the produce *pro rata* amongst the various professions, would not, indeed, be theoretically unjust, but would practically lead to injustice, and in fact be impossible.

Although, however, the application of taxes to the support of the fabrics and ministers of religion be not necessarily unjust, it is always attended with this grave practical objection, that the state which gives almost invariably seeks to obtain a control over the government of the Church, and to intermeddle with functions foreign to its province, and in which its action is invariably injurious. Feeling deeply the evils of this interference we are ourselves strong advocates for what is commonly called the voluntary system, viz., the trusting for the support of the clergy (apart the property of the various local churches)

to the offerings of the faithful. We cannot, however, but see that in any country the rule is utterly inapplicable to many cases. The law compels paupers to reside in a workhouse. To talk of those who have no property supporting their minister of religion by their voluntary contributions is absurd. Our soldiers are sent out to India,—our sailors to the ends of the earth; to suggest that they should, out of their pay, support a chaplain wherever they go, is a mockery. The case of lunatics and orphans is still stronger. To say that the charity of their fellow believers will supply them with the ministrations of religion is no answer: they have *no right* to claim it at their hands; and the question is one of *right*, not of charity.

We have thus endeavoured to distinguish the various questions commonly mingled in the vague phrases, “connexion of church and state,” and “voluntaryism,” and to afford our readers the means of forming accurate conclusions on these subjects—an accuracy the more necessary as it is rare in England, whose writers generalize language appropriate only to the peculiar state of things existing in their own country. Thus Dr. Chalmers, as quoted by Madden, (vol. ii. p. 192) says, “Wherever we have a *certain legal provision* for the ministrations of Christianity, there we have an establishment of Christianity in the land.” Or as Dr. Madden puts it, “There we have a State Church established for purposes more secular than spiritual.” Now the above quotation literally applies to the case of a local church, which should have a *certain income* derived from the annual revenue produced by former free gifts or endowments, and *protected* in the enjoyment of that income by the *ordinary laws* of property. And every presbytery of Dr. Chalmers’ own free kirk, which has a glebe given it by some zealous hearer, would come under his anathema.

With similar looseness of expression, Dr. Madden, after detailing the death in battle of Cæsar Borgia, Duke of Valentino, exclaims: “A terrible example of the calamitous results of the connection of Church and State.”

We had intended to investigate some of the views put forward by Dr. Madden on some other points in which he seems to us to show equal inaccuracy of meaning, and looseness of reasoning with those displayed in the pages devoted to the consideration of the connexion of Church and State. But we have already rather exceeded the

limits of a review, and must conclude with a few remarks on the purely literary execution of the work before us.

In Dr. Madden's former works whilst praising his diligence and research, we have had to lament the carelessness and inaccuracy of both his arrangement and style, and unfortunately the same faults are perceptible, though in a somewhat less degree, in the present work. Throughout the work the personal history of Jerome is constantly interrupted by disquisitions which should have been grouped at the close of the book. The history of the early life of Alexander the Sixth is thrice taken up and adjourned, and the current of the history is broken by attacks on Brownson, Rohrbacher, and others. A graver fault is the quoting modern writers indiscriminately with contemporary ones as of equal authority, and in a manner which would lead the incautious reader to take them for original evidence; Ranke, (vol. ii. p. 259,) Hafe, (vol. i. p. 193,) and Azeglio, (i. Palleschi ed i Piagnoni, in several places,) are thus quoted. A similar inaccuracy is caused by not investigating the meaning of phrases or words in foreign writers, which he does not understand; Dr. Madden invariably either leaves the word untranslated or makes a guess at the meaning. The mistakes to which this carelessness gives rise are sometimes ludicrous enough. Thus in Burchardt's Diary he gives "the Archbishop Rhotomagensis," for the Archbishop of Rouen; "Anne queen of *Britain*," for "Brittany," (vol. ii. p. 260;) and the well-known name René d'Anjou puzzles us, as Renato d'Angio; as also "a monk of the Augustinian Ermitano order," for "*frate erimitano Augustiniano*," "an Augustinian hermit;" (vol. i. p. 76.) "the first day of the Septuagint in the church d'uomo," for "Septuagesima Sunday in the cathedral;" the prior of St. Mark is called the head of his order, (vol. i. p. 127,) a title only applicable to the general; and Cardinal Caraffa, who was protector of the order, is called the general, (p. 190,) whilst by a ludicrous confusion betwixt his name and his title, Julian della Rovere, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, is made into two persons, (p. 183,) as though one should say, "Dr. Blomfield and the bishop of London voted together."

The mistakes of the printer, and the carelessness of the corrector, have caused a large proportion of the Latin and Italian quotations to be falsely printed, whilst not a few are most inaccurately translated; nor is the English wholly

free from occasional slips of the pen. There is one instance of mis-translation, however, which requires a more marked censure; it is the abridged translation given at page 156 of the second volume of the report on church discipline, presented to Pope Paul the Third by a congregation of cardinals. So strange is the inaccuracy of this translation, that we can only account for it in the work of a scholar like Dr. Madden by supposing that here, as in some other instances, he has entrusted the translation to another hand; but he should have recollected that by inserting it in his work he made himself responsible for its errors.*

We have thus endeavoured impartially to set forth the merits and imperfections of Dr. Madden's work, and by so doing to enable, as far as in us lay, our readers to form

* We would warn our readers that they must consult the original (given at p. 269) for themselves, as hardly a single article is accurately translated; it would, of course, be impossible for us to go seriatim through all the articles, and we will, therefore, content ourselves with illustrating our remarks by two articles, presenting in parallel columns the original, Dr. Madden's version, and the true translation.

<i>Original.</i>	<i>Dr. Madden.</i>	<i>True Translation.</i>
ART. II.		
<p>Alius abusus magnus et minime tolerandus, quoniam universus populus Christianus scandalizatur, est ex impedimentis quæ conferuntur episcopis in gubernatione suarum ovium, maxime in puniendis scelestis et corrigendis. Nam primo multis viis eximunt se mali homines, præsertim clerici, a jurisdictione sui ordinarii. Deinde si non sint exempti confugiunt statim ad Penitentiarium vel ad Datariam, ubi confestim inveniunt viam</p>	<p>It is a great abuse, and by no means to be tolerated, that the Christian world should be scandalized by the <i>impediments which bishops</i>, in the government of their flocks, <i>put</i> in the way of punishing and correcting criminals. For, in the first place, by many modes evil doers escaped, and especially clergy, from the jurisdiction of their ordinaries. Then, if they be not exempt from it, they fly immediately to <i>confes-</i></p>	<p>Another great abuse, and one not to be borne, by which the Christian world is scandalized, arises from the <i>impediments which are put</i> in the way of <i>bishops</i> in the governing of their flocks, and especially in punishing ill-doers and those who need correction. For, in the first place, in many ways evil men, and especially clerics, withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of their ordinary. Then, if they be not exempt, they betake</p>

their own judgment on the important matters of which it treats. If we have spoken freely of its defects, it is that we deem the work before us of pith and weight enough to demand a careful study. It is easy to fill pages with the routine formularies of praise, to criticize demands a more attentive perusal and more anxious thought. It seems to us, it may be erroneously, that a not uncommon fault in our Catholic reviews has been the over-zealous eagerness with which they have sought to guard our own writers from animadversion, and to award to them indiscriminate applause. We have ever sought rather to judge works for themselves, not for their antecedents: "Tros, Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur;" the merits and defects of a work are the scope of a criticism, not the antecedents, the opportunities, or the intentions of the writer, but we never

impunitati, et quod
pejus est ob pecuni-
am prestitam.

sion, or by means of
corruption they ob-
tain impunity.

themselves at once
to the *Penitentiary* or
Datary,* where they
immediately obtain
the means of impu-
nity; and what is
worse, this is obtain-
ed by a bribe.

Original.

ART. XXIII.

Consuevère etiam
mutari voluntates ul-
timæ testatorum qui
ad pias causas legant
quampiam pecuniæ
summam: qui auc-
toritate Sanct. tuæ
transferunt ad hære-
dem vel legatarium
ob pretensam pau-
pertatem, &c., idque
ob lucrum.

Dr. Madden.

The impiety of
changing the last
wishes of a testator,
with a view of divert-
ing property from the
heir-at-law, on any
pretence of charita-
ble purposes, should
be put a stop to.

True Translation.

It hath grown into
a custom to change
the last wills of tes-
tators who have left
any sums of money
to charitable pur-
poses, and these have
been transferred by
the authority of your
Holiness to the heir
or legatee, on the
ground of his pre-
tended poverty, &c.,
and this has been
done for a bribe.

* Penitentiary or Datary, two tribunals in Rome for ecclesiastical causes, which have as much to say to "going to confession" as the High Court of Chancery has.

forget that the critic himself is liable to criticism ; how far our views are correct, how far our judgments sound and impartial, must be decided by a wider tribunal—

“Penes lectorem est iudicium.”

ART. VI.—1. *The History of the Papacy to the Period of the Reformation.* By the Rev. J. E. RIDDLE, M.A. 2 vols., 8vo. London: Bentley, 1854.

2. *History of the Christian Church to the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, A.D. 590.* By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A. 8vo. London: Murray, 1854.

WHEN Pericles was one day anxiously considering in what form he might most safely present his public accounts to the people, Alcibiades suggested that it would be much better for him to consider how he might escape the necessity of rendering any account at all.

The early Protestant historians of the Papacy were wont, for the most part, to act upon this suggestion. Taught by the very first principle of the Reformation to regard the Papal Supremacy as a modern usurpation, they held themselves dispensed from taking any account of it whatsoever in the early history of the Church. The Papacy does not form one of the sixteen “Heads” into which the Centuriators of Magdeburg divide the centuries of their history. Basnage hardly bestows a thought on the Roman Church of the first three ages at all; and Mosheim avowedly treats the Bishop of Rome, during this period, as on the very same footing with the bishops of all the other great sees.

The researches of modern historians, however, have led to the abandonment of this ground. The bolder expedient of Alcibiades has been deserted for Pericles’ more safe and prudent policy. They no longer shrink from tendering any account of the early Papacy. But we fear it will be found that, in most cases, they have recourse to the

less creditable expedient of what is popularly called, "doctoring" the account before it is presented.

Mr. Riddle, in the volumes now before us, seems to halt between these two courses. The only logical course which is open to an adverse historian of the Papacy is plainly this:—to sift the historical arguments upon which its advocates rely; to demonstrate the falsity or insufficiency of the facts which they allege in support of it; or to neutralize these facts by an array of antagonistic evidence. Now Mr. Riddle commences by declaring that all this is mere work of supererogation. He professes to do it, it is true: but it is clear that he considers it as a pure act of polemical generosity. Like the writers of the older school, he assumes it as certain that the Papacy *did* begin at some period subsequent to the establishment of Christianity; and he therefore considers the determination of that period merely as a curious historical question and nothing more.

According to him, the "sound and sufficient answer" to every inquiry as to the origin of the Papal claim is simply this: "I can show *when* the Papacy *did not exist*, and when the ecclesiastical atmosphere was perfectly clear; but I do *not* undertake to fix the exact moment at which it may have been said, 'The Papacy is here,' in sharp contradistinction to all previous time in which it might have been affirmed, 'It is not here.'"* This is unquestionably a very decided step towards getting rid of the necessity of "rendering any account at all!"

In his preface he illustrates his method of historical enquiry into the origin of the Papacy by an analogy which, if it be not very conclusive, is at least somewhat novel in the science of theology. He likens the Papal system to a mighty fog, which has pervaded and obscured the whole ecclesiastical atmosphere. Now "if we were in the midst of a fog," says he, "and should ask a bystander, When did this fog begin? the answer would naturally be more or less general and vague. Should we, however, press the matter more closely, and insist upon being made acquainted with the very second of time at which the mist came on, just as we can be accurately informed of the commencement of an eclipse, our respondent, if wise, would content himself with saying that at such or such a time the atmos-

* Preface, xiii.

phere was perfectly clear, and that, therefore, the fog began at some time subsequent to that period, but at what precise second, or minute, he would not pretend to say. On the other hand, should he be unwise enough to attempt to fix the time with the required exactness, and should he afterwards receive another account of the same kind from a second independent witness, there can be no doubt that the statements of our two informants would be found to disagree; in all probability there would be a discrepancy of several minutes, perhaps even of a quarter of an hour." In the same way, he pursues, if the question as to the commencement of the Papacy be proposed with a view to theological controversy, it would be easy to entrap "an adversary who should attempt to give a definite reply, or to make several respondents contradict each other so as to give some colour to an assertion that they are all wrong," and thus to show that the Papacy did not commence at any of the dates assigned by Protestant historians. He thinks it wiser, therefore, altogether to disclaim the necessity of any such enquiry.

Thus, it is only under a formal protest against its necessity, and even against its theological importance, that Mr. Riddle enters upon the History of the Papacy. It is true that he undertakes to do more. It is true that to "the practical man, who is well aware of the gradual and stealthy advances of Romish aggression," he promises to point out "what were from time to time its ways and methods of progress,—what the external circumstances which formed or retarded its growth,—how it employed its opportunities, and how it overcame impediments." He undertakes to "put the politician or man of business in possession of the plain facts of the perfect history, the actual and palpable events by which that history has been marked from age to age in the course of human affairs." But he does all this under protest—under the disclaimer already described; and, what is far more important in estimating the accuracy of his facts, and the truth of his colouring, he avowedly directs his narrative towards the illustration of the foregone conclusion that the Papacy is a "usurpation. His first, last, and all-pervading conception of the Papacy is, as "a fog in the ecclesiastical atmosphere!"

Mr. Robertson's work, in every respect a more learned and more creditable performance, is not confined, like Mr. Riddle's, to the history of the Papacy. It is a general

History of the Church down to the end of the sixth century. But it will be seen hereafter that almost the very same observations apply to those portions of it in which the affairs of the Church of Rome are discussed, which are applicable to the special History of the Papacy, as it has been written by Mr. Riddle.

Nor is it on account of any originality of view, or of any very notable skill in using the views and the learning of those who have gone before them, that we have chosen these works as the subject of special criticism. Mr. Robertson makes but little pretension to originality, or even to original research. Mr. Riddle's book is avowedly a digest of the well-known work of Planck upon the Papacy, and of so much of the general Church History of Schröckh as bears upon that particular subject.

We take these works, therefore, merely as types of the views now popular among English Churchmen on this important question. Each of the last few years has produced in England more than one contribution to the study of a subject which, for more than a century, had gone altogether into disuse. For a long series of years, the only resource of the English student of Church History was the bald and inaccurate translation of Mosheim by Maclaine; or perhaps it might better be said that Church history came to be entirely ignored as a branch of theological literature. The great literary and scientific movement which began in England about a quarter of a century since, effected a partial improvement. Both the series of publications then undertaken,—the *Library of Useful Knowledge* and *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia*—comprised a History of the Church—the former by Dr. Waddington, the latter by Mr. Stebbing. Neither of these works, however, (the first strongly tinged with Latitudinarianism, the second deeply Evangelical) can lay claim to the character of a scientific history. Still less the Manual of Church History put forth by Mr. Palmer early in the High Church movement of 1833, as a guide for the speculations of orthodox English Churchmen. But they all served at least to give an impulse to the study. An "Ecclesiastical History Society" was formed, chiefly for the purpose of publishing and rendering accessible to scholars original materials of Church History. Private publishers found their account in embarking in the same career. Texts and translations of the early Greek historians of the Church, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen,

Theodoret, have gradually multiplied. The original sources of English Church history have been more successfully laid open ; and it is now possible to form, for a very trifling sum, a historical collection, which, fifteen years ago, could only have been accessible within the precincts of one of our great public libraries.

The same activity has begun to show itself in original historical composition. Foulkes, Neale, Townsend, Milman, Soames, and other less eminent names, form, within a few years, a larger and more imposing array of Church historians than the English ecclesiastical literature of the preceding century and a half can furnish ; and all, in a greater or less degree, have felt the influence of that larger and more philosophical tone which pervades the theological studies of the age ; and at least professes to approach the really important questions of the history in a spirit of enlarged and impartial criticism.

The natural result, moreover, of the Romeward tendencies of theological speculation in England during the past years, has been, that, with almost all these writers, the first and most prominent place has been given to the discussion of the Roman claim to primacy in the Universal Church. It is curious to contrast the treatment of this question by the once oracular Mosheim, with that into which the researches of modern popular Catholic historians, and the very necessities of the modern controversy, have driven the representatives of the same opinions in the English schools ; and it is chiefly as a type of the new method of meeting this particular subject that we have selected the works now under examination.

We must premise, however, that there are many considerations carefully shut out of view by these and all other anti-papal writers, which, nevertheless, are indispensable to a calm and impartial adjudication upon the early evidences of the exercise of such primacy. We shall only advert to two of these. The first regards the notions to be entertained of the powers and privileges of the primacy, such as we may suppose it to have been actually reduced to exercise in those ages. The second regards the nature and the condition of the historical records of the ages under examination.

I. A few words will suffice on the first point, viz., the notions which are commonly put forward by Protestants in the controversy on the primacy of the Roman see, as to

what a Catholic is bound to believe to have been the position of that See in the early Church, and what the nature, the extent, and the frequency, of the acts of jurisdiction which it exercised.

It has been the habit of such controversialists to transfer to the times of the early Papacy the picture of papal authority which they find in later ages; to assume the Roman bishop, such as we find him in mediæval times, as their ideal of the essential privileges of the pontifical office; to point, if not to the full, complete, and clearly defined system of the Hildebrandine period, with all its temporal pretensions, at least to the spiritual prerogatives, with which it was then believed to be invested; and to challenge the advocate of the Papacy to find in early history any counterpart for this picture. This is a fallacy so monstrous that it might seem hardly necessary to it. But, in truth, almost all the argumentation against the early Papacy proceeds upon this hypothesis.

Many important circumstances, however, must be taken into account, if we would form a just estimate of the real position of the Roman See in the ante-Nicene period.

(1) It must be remembered that the intercourse between the various Churches was exceedingly difficult and precarious. A lapse of many weeks, and even months, was often required in order to effect an interchange of correspondence between Rome and some of the more distant Churches. This very physical difficulty of intercourse would of itself preclude the idea of any frequent or active exercise of the Primacy, at least in those details of local Church government to which, in the more modern Church, it has been extended.

(2) The persecution to which the Christian population both of Rome and of the provinces were constantly exposed, and which may almost be said to have been the normal condition of the Church until the triumph of Constantine, was a still more effective barrier to the intercourse between the Churches, and therefore to the exercise of immediate primatial jurisdiction. It need hardly be said that the jealousy of the persecutors would have been stimulated by any ostentatious assumption of general authority on the part of an individual bishop; and when it is remembered that St. Cyprian says of the Emperor Decius, "that he would more readily tolerate a rival of his kingly power than a Christian bishop at Rome, it may easily be admitted that

the very instincts of self-preservation would, to a certain extent, operate, both for the Popes and for the individual Churches, in suspending those mutual relations of supervision and of dependance, which more fortunate circumstances would have brought, and did eventually bring, into full operation.

(3) The Church was as yet only in a state of progress; nor are we to look in a young and still growing institution for those centralizing tendencies which are the natural results of development and maturity. The founders of foreign churches, even still, are invested with far more than ordinary powers; and although, of course, held ultimately subject to the central authority of Rome, yet are left, in many details, to enjoy a far larger degree of independent action than is accorded to the bishops of the old and regularly organized kingdoms of the Church. It is only in extreme circumstances that the immediate action of the Holy See is interposed in such cases.

(4) This centralizing tendency was still further checked by the very nature of the struggle in which the Church, during the early ages, was engaged. While an army is battling for the very ground on which it stands encamped, men do not pause to settle very accurately the gradations of rank among its commanders, or the strict relations between the generalissimo and his inferiors in command. The struggle of the ante-Nicene Church was not for minute shades of belief, but for the very foundations of all belief. The adversaries with whom she had to contend were either Pagans, or semi-Pagan heretics of the Gnostic schools, both equally inaccessible to the influence of Church authority, and therefore unlikely to have called forth its exercise. This was the almost universal character of the early heresies. One does not easily understand an appeal to the authority of a pope, as an argument for a man who hardly admits more of Christianity than its very name.

Indeed one can hardly fail to recognize a providential arrangement, in that course of events by which the immediate and active exercise of the Roman Primacy, such as it is found at a later period, was for a time held in abeyance. It was necessary that the jurisdiction of the bishops and other local authorities should be consolidated in the first place. Until this had taken place, the too frequent interposition of the central authority would have had the effect of diminishing or entirely subverting the influence of

the local rulers. And it is for the same reason, doubtless, that, in these same ages, we observe the same infrequency in the celebration of councils, whether provincial or national. The traces of their action in the first two centuries are just as faint as those of Papal authority. The faithful were first habituated to the authority of bishops; next in order came the metropolitan; then the exarchal and patriarchal tribunals. But yet, even from the first, we find sufficient (though perhaps indirect and infrequent) evidence, that above them all was held, *as a final and decisive resource*, the action, sometimes spontaneous, sometimes appellate, of the Primatial See.

II. In the second place, it can hardly be necessary to caution any instructed student against the expectation of finding, in the literary remains of the early centuries, anything approaching to a complete or connected record of their history. No one can read even a single chapter of the History of Eusebius, without being painfully struck by its meagre and fragmentary character. It is, in the main, an unsatisfactory and unmethodical collection of fragments and scraps, often unauthenticated, and almost always unconnected with each other. It leaves us, for at least the first two centuries, entirely uninformed, even on topics on which we might most reasonably expect, and on which we certainly should most reasonably desire, to be accurately informed. The lives and labours of the apostles, even of SS. Peter and Paul, except in so far as it is told in the Holy Scripture—the history of the Blessed Virgin herself after the crucifixion of her Son—the early history of the great Churches, whether of the East or of the West—these and a variety of other topics of the deepest Christian interest, for all times and in all ages, will be sought in vain in the pages of the Father of Ecclesiastical History. Beyond a barren enumeration of the bishops of the leading sees, he literally tells us almost nothing of the period in question. As regards the Roman See itself, we are left in doubt regarding the order of the succession, and even the personal identity of some of its occupants. It is only by an effort of comparative criticism that we satisfy ourselves, whether Cletus and Anacletus were one individual, and in what order the interval between Cletus and Peter is to be filled up. As regards Antioch and Alexandria the records are equally meagre and unsatisfying, and even the history of the Church of Jerusalem is a complete blank.

These are leading facts which will occur to the mind of every student of Church History. But few even of the best informed advert to the startling extent of the deficiency. Many of those who hang their faith exclusively upon the Scripture, will be startled to learn how very faint and imperfect a trace some of the inspired books of the New Testament have left, even of their very existence, in the records of the first two centuries. It would hardly be believed in Exeter Hall, that, out of the twenty-seven books which compose the New Testament we might read with most anxious attention the entire of the literature of the first and second century which has come down to us, without suspecting the existence, or learning the names of more than one half. Of these twenty-seven books there are no less than fourteen which are not even mentioned by any author for a hundred years after the death of St. John, the last of the inspired writers! And among these fourteen are the Acts of the Apostles, the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, that to the Galatians, that to the Colossians, both those to the Thessalonians, and that of St. James! Even of the remaining thirteen there are several, for the knowledge of which we are dependent, within the literature of the same period, on a single writer; and in this number are included St. John's Gospel and First Epistle, St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, and his First Epistle to Timothy, as well as the Epistle to the Hebrews!

In like manner, we feel assured that a large proportion of the advocates of episcopacy would be shocked to find, in controversy with a Presbyterian, how poor an array of authority they would be able to produce from the remains of the same period in favour of their fundamental dogma of Church government. The Trinitarian will not easily believe how difficult it is to produce among the ante-Nicene Fathers anything approaching to a consensus upon a number of very important consecratories of the Trinity, some of which, after the outbreak of Arianism, became almost the very shibboleth of orthodoxy. We could produce nearly a score of authorities from anti-Nicene writers, affirming what in almost the very same words, (though we need hardly say in a very different acceptation) became the grand dogma of Arianism, viz., that the Son was born *by the will of* the Father; and among these, not only writers of doubtful repute, like Tatian, Tertullian, Origen,

Hippolytus, and Novatian, but also some of the very greatest names of the Church, Ignatius, Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch, Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and Lactantius. And a similar array of ante-Nicene names might be produced apparently denying, some the immensity of Christ, others his invisibility, others his eternity.

Now, we shall not be suspected of alleging these facts, as if we implied that the writers to whom we allude really did call in question the great dogmas which their language appears at first sight to exclude. But they may serve to show how far the literature of those times, *such as it has come down to us*, is from presenting a complete picture of the whole doctrinal system of the age, and how much it requires to be studied by the aid of the light which is reflected upon it from the fuller and more systematic expositions of the Fathers of what was pre-eminently the age of theological precision.

Still more forcibly must this principle apply to the historical records of these times, which, as we have seen, are even more lamentably defective. As regards the particular question which we are now considering—the position which the Roman bishop occupied in relation to the rest of the Church,—the historical literature of the first two centuries and a half may almost be said to be a perfect blank. It tells us absolutely nothing of the popes beyond their names. Are we, therefore, to conclude that the times themselves were equally barren of events? Is it not rather, that the history is without incidents, simply because they are unrecorded?

Urgentur ignoti longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

What a notable example we have had even within the last few years! Five years ago, perhaps, there was not in the whole range of the early Roman history, a darker or more hopeless blank than that which followed the Pontificate of Victor. It was known that his successors were Zephyrinus and Callistus; but beyond this all was darkness. Who these pontiffs were, what their antecedents, what their enactments, what their administration,—was utterly unknown. Suddenly the memorable fragment of Hippolytus is discovered:—and at once we learn that this period of (as it had seemed) blank inactivity was in reality one of the most bustling and excited in the entire of the

early annals of Rome ; and that, at a time when Rome had appeared sunk in utter silence and oblivion, it was actually the theatre of a most animated and important contest. Whatever value we may attach to the particular views of this contest put forth by the writer ; whatever credence we give to his strictures upon the character and the policy of Callistus ;—this much at least is entirely beyond question.

Here, then, is a most important event, or rather a long series of events stretching over several years, and embracing two pontificates—no less an event than a schism of the Roman Church—of which, until the chance discovery of this fragment, not even a suspicion had existed. And this, it must be added, several years after the commencement of the third century. How many equally important events in Roman history—less happy, *caerent quia vate sacro*—may still remain in the same unrecorded obscurity from which chance has thus rescued the episode of Zephyrinus and Callistus ?

It may be said, to be sure, that in a point so important and so practical as the authority of the Roman bishop, if it had really been such as Catholics regard it, it is impossible to conceive that, even in the imperfect records which have been described, there should not have been preserved at least such allusions to it, as, even though casual and indirect, would be quite sufficient to identify its leading characteristics. An authority so decisive and so prominent could hardly fail, it may be said, to be appealed to, or, at least, to be introduced by incidental reference. The letters, the homilies, the moral and polemical treatises of the time, must surely have occasionally brought it forward.

Now this can only be imagined by persons who do not advert to the nature of the writings of the first and second century, which have been preserved, and to the subjects to which these writings relate. A very brief enumeration of them will suffice to show that the primacy of the Roman bishop is the very last subject to which we might expect them to allude. The Epistle of St. Barnabas is confined to the first principles of Christian faith and morals. The Pastor of Hermas, is a half-poetical declamation. St. Clement's Epistles to the Corinthians are purely local, and exclusively regard the duty of obedience to the pastors of each particular Church. Of the celebrated letters of

St. Ignatius, addressed to the several Churches, all are, except one, directed to the particular circumstances of each Church; and that one [To the Romans,] does imply, by the peculiar wording of its title, a recognition of some special preeminence on the part of Rome. Of the Epistles of Polycarp, that addressed to the Church of Smyrna is on a purely personal topic, the martyrdom of St. Ignatius; that to Diognet is an apology for Christianity; and the same may be said of the writings of Papias, a few fragments of which are preserved by Halloix, Grabe, and Gallandi.

This scanty list comprises all the writers who can be referred to the first century.

The writers of the second are all either Apologies of Christianity, addressed to the heathens, or refutations of the semi-heathen sects of the time. The Apologies of Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Hermias, and Theophilus of Antioch, are still extant; those of Quadratus and Aristides are known only from Eusebius and St. Jerome, as also those of Melito of Sardis, and Apollinaris. But even were they all still preserved, it is plain that an Apology for the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, and a defence of Christianity against the calumnies with which it was assailed, would be the very last place in which we might expect an appeal to the authority of Rome, or an exposition of its primatial privileges. It would be equally out of place in the few remaining writings of the second century. They were all, with hardly an exception, against the Gnostic heresies. Agrippa, Castor, Theophilus, Apollinaris, Maximus, Serapion, all wrote against one or other of the forms of this prolific heresy. Irenæus's great work, *Ελέγχος της ψευδώνυμης γνώσεως* has professedly the same object. Now we need not repeat that it is not in works of this character we could expect any, even incidental, reference to the primacy. With these antagonists, most of whom were little advanced beyond paganism, there was question of the very outworks of Christianity itself, and not of the details of its hierarchy or church government; and they were to be refuted not by the authority of a Pontiff, but by the evidence of Scripture or of reason itself.

The same, though somewhat less universally, may be said of the patristic literature of the third century. It is almost all addressed to the very first principles of Christian belief, considered in its relation to those outside of the

Church, and almost never enters into the details of its internal constitution. And where the dogmatical discussions, as, for example, those on the Trinity, were addressed to the Christian adherents of some of the sects of the times, they of their own nature excluded, as is plain from the circumstances of the case, all appeal to the authority of a Roman bishop, whose authority these sectaries, as a matter of course, did not acknowledge.

Thus, to glance at the principal ecclesiastical writers of the century, if we except St. Cyprian's treatise on Unity, a few of the letters of the same father, and the celebrated letter of Firmilian, there is not a single work in which we might naturally expect to find a reference or an allusion to this subject. Of the four works of St. Clement of Alexandria two are purely moral, and two are expressly intended for Gentile readers, and addressed to them alone. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus wrote chiefly on the Trinity. Origen's books against Celsus, his *περί αρχων*, and his moral works, fall into the same category with those of Clement of Alexandria; and although, perhaps, it might appear that his voluminous commentaries on Holy Scripture should have afforded an opportunity of referring to the privileges of Rome, it must be recollected that in these he addresses himself mainly to the prevailing controversies of his time. The same is true of Tertullian. Those of his works which were written before his lapse into Montanism, are either apologies of Christianity, moral essays, or controversial treatises against Gentiles, Jews, or Gnostic heretics, in all of which any reference to the authority of the Bishop of Rome would have been singularly unappropriate.

In truth, to bring this long preliminary to a close, nothing could be more unphilosophical, and nothing more contrary to the analogies even of modern polemical literature than to expect in the writers of the times under review frequent or even occasional references to the question, now so prominent, of the relation of the Roman bishop to the Church. Even now that it has become preeminently the controversy of the age, would any man infer, that, because in Nicholas' *Etudes Philosophiques sur le Christianisme*; or in Petau's treatises on the Trinity or on the Incarnation; or in any of the numberless moral and ascetical works which every year produces; no allusion is made to the primacy of Rome or the privileges of its bishop, therefore this doctrine was unknown to these writers or rejected

by them? And yet these writings, and such as these, are exact types of the great body of the theological remains of the fathers of the three first centuries.

It is only from these considerations that we can form a just estimate of the real position of the Roman see in relation to the rest of the Church, as discoverable from the historians and other literary remains of the first centuries. To judge these imperfect, fragmentary, and, as regards this particular question, irrelevant, records, and to draw inferences from them, as we should from the complete and carefully digested annals of modern history, would be either most uncritical or most uncandid.

Now it is necessary to bear all this in mind, while we are investigating the history of the Papacy. To look in the annals of the first ages for traces of a direct and ever-recurring interference in the local affairs of particular churches, such as we see in the history of the modern Church, would be a palpable anachronism. It is enough if we find in the scanty records of the times, facts, and statements, which, although different in character from many of the later developments of Papal power, yet must be acknowledged to involve, no less inevitably, all the spiritual privileges of the primacy, modified, it is true, by the circumstances of the age, and by the mutual relations of the various sections of the Christian commonwealth, but nevertheless, exhibiting the inalienable and divinely imparted power of ruling the Church according to its actual necessities. This is quite sufficient to fulfil all the requirements of the historical argument in favour of the Roman Supremacy. More than this would be irreconcilable with what we have already seen as to the actual circumstances of the early Church.

And the fundamental injustice of almost every Protestant writer on the early history of the Papacy, consists in their entirely ignoring these considerations. Nay, a favourite topic of argument against the Roman Papacy is this very scantiness of the early records of Roman Church! Far from being accounted for by the general principles explained above, it is triumphantly alleged as *prima-facie* evidence of the absence of preeminence on its part. And yet, with an inconsistency which might excite surprise, if it were not the habitual characteristic of polemical literature, whenever it does happen that, in the scanty records which have been preserved, Rome is found to occupy any promi-

nent position,—as, for example, in the Paschal controversy, the Cyprianic correspondence, the affair of Athanasius and the Eusebians, and other similar episodes of the early history,—the chances are, that we shall find the narrative treated with suspicion, if not with positive unbelief, as a Roman forgery;—on the simple ground, that to attribute to the Roman bishop in those times the prominence which these narrations assign to him is a clear anachronism, and can only be explained as a device of the modern advocates of the Papal prerogative! It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of Mr. Shepherd's elaborate hypothesis upon this subject, which we are amused to find Mr. Riddle, if not positively adopt, at least record without any expression of dissent;*—even down to the ludicrous suggestion that the very abuse of the Roman bishops contained in these narratives—such as the well-known letter of Firmilian, or that of the Eusebian bishops to Julius, on which Protestants are wont to rely as their strongest arguments against the Papal usurpation—is merely an “ingenious device” of the forger, thrown in in order to disarm suspicion, and to give a greater appearance of genuineness to a correspondence which was calculated in the main to give a colour to the ambitious claims of Rome! †

It is time, however, to turn to the immediate subject of our present notice, and to render some account of the spirit in which the authors now before us have dealt with the enquiry.

We may begin by observing that, in neither of these works will the reader find any allowance for the considerations which we have been enforcing. On the contrary, it is plain that, without insisting upon it as an argument, there is a disposition to put prominently forward the smallness of the space occupied in the early annals by the Church of Rome, as a practical presumption against our notion of its supremacy. Mr. Riddle even draws from the silence of Justin in his Apology, a formal inference that “the possession of anything like Papal power by the presiding presbyter of the Roman Church had not yet been imagined;” and he presses into service with the same view the “somewhat remarkable” fact, that “none of the

* See I. p. 28, note, and again p. 78 and p. 73.

† I. p. 87.

early Apologies or Defences were written by a bishop of Rome in his name."

It will be more satisfactory, however, to select a few leading events, in order, by the manner in which these authors deal with them, to test the general character of their history of the Papacy.

We shall take, in the first instance, the well-known interposition of Pope Victor in the Paschal controversy. Not that this celebrated case can be at all considered as decisive; although it is amusing to observe how perseveringly Protestants persist in representing this as one of the great sources of argument on which the Catholic view of the Papal authority is made to rest. Mr. Riddle and Mr. Robertson both put it forward as a case which is "pressed into the service of the later Papal claims," and both proceed to discuss it exclusively in this point of view;—the truth being that in almost every Catholic authority upon the question, "the contest of Pope Victor with the Asiatics" will be found to be discussed, rather in the light of an objection to the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, than as an argument in its favour.

We shall transcribe Mr. Riddle's narrative of the affair.

"But the influence of Rome was already, even in the second century, too great for the simplicity and virtue of her bishops; in the minds of some of whom, to say the least, pride of precedence had been developed into a lust of power. We have now arrived at the date of an event which, while of itself it testifies the actual absence of papal authority or power in the Church, yet reveals such a temper in a bishop of Rome, and was attended with such proceedings on the part of Victor, that we are compelled to regard it as at least one of the early, though faint, streaks of light in the morning horizon of the Papacy. Forty years had elapsed since Anicetas and Polycarp had discussed in a friendly spirit their differences relating to the observance of Easter; and it is probable that the Christian mind had been more or less directed to the subject ever since that period. At length the question was generally raised, and was treated at Rome in a temper widely different from that which had so favourably distinguished the previous discussion. The whole account of this event is so important in its various bearings as to be entitled to a full survey.

"The Churches of Asia Minor had continued to observe the paschal festival on the fourteenth day of the first month; while all other Churches of the East and West observed it, as formerly, on the first Sunday after. A desire of general uniformity with regard

to this practice appears to have now gathered strength; and numerous synods, or meetings of bishops and clergy, took place in various countries with a view to a final adjustment of the question. The bishops of Palestine assembled under the presidency of Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem; those of Pontus under Palmas, as the oldest of their number; the Churches of Gaul under the presidency of Irenæus; the Church of Corinth, by itself, under its own bishop Bachyllus; and from these synods, as well as from others convened in various places, letters were addressed to the faithful everywhere, establishing what Eusebius terms the 'ecclesiastical dogma,' that the Festival of the Resurrection should be celebrated on the Lord's day, and no other; and among these letters there was one from the Church of Rome, bearing the name of the bishop, Victor. On the other side, Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, presided at a meeting of the bishops of Asia Minor, who were resolved to maintain their own ancient custom; and we find that Polycrates addressed a letter to Victor, declaring their intention, and appealing to ancient and apostolical authority in support of it. From this epistle of Polycrates it appears that it was Victor who had requested him to assemble his bishops for a consideration of the question; and, from the style of defence in which the epistle is written, especially from the repetition of the apostolic maxim, 'We ought to obey God rather than men,' it seems probable that the present agitation of the controversy is to be traced to Victor, and that his letter to Polycrates was conceived in a dictatorial, or even threatening, tone. Be this as it may, on the receipt of this letter from Polycrates, subscribed as it was by a large number of the bishops of Asia Minor, Victor immediately exerted his influence to obtain a general sentence of excommunication against the recalcant Churches on the ground of heterodoxy, by sending letters to other bishops, in which he declared that the offending parties were absolutely cut off from communion with his own Church of Rome. In this proceeding, however, he failed to obtain the general concurrence of other Churches; but, since Eusebius says, 'This was not approved by all the bishops,' we may probably infer that some of them did consent to the proposal. Many, at all events, refused, and sent back letters of severe remonstrance, exhorting Victor to cultivate a spirit of peace, concord, and love towards his neighbours. Among these well-merited rebukes we find a letter from Irenæus, which has been preserved, in the original Greek, by Eusebius, and is valuable, not only on its own account, but also as enabling us to form a more complete estimate of the meaning of that passage in his writings which we have already considered as laudatory of the Church of Rome. Writing in the name of the brethren 'whom he governed in Gaul,' Irenæus acknowledges it to be true that the paschal festival ought to be observed only on the Lord's day, but tells Victor plainly that he ought not to refuse to hold communion with whole Churches of God who observed a different custom in accord-

ance with an ancient tradition ; ' for,' continues he, ' the controversy relates, not merely to the day of observance, but to the manner of the fast itself. Some think they ought to fast one day, others reckon two, others again more; and some make their period to consist of forty successive hours, day and night; and this difference in the observation of the fast did not spring up in our days, but began long ago in the time of our predecessors, who, being perhaps not very strict in their government, handed down to posterity a custom which may have originated in simplicity and ignorance. But, notwithstanding this diversity, they maintained peace with each other, and we continue to maintain it; and this difference in the fast commends our unanimity in the faith.' (The concluding words of this passage are very remarkable; involving, in fact, a great principle of sound Church polity.) Irenæus then proceeds to refer to the proceedings of past history in the following terms:— " And besides, those presbyters who, before the time of Soter, presided over the Church which you now govern—namely, Anicetas, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, and Xystus—did not themselves concur in this observance (*i. e.*, the paschal practice of Asia Minor), nor did they suffer those who were with them to do so; but yet they continued on terms of friendship with those who came to them from Churches in which the observance was maintained. And although the fact of practising it among those who declined to do so was on this account the more striking, yet never were any ejected on account of this custom. On the contrary, the presbyters who preceded you, although they did not observe this custom, sent the eucharist to those from other Churches who did so.' And the epistle concludes with a narrative of the amicable discussion which had taken place between Anicetus and Polycarp. After these proceedings, the Churches of Asia Minor defended their practice in an epistle addressed to their brethren of other communions; and they appear to have continued their ancient observance without molestation, until at length uniformity was established by the Council of Nicæa in the fourth century.

" In this painful narrative there are many things worthy of remark. The intolerant and overbearing spirit of Victor is manifest, and needs no comment. It is also clear that the Bishop of Rome was not at this time regarded as the universal head of the Church; and that, in fact, all Churches of the East and West were independent of each other. This abundantly appears from the refusal of other bishops to fall in with the plans of Victor, and the remonstrances which they addressed to him; as well as from the determination of the Churches of Asia Minor to abide by their own customs, contrary to the practice of all the rest of Christendom. It has been said, indeed, that the question was merely one of ceremony, not of doctrine, implying that the bishop of Rome was supreme in matters of faith, although evidently not so with reference to religious observances and customs; but the fact is (as we have

seen) that it was on the very ground of ‘heterodoxy’ that Victor rested the quarrel; and it is certain that he had no universal authority in any ecclesiastical matter whatever.”—*History of the Papacy*, vol. i. pp. 44—9.

There is one rather serious omission in this summary of the transaction, which we cannot overlook, and which we cannot help considering significant of Mr. Riddle’s views. He mentions the various councils which were held in different parts of the Church, to deliberate on the celebration of Easter. But he suppresses the fact that the most important of all these (that of Polycrates himself) is expressly stated to have been convened at the call of Victor; and that, as all were held simultaneously, and as parts of the same general movement, the same may be presumed of all the rest. Now, even without insisting that the word by which Polycrates describes Victor’s having called upon him to summon the council (*ἡξίωσατε*) might naturally enough imply an authoritative command, yet it is at least a circumstance too important to be lightly suppressed, that it was Victor who took the initiative in this important movement, and that it was through his influence, and at his desire, the whole Church was put into motion, and these various councils, in the most distant provinces, and even in distinct patriarchates, were called simultaneously into action. Even Mr. Robertson, although he represents the assembling of the councils as the free act of the bishops themselves, yet admits that it was brought about at Victor’s desire, and through his instigation.

In other respects, his account of the affair is substantially the same with that of Mr. Riddle. And his general reasoning upon the result is equally adverse to Roman claims.

“It is hardly necessary,” he says, “to observe, that the attempt to press this affair into the service of the later papal claims is singularly unfortunate. The arrogance and violence of Victor are indeed undeniable; but his pretensions were far short of those set up by his successors. The assembling of the councils, although it took place at his request, was the free act of the local bishops; he was unceremoniously rebuked for his measures; there is no token of deference to him as a superior; and his designs were utterly foiled.”—*Robertson’s History of the Christian Church*, p. 69.

We cannot delay to enter into a formal examination of this very flippant paragraph. It will be enough to remind

the reader how oddly it contrasts in many particulars with the narrative of Eusebius, of which it professes to be a summary. Mr. Robertson must have strangely forgotten his own admission, made a few lines earlier, that these various councils, independent of each other as they were, in Palestine, in Pontus, in Greece, in Osrhoene, and in Gaul, had all met at Victor's desire, when he asserted, as he does here, that there is in the affair "no token of deference to him as a superior;" and his assertion that Victor was "*unceremoniously rebuked* for his measures," is, we are forced to say, a very free paraphrase, at the least, of Eusebius's *καθηκόντως παραυει* ("*becomingly exhorts.*")

But we shall not dwell on these things, our principal concern being with another statement, which is made by both these writers in common.

We shall transcribe the statement as it stands in Mr. Riddle's work. The same sentiment is repeated, less in detail, by Mr. Robertson.*

"One point there is, however, of considerable importance in our present inquiry, which has been extremely misunderstood by both Romanist and Protestant writers. It has been set in a right light by Mosheim, and deserves our especial attention. Nothing has been more common with ecclesiastical historians than to speak of Victor as having on this occasion 'excommunicated' the Churches of Asia Minor, that term being applied to the transaction in the full modern sense of the expression; and hence Romanists, on the one hand, have affirmed the antiquity of their Church's authority, while Protestants, on the other, have denounced the enormity of its usurpation. Now, an attentive reader of the foregoing statement, in which I have closely followed Eusebius, who is the great authority on this subject, must have already seen that such a view of the case is far from being correct. Victor did not excommunicate,—he did not even pretend to a power of excommunicating,—from the whole Church; he merely declared that his own Church should not hold communion with the Churches of Asia Minor; and he endeavoured to persuade the bishops of other Churches to adopt a similar measure. In this attempt he failed; and, had he succeeded, while the result would have proved that he possessed a preponderating influence, yet the very attempt itself would have included a confession of the absence of supreme authority on his part. He displayed a domineering spirit, and he manifestly stretched beyond due measure that power which each community possessed of excluding unworthy members, or of declaring with whom it was willing to hold

* P. 68.

communion; but he did not even attempt to usurp a power of governing other Churches. Such attempts, and eventually such usurpation, were reserved for later days; and the history of Victor's proceedings in the paschal controversy remains on record as a proof that *at the close of the second century there was not even the assumption of authority by the bishops of Rome beyond the limits of Italy.*—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 49—50.

The great point on which Mr. Riddle insists in this singular paragraph, and on which he undertakes to set right all those who have gone before him, is the real nature of the act of excommunication attempted by Victor in reference to the Asiatic “Quarto-decimans.” He vehemently denies that Victor excommunicates them *from the whole church*; he even contends that Victor did not *pretend to a power* of excommunicating from the whole Church. The whole extent of his proceeding, according to Mr. Riddle, was to “declare that *his own church* should not hold communion with the Churches of Asia Minor.”

Mr. Robertson explains the act in precisely the same way, as “an imperious letter, cutting off the Asiatics from the communion of Rome.” (p. 68.)

Now whatever may be said as to the actual results of Victor's proceeding, no one can read the narrative of Eusebius, (our only source of information in the matter,) without seeing that the Pope intended far more than to cut off the Asiatic Churches from the communion of his own individual Church of Rome. The words which the historian uses, might almost seem to have been selected for the purpose of excluding any such possible interpretation as that affixed to them by Mr. Riddle. It is not merely that he does not in any way allude to an exclusion from the particular communion of Victor's own Church; but he actually speaks in express terms of “*cutting off from the common unity;*” (ἀποτέμειν της κοινῆς ἐνώσεως); and he describes the letter of Victor as proclaiming the Churches of Asia not merely separated from the “private communion of his own Church,” but as “*utterly excommunicated*” [ἀκοινωνήτες ἀρδην.]*

* We shall transcribe the entire passage :

Ἐπι τῆτοις ὁ μὲν τῶν Ρώμαιων προεστὼς Βίκτωρ, ἀθρόως της Ἀσίας πασης ἅμα ταις ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικίας ἀποτέμειν ὡς ετεροδοξέσσας τῆς κοινῆς ἐνώσεως πειραταί. Καὶ στηλιτενεὶ γε διὰ γραμμάτων ἀκοινωνήτες ἀρδην παντας τες ἐκέισε ἀνακηρυττων ἀδελφους. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. 24. Histor. Eccles. Scriptores. [Valois Ed.] T. i. p. 156.

It may be alleged, to be sure, that Victor indeed intended and desired that the Asiatics should be entirely cut off from the Church; but that he did not attempt to effect this by *his own* official authority, or by his own particular act, but simply, as Mr. Riddle writes, by "endeavouring to persuade *the other bishops* to adopt a similar measure;" or in Mr. Robertson's phrase, "by endeavouring to procure a like condemnation of them from the other branches of the Universal Church." Now we need only point to the express language of Eusebius in order to exclude any such explanation. The purport of Victor's letter was not to induce the other bishops to join in the excommunication, or to procure from the other bishops a similar condemnation; but simply to "pronounce" or "proclaim" the Asiatic Churches "entirely excluded from communion," [*αρδην ακοινωνητους ανακηρυττων.*]

That such was the intention of Victor, as explained by Eusebius, no reasonable man can doubt. And, therefore, to confine the proceeding with Mr. Robertson to a mere act of withdrawal of private communion, or still more to assert, as Mr. Riddle does, that the Pope did not even pretend to the right of excommunication from the whole Church, is palpably to pervert the whole tenor of the history.

That Victor, therefore, at least, pretended to this right, it is impossible to deny, and to assert or insinuate the contrary is a most substantial and, we cannot help adding, a very disingenuous misrepresentation of the facts of this celebrated case. We are far from intending to imply that the mere pretension on Victor's part would in itself, and in the abstract, be conclusive as to the justice of his claim. But we do contend that, even in the abstract, the pretension itself is exceedingly important, and that, taken in connection with the circumstances, it is absolutely conclusive against the view which these writers attempt to sustain. It may be said, it is true, that "he failed to obtain the general concurrence of the Churches," or as Mr. Robertson chooses to express it, that "he was utterly foiled in his measures." But it would argue great unacquaintance with the history of the Church, not to know that a failure such as this is perfectly compatible with the existence, and even with the recognition, of full authority upon his part.

It is particularly worthy of note that, in the account given by Eusebius of the opposition which Victor encour-

tered from certain of the bishops in this matter, there is not a single word to convey that any of them *called his authority into question*. We are told that the proceeding “did not please all the bishops;” that they “exhorted him against it,” [αντιπαρακελεύονται]; that some of them “animadverted rather severely upon him.”* [πληκτικώτερον καταπτομένων.] But this is all. It is not said that any of them questioned his right of interference, or denied his power to excommunicate. They merely *dissuaded him from exercising it*. They exhorted him to “that course which was calculated to promote peace, and unity, and brotherly love.” And it is perfectly plain from the letter of Irenæus, that what *he* questioned was, not the authority of Victor, but the prudence and expediency of its exercise in this particular instance. The points upon which he dwells are drawn exclusively from this consideration;—from the antiquity of the tradition to which the dissentients cling; from its being a matter of “form,” [εἶδος,]; and from the example of the earlier bishops, who had differed in this form, and yet had maintained peace and communion. In all this, there is not a word, even to insinuate a denial of that authority, on the assumption of which the act of Victor was founded. On the contrary, it is clearly implied in the selection of such motives of exhortation as these. Had the case been otherwise—had the ground of the excommunication been of a more important character—had the usage of the Asiatics been a novel one, and not resting on an ancient tradition—had it been a substantial departure from the faith, and not merely a thing of outward observance—had there not been the precedent of former bishops of Rome for its toleration, Irenæus would have freely acquiesced in the proceeding of Victor.

It is not a little remarkable, too, that the precedents which he quotes are exclusively those of Roman bishops, Anicetus, and Pius, and Hyginus, and Telesphorus, and

* As Eusebius has not given any of these letters, with the sole exception of that of Irenæus, it is not easy to know what idea he may have attached to this phrase. But there is nothing in it which requires us to suppose that the suppressed letters contained any denial of Victor's authority. On the contrary, the letter of Irenæus, which is given as a sample of them all, [ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος] supposes, and, at least by implication proves, the recognition of such an authority, as we shall presently see.

Xystus; as if the precedent would have been incomplete had any others been selected but bishops who were invested with the same powers which Victor himself might claim to possess.

Now, will any man believe that, if this claim of Victor had been new, and until then unheard of; if to use Mr. Riddle's words, "up to the close of the second century there had been not even the assumption of authority by the bishops of Rome beyond the limits of Italy;" this would have been the tone adopted by the remonstrants? Would they not have risen at once against the claim itself, and denounced it as an arrogant usurpation? Would they have confined themselves to "dissuasive exhortations," or even to "severe animadversions?" Would Irenæus have been content with an appeal to his love of peace and charity, or to the peaceful precedent established by the conduct of his predecessors? Would he not rather at once have denied his authority, and rebuked him for his presumption? Still more, would not the historian himself, (who, be it remembered, was a Greek, and no friend to "Roman pretensions,") have made it plain by his narrative, that the claim set up by Victor was new and unexampled—a departure from the established usage of the Christian communities at the time—an intolerable invasion of the independence of local and national Churches, and, on this account, justly and rightfully resisted and defeated by the better sense and feeling of his contemporaries?

It may be urged on the other side, that the recognition or non-recognition of Victor's claim is best judged by the result, and that the result is decisive against it. On the one hand "the Asiatic Churches abided by their own customs;" on the other, "other bishops refused to fall in with Victor's plans." "He was utterly foiled in his measures."

But, in the first place, we have already said, that to resist authority is one thing, to deny and repudiate it is another. And even were it otherwise, the resistance of the Quarta-decimans would no more disprove the papal authority than the resistance of the Arians would overthrow that of the Council of Nice.

In the second place, we repeat that there is no evidence whatever in the narrative of Eusebius, that the "other bishops" of whom he speaks offered any "resistance," in the strict sense of the word, to the decree of Victor. It "did not please them," it is true. They "remonstrated

against it;” some of them perhaps “animadverted severely” upon its inexpediency. But the only sample of the remonstrances which the historian thought it necessary to preserve, is one so “becoming,” [*προσηκόντως*] so respectful, so clearly provisional and suspensive in its nature, and so entirely free from all taint of rebellion, that the most zealous ultramontane even at the present day, and with all the adventitious reverence which now attaches to his person, might address it to the Roman Pontiff in similar circumstances, without a shadow of offence.

We have entered thus at length into this question, less on account of any decisive bearing which it has upon the historical enquiry, than with a view to showing, from this particular instance, the spirit in which these writers deal with the subject generally. It is not with their conclusions from it that we are disposed to quarrel. Mr. Riddle is perfectly at liberty to pronounce as his own verdict on the matter, that “it is quite clear that the bishop of Rome was not at this time regarded as the universal head of the Church;” (p. 48.) that “he did not even attempt to usurp a power of governing other Churches.” (p. 50.) Mr. Robertson may hold as he pleases, that “the attempt to press this affair into the service of the papal claims is singularly unfortunate.” (p. 69.) Of these, as individual opinions, however we may dissent from them, we have no wish to complain.

But what we do complain of is, that while these writers profess to lay before their readers the means of forming a judgment of the facts for themselves, they suppress many most important particulars calculated to influence that judgment most materially.

We complain that Mr. Riddle suppresses altogether the fact, that the numerous councils simultaneously held in almost every part of the Church, were called together at the request, (at least, if not the command, for *ἡξίωσται* might not unnaturally bear this meaning,) of Victor, and that Mr. Robertson, gratuitously, and without a shadow of foundation in the narrative, asserts that their assembling “was a voluntary act of the local bishops.”

We complain that both of them put prominently forward the *severe rebuke* of Victor, attributed to certain of the bishops; and yet both suppress the qualifying phrase, “*becomingly*,” which is used by Eusebius with reference to the remonstrance of Irenæus.

We complain further that both of them urge (and urge beyond the truth) the opposition offered to Victor by Irenæus, and yet suppress the important circumstance that, while he opposes his judgment as harsh and inexpedient, he never breathes a syllable in doubt or denial of his authority.

We complain, lastly, that they both attempt to represent what was clearly a decree of *active* excommunication—a cutting off of the Churches of Asia from communion [*αποτέμειν*]¹—as a merely passive measure; i. e., a withdrawal of the communion of the particular Church of Rome from these dissentients from the common practice of Christendom.

And in all this, the unfairness and dishonesty is made doubly dishonest by the assurance which Mr. Riddle does not hesitate to append, that “he has closely followed Eusebius, who is the great authority on the subject.”

We must say, moreover, that this is not a solitary instance. The same system of suppression pervades all the really important questions which arise in this portion of the history of the Roman Church.

Thus, to take the well-known history of Pope Stephen’s interference in the affairs of the deposed bishops of Spain and Gaul. Mr. Robertson never alludes to the subject of Stephen’s interposition at all; although he actually refers to the cases of those very bishops, in order to show that every individual bishop was charged with the care of the whole Church.* And if Mr. Riddle escapes the imputation of suppressing the facts altogether, it is only to fall under the still more serious charge of mis-stating and mis-construing the circumstances by which they were attended.

The following is his account of the very important case of Marcian, Bishop of Arles.

“At the beginning of Stephen’s episcopate we find Cyprian consulting him with reference to a matter which had been submitted to his own judgment by certain Gallican bishops. The case was this. Marcian, bishop of Arles, having adopted the principles of Novatian, Faustinus of Lyons and other Gallican bishops addressed letters at once to Cyprian and to Stephen, requesting their advice

* P. 147, note. In this note he does not even mention the name of the Roman Pontiff.

as to the course of conduct to be pursued with a view to the deposition of the offenders. In these epistles, there is no recognition of any authority on the part of the bishops of Rome and Carthage; the communication is simply between colleagues and friends. But here it must be remarked, that this practice of making reference or appeals to Rome, while it by no means supports the argument which the advocates of papal claims would found upon it,—inasmuch as the same appeals were made to other bishops besides the Roman,—was yet undoubtedly employed by the leaders of the Roman Church as an occasion for assuming an authority, and exercising a jurisdiction, which did not belong to them. Advantage was taken of the disorders, dissensions, or misfortunes of distant Churches, to proceed from giving advice to interference in the arrangement of their affairs; and these acts of interference were such as to contribute to the establishment of dominion. The sins of the several Churches contributed to the great sin of spiritual despotism on the part of Rome; and it will be seen that, in this way, as well as in others, the usurpations of that see were more or less a result of the general absence or decline of vital Christianity throughout the Church. The Papacy is a worm which breeds in spiritual corruption, and fattens upon Christianity when turning to decay.

“While the reference thus made to Rome and Carthage shows the position which these two Churches occupied with regard to the smaller communities of the West, it is also remarkable that Cyprian did not venture to send his reply without previously consulting his colleague at Rome; and he assigns as a reason for this measure, that Rome ought to have precedence of Carthage on account of its magnitude. We shall see hereafter that it was indeed only precedence which Cyprian conceded to the Roman bishop; but nothing can be more clear than that he asserted for his ‘colleague Stephen’ the primacy among bishops on all occasions, in which several were required or disposed to act in concert. In his estimation the bishop of Rome occupied the chair of Peter in the principal Church of Christendom. And on the present occasion he urges the bishop of Rome to take the lead in preserving the ‘unity of the Church,’ by advising the Gallican bishops to excommunicate Marcian, with an assurance that both Rome and Carthage would support them in this measure.”—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 82—3.

We shall not stop to observe, that this is one of the passages on which Mr. Riddle calls in the aid of Mr. Shepherd’s scepticism as to the genuineness of the Epistles of Cyprian. What we complain of is the disingenuous version which he gives of the letter of Cyprian to the Pope. According to his version of this very important letter, Cyprian simply “urged the Bishop of Rome to take the lead in preserving the unity of the Church, by *advising the Gal-*

lican Bishops to excommunicate Marcian." Now it is hardly possible to imagine a more complete perversion of the meaning of the original letter.

"Dirigantur a te," St. Cyprian writes to Stephen, "in provinciam et ad plebem Arelati consistentem literæ quibus, abstento Marciano, alius in locum ejus substituatur."

"Let a letter be directed by thee into the province and to the people of Arles, by which (letter), Marcian being set aside, another may be substituted in his place."

So that the deposition of Marcian, and the substitution of another in his stead, is expressly attributed to Stephen's letter; and thus, instead of Cyprian's urging Stephen, as Mr. Riddle represents, to "advise the Gallican Bishops to excommunicate Marcian, with an assurance that Rome and Carthage would support them in this measure," he expressly calls on Stephen to do this in *his own person, and by the authority of his own letter*; hereby recognizing in Stephen power, not only to set a heretical bishop aside by his single authority, but even to appoint another in his place, in virtue of the same prerogative.

And yet Mr. Riddle parades at the foot of his page the very epistle from which this passage is taken, and of which he professes to give the substance in his text!

We may instance the case of Pope Julius's interposition in the contest between St. Athanasius and his Arian antagonists, as an equally glaring example of unfaithful and one-sided narrative.

Mr. Robertson, in recording the transaction, contents himself with the meagre statement that the charges against Athanasius "were carried to Rome by a deputation of the Eusebian clergy, but were met by some emissaries of Athanasius, who were provided with a synodical letter, attesting his merits and his innocence." (p. 201.) He adds that "Julius, who had succeeded to the Roman See in 357, was influenced by these representations, and proposed that the case should be referred to a synod, at which both parties should be confronted." In a subsequent paragraph, he continues; "Athanasius then betook himself to Rome, where a synod of fifty bishops pronounced him innocent, and confirmed to him the communion of the Church. Other expelled bishops also appeared before the council, among whom was Marcellus of Ancyra, who had resumed his see on the death of Con-

stantine, but had been again dispossessed of it. He satisfied Julius and his brethren that the charges of heresy on which he had been deprived, were founded on misapprehension. A correspondence followed between Julius and the Eastern bishops, but without any satisfactory result.”

—Robertson, p. 203.

Mr. Riddle's account of the affair is somewhat more detailed.

“The Arians having obtained favour at the court of Constantius, Athanasius found himself compelled to use great efforts for the maintenance of his position, in defence of the doctrines established at Nicæa. He assembled a council of about one hundred Egyptian bishops, which defended him against the charges urged against him by the Eusebian party, and retorted on them by accusations of various acts of injustice and oppression. Hereupon the Eusebians had recourse in self-defence to other bishops, and especially to Julius, bishop of Rome, entreating him to convene a council for the consideration of the matter in debate, and proposing that he should act as judge or umpire. Julius consented, and Athanasius, after having answered the accusations of the Eusebians by deputies, complied with the request of Julius to appear in person before him. Thus did the quarrels of foreign Churches contribute, from time to time, to the undue elevation of the Roman see.

“The influence of the bishop of Rome must have been greatly augmented by the presence of Athanasius, the head of an extensive and renowned metropolitan see, who came to confront his accusers in a council over which the bishop of Rome presided, and to await the decision of that tribunal. The bishop of Constantinople and others were at the same time attracted from the East, with a view to urge their own complaints against the Eusebian party, and to obtain a decision in their favour. The verdict was in favour of Athanasius and his friends; and Julius wrote a letter to his ‘dear brethren,’ the bishops of the Eusebian party, declaring the judgment of the Italian bishops in council assembled, and entreating them to repair the breach of unity which had been occasioned by the deposition of unoffending bishops. Such, at least, is the account of the epistle of Julius, as given by Athanasius himself; but, according to Socrates and Sozomen, it was conceived in a sharper tone, extending even to the language of severe reproof and threatening. It is to be observed, however, that their report of the matter rests upon inferior and uncertain authority.

“Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, having been condemned as a heretic, and placed on a par with Sabellius and Paul of Samosata by the Eusebians in the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, appealed to Julius, bishop of Rome, and requested him to convene a council for the trial of his cause. The council was convened accordingly; the

accusers of Marcellus, who had been invited to confront him, did not appear, and the bishop was pronounced orthodox.

“Athanasius was afterwards obliged to repair to Rome for his personal safety, in consequence of the disturbance which took place at Alexandria, when, under the sanction of Constantius, Gregory was put in possession of the see.”—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 132—4.

Such is the narrative of the celebrated appeal of Athanasius and his party to Pope Julius and the bishops of Italy, which these writers have submitted to the student of the early history of the Papacy! We could hardly have believed it possible to carry the principle of “ignoring” to so sweeping an extent.

Mr. Riddle does not even mention the celebrated Epistle of Julius to the Eusebian bishops! Mr. Robertson simply refers to it under the vague name of “a correspondence between Julius and the eastern bishops, without any satisfactory result!” Neither the one nor the other even hints at the claims which this remarkable letter puts forward on behalf of the Roman See; and puts forward, not as of human institution, but as “the ordinances of Paul,” learned from “the blessed apostle, Peter,” and “founded on the teaching of the Fathers;” not as of obscure and recent origin, but as known to all.*

Both Mr. Riddle and Mr. Robertson, although they allude to the restoration of Athanasius and Marcellus in their sees, carefully suppress all notice of the part taken by Julius in restoring them. Where the historian Socrates expressly attributes to this very correspondence the authoritative re-establishment of Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, Lucius of Adrianople, and other bishops in their respective sees, Mr. Robertson thinks it enough to say that “a correspondence ensued between Julius and the Eastern Bishops, but without any satisfactory result.” (p. 203) Where Socrates, having stated that Athanasius and the other unjustly-deposed bishops “betook themselves to Rome and informed Julius, the Bishop of the Romans, of their condition,” goes on to say that Julius, “*inasmuch as the Roman Church enjoyed a privilege beyond all the rest*, earnestly espoused their cause, and sent a letter to the East, himself restoring and giving back [*αποδίδες*] to each of them his own see, and severely reprehended

* See the whole letter in Coustant's *Epistolæ Rom. Pontif.* p. 385.

those who had rashly ejected them.” * Mr. Robertson, suppressing all notice of the special part ascribed to Julius, contents himself with coldly recording that Athanasius “betook himself to Rome, where a synod of fifty bishops pronounced him innocent, and confirmed to him the communion of the Church !”

It is difficult to conceive a more flagrant act of misrepresentation. Yet we doubt whether Mr. Riddle’s mode of dealing with the same subject is much less unworthy of a candid historian. In the passage which we have quoted from him above, he attempts to evade the necessity of quoting the unpalatable testimony of Socrates to the authority of the Roman See, by selecting in preference to the evidence of Socrates that of Athanasius himself; although, be it observed, the language of Athanasius is by no means inconsistent with that of the historian. Had he been content with this, perhaps we should not have complained. But even while he refers to the account given of the transaction by Socrates and Sozomen, and endeavours to depreciate the value of their authority, he carefully suppresses all allusion to the nature of their testimony to the pre-eminence of Rome, and to the Pope’s authoritative interposition in restoring Athanasius by his own letter, and merely refers to them as recording that Julius’s letter was “conceived in a sharper tone, and extended even to the language of severe reproof and threatening !”

And this, although he cites in a foot-note, the very book and chapter from which the above extract is taken !

In the same uncandid spirit, where Socrates, as we have seen, describes Julius as actually himself giving back (*αποδίδως*) his see to Marcellus of Ancyra; and where Sozomen, to the same statement, adds the still more important commentary, that it was “*because, on account of the dignity of his see, the care of all belonged to him,*” † Mr. Riddle throws the Pope out of view altogether; never once alludes to his action in the affair of Marcellus;

* The effect of this passage is lost unless it be read entire, in the words of Socrates himself. Hist. Ecc. II. cap. 15. Scriptor. Hist. Eccles. II. p. 76. Valois Ed.

† Οἷα τε τῆς πάντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῷ προσήκουσας, διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τε θρόνου ἑκάστῃ τὴν ἴδιαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπεδώκε. Sozom. Hist. Ecc. III. 8. Scriptor. Hist. Eccles. II. p. 413.

never once informs his reader that any part of the result was due to his authoritative interference; but simply assures him that "the council was convened; the accusers of Marcellus, who had been invited to confront him, did not appear, and the bishop was pronounced orthodox!"

We cannot dwell farther upon this portion of the subject; but we may once for all observe, that the same spirit pervades the whole of Mr. Riddle's narrative regarding the early Papacy. He never once alludes to the remarkable testimony which the pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, bears to the superior authority of the "bishops of the Eternal City."* He passes over the remarkable proceedings in the case of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, and in that of John, bishop of the same see. His account of the so-called Meletian schism is most uncritical and one-sided. In a word, through every step of the history, there is a clear and sustained determination, not only to represent the papal claim as a usurpation, but to distort, suppress, or evade, every shred of contrary evidence.

And when he comes at last to the period in which it is no longer practicable to ignore its existence altogether, he has recourse to the most despicable special pleading, in order to neutralize what is impossible to evade. Without pretending to enter into any detailed discussion of the facts, we shall extract a few specimens of his manner of dealing with the papacy of the fourth century. Finding it impossible to escape from the well known Decretal Letters of Pope Siricius,† he denounces them as a 'usurpation.'

"After the death of Damasus the party of Ursicinus endeavoured in vain to procure his succession to the see; the emperor, Valentinian II., confirmed the election of Siricius. An epistle of this bishop is remarkable at once as constituting the oldest genuine portion of the canon law, and as containing a specimen of the increasingly haughty pretensions of the Romish see. Himerius, bishop of Tarragona in Spain, had written to Damasus, requesting his own opinion and that of the Roman clergy upon certain points of Church discipline. Siricius read this letter to his clergy; and sent back an answer in which he prescribed various regulations of discipline in a *right dictatorial style*. In particular, he strongly condemned the conduct of those among the clergy who had continued to live with their wives whom they had married before their ordination, and who had justified their practice by the example of

* Lib. lxx. cap. vii. p. 70.

† Coustant, 623—99.

priests and Levites under the old dispensation; and he ordered all who should claim such right on these grounds to be *deposed from their offices in the Church by authority of the apostolic see*. He also laid down a rule that, henceforth, in Spain, the baptism of adults should take place only at Easter and Whitsuntide; adding a threat that any of the clergy who should refuse to comply with this regulation should 'be torn off from that firm apostolical rock on which Christ had built His Church.' And he *distinctly affirmed that Rome was 'the head' of the Church in Spain*.

"Other events of the episcopate of Siricius may be thus summed up in the words of a modern writer. 'The power of the Church of Rome over the Catholic Church was still further extended by this bishop, by a decree which he procured from a council summoned at Rome, which ordained that *none should presume to consecrate a bishop without the knowledge and consent of the apostolic see*. Many, indeed, believe this decree to be spurious.' Whether it be so or not, it is of very early date, and must have been forged in the name of Siricius soon after this period. The question is discussed in the notes to Bower.—A yet further exercise of the incipient papal power characterised the present period. Jovinian, the learned and exemplary friend of Jerome, having embraced certain opinions respecting the mother of Christ which Jerome condemned, Siricius summoned a council at Rome to condemn them also. When they did so, he excommunicated him and his friends. Jovinian appealed to Ambrose at Milan. The papal mandate followed him to that city, and procured his expulsion. The emperor Honorius condemned Jovinian and his coadjutors to be punished with whips armed with lead. So early did the cruelties of the ecclesiastical power, calling on the civil power, begin to torment the most spiritual and eminent Christians.....'"—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 147—9.

Equally cool and self-satisfied is the tone in which he dismisses the letters and decrees of Pope Innocent.

"Anastasius was followed by Innocent I., who held the see for fifteen years, and displayed unexampled boldness in pushing forward the claims of the Roman see, and in demanding universal submission to his assumed authority.

"It appears that (if the Epistles be genuine) many bishops wrote to Innocent, requesting a report of certain particulars of discipline as practised in the Roman Church, for their own guidance; in reply to which, he repeated and even extended the injunctions of his predecessor Siricius concerning clerical abstinence from connubial intercourse,—declared it to be incumbent on all the Western Churches to conform to the pattern of that of Rome, or, which amounts to the same thing, to the precepts of the apostle Peter,—and said that disputes among the clergy should be decided in a pro-

vincial council, but that the *principal cases must be laid before the apostolic see.*”—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 151—2.

Some of these letters he recites in detail.

“In 412, Innocent nominated Rufus, bishop of Thessalonica, as his vicar in Eastern Illyricum. No appointment of this kind, so definite and express, had hitherto taken place in any communications which had been made by the bishops of Rome to those of Thessalonica: and therefore, strictly speaking, we may date the first appointment of Roman vicars in Illyricum from this time. Innocent declared that, by favour of the apostolic see, the bishop of Thessalonica was permitted to exercise jurisdiction in his province, —to hear causes, together with such bishops as he might chose for his assessors,—and to pronounce judgment in the name of the bishop of Rome.

“To certain Macedonian bishops who wrote to him concerning points of discipline, Innocent returned a haughty reply, in which he expressed his astonishment that they should again consult the apostolic chair, the head of the Church, on points which it had already determined.

“Writing to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium (now Gubio, in the Papal States), Innocent represented it as a duty incumbent upon *all Western Churches to conform to the customs and institutions of the Church of Rome*, because, as he falsely assumed, all Churches in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the neighbouring islands, were founded by those, and those alone, who had been made priests by Peter, the chief of the apostles, or by his successors in the see of Rome.—‘In his answer, towards the end of his episcopate, to the bishops of the Council of Carthage, Innocent affirms that *all ecclesiastical matters throughout the world are, by divine right, to be referred to the apostolic see* before they are finally decided in the provinces. This bold and novel claim was instantly rejected, though in respectful language, by the African bishops. They had condemned Pelagius and Cælestius without consulting Innocent. They wrote to him, according to the custom then prevalent among all bishops, to inform him of their decision, and to require his sanction of their conduct. Innocent asserts the supremacy of his see. They reply by denying that supremacy, and declare their wish to be, that he should act with them by confirming their decision by his authority, as he ought to do. Innocent, in his reply, evades the question whether they ought to have consulted him before they condemned Pelagius, by affirming that they had done well by observing the ordinances of the Fathers in referring for a final conclusion to the apostolic see; and he then excommunicated Pelagius as the African bishops had done. In this conduct he sets the example, too, of the subtle manner in which Rome, when resisted, compromises disputes without withdrawing its pretensions or offending,

unless it can do so with impunity. One of the principal novelties in the letters of this bishop is found in that to Alexander, bishop of Antioch. He affirms that the Synod of Nicæa honoured Antioch, not for the greatness of the see, but because St. Peter had his see first in that city. Another novelty introduced by Innocent was the foundation of much of the subsequent presumptions of the bishop of Rome. He decided, in his letter to the same bishop, that when a province is divided by the emperor, there shall still be one metropolitan, and that the Church be not altered at the discretion of the emperors. This seems to have been the first edict of a Christian bishop which ventured to declare the decisions of an ecclesiastic to be independent of the will of a prince. The decree of Innocent was an usurpation upon the united authority, both of the general or provincial synods, which were accustomed so frequently to meet, and on the authority also of the emperors, by whom alone they had been hitherto summoned. A most singular remark occurs also in one of the decrees or letters of this bishop; he declares that the priests who have departed from the Catholic faith have lost the Holy Spirit, which operates chiefly in ordination. The theory seems now to have begun to prevail which makes ordination by a bishop the sole channel of a peculiar grace. In a letter to the bishops and deacons of Macedonia he calls the apostolical see the head of the Churches. This language was the beginning of the assumption which has ended in declaring Rome to be the mother and mistress of all Churches, and out of which there is no salvation. The affirmations of these earlier bishops of Rome, in the course of a few centuries, became each in its turn an antiquity from which precedents were drawn to justify every claim to power over the authority and independence of Churches, over the rights of princes, or over the consciences of individuals. Innocent also enforces, by numerous decrees, the celibacy of the clergy, and condemns, under the penalty of not being admitted to repentance, the woman who vows virginity, and afterwards marries. In this, and in many other enactments, the germ of the future power of the bishops of Rome is discoverable. It is the tendency of all power to enlarge itself as much as possible. The usurpations of Rome were slow, cautious, gradual, and, in many instances, useful progressions of active, sometimes pious, sometimes crafty, but always ambitious, authority, unsuccessfully resisted by its contemporaries, till it wielded the sceptre over reason, civilization, and Scripture. But to none of its earlier bishops is the see of Rome more deeply indebted for its eventual greatness and dominion than to Innocent I. The very pagans, who sought in the invasion of Alaric to propitiate their ancient deities, solicited his sanction to their proceedings. He was honoured by the emperor, esteemed by his contemporaries, beloved by the people who had unanimously chosen him to be their bishop; and he employed all his great influence to the establishment of the supremacy of Rome, which he appears to have considered essential to the hou-

our of Christianity and the general benefit of the Churches.’”—
History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 153—6.

We must find room for one further extract, that in which the progress of the “encroachment” under the Popes Sixtus and Leo is described.

“Cælestinus was succeeded by Sixtus III., who earnestly endeavoured to rivet the fetters which had already been forged for the bishops of Eastern Illyricum. These bishops were by no means so willing to part with their independence as the bishops of Rome were to deprive them of it; their subordination to the Roman see, in the person of the bishop of Thessalonica as a deputy, or vicar, was an innovation which had not been sanctioned by any General Council, and which they themselves had not formally recognised. But these things were treated with indifference by the bishops of Rome, who now began to regard it as their province rather to give laws than to wait for or observe them. Rufus, bishop of Thessalonica, having died in 431, Sixtus invested his successor Anastasius with the same authority over the bishops of Illyricum which had been committed to and exercised by his predecessor, and demanded the compliance of Perigenes, bishop of Corinth, who had withstood the usurpation. The Illyrian bishops were declared by Sixtus not bound to obey the decrees of any eastern council without the ratification of the Roman see,—a decree directed, perhaps especially, against a canon of a General Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), which enacted that no bishop should assume authority in a province that had not always belonged to his diocese, ‘in order that the liberty which Christ had purchased with His blood might not be gradually lost.’

“Hitherto the progress of Romish despotism had not been assisted by any distinguished abilities on the part of those who successively occupied the so-called chair of St. Peter. But, after the death of Sixtus, the management of the rising monarchy was intrusted to a man whose personal genius and skill contributed not a little to establish and advance its pretensions.

“Leo, as a Roman deacon or archdeacon, had already become so distinguished by his power of persuasion, and his skilful management of affairs, that he had been despatched by Valentinian III. into Gaul, to mediate between the rivals Aetius and Albinus; and he was absent on that mission when he was recalled to succeed Sixtus in the bishopric of Rome, to which he had been unanimously elected by the clergy and people. On his assumption of office, he delivered an eloquent sermon, in which he declared the preaching of the word to be one of his most sacred and important duties. Ninety-six (genuine) sermons of Leo are extant. He always preached on the anniversary of his accession; and in these sermons he speaks much of his own unworthiness, which, however, is always coupled

with the mention of St. Peter, whose successor he declared himself to be, and whose authority he commends to universal respect, as admitting of no infringement. In his sermon on the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, Leo speaks of Rome as ‘the holy and elect people, the priestly and royal city, which has become the head of the world through the holy chair of St. Peter, and has a far more extended dominion by means of the Christian religion than by its earthly power.’ The praise of eloquence has been too lavishly bestowed upon these sermons; but they are remarkable on account of the pretensions which they contain, and as being the earliest extant examples of homiletical discourses by a Roman bishop.”—*History of the Papacy*, vol. i. pp. 170—2.

We have been led on, step by step, to a far greater length than we had at first contemplated, and we are now compelled to draw abruptly to a close. But we have said enough, and more than enough, to show the narrow and uncandid spirit in which, notwithstanding the supposed advance of the science of historical criticism, Protestant historians, even still, approach the consideration of any of those great historical questions upon which they have learned to entertain early and inveterate prejudices.

There is one aspect of the argument, however, which we have altogether overlooked, but upon which, although it is now too late to think of entering fully into it, we must briefly advert before we have done. We refer to an assumption upon which the whole Protestant view of the history of the Papacy is formed. It is more markedly prominent in Mr. Riddle’s narrative than in most of the later historians; but the assumption, in a more or less subtle form, pervades them all. Mr. Riddle avowedly proceeds upon the assumption that the claims of the modern Papacy are a usurpation. He contents himself, accordingly, with denying the existence of any analogous pretensions in the primitive Church. He shelters himself in a negative position; and, under his favourite illustration of “the fog,” thinks it enough to maintain that, as long as no trace of what he considers the observation can be detected in the ecclesiastical atmosphere during the earliest phases of the Church’s existence, it is to be presumed that it was one of those exhalations which arose at a later and more corrupt stage of her history.

In other words, Mr. Riddle claims to throw the burden of proof upon the papal advocate.

Now it is scarcely necessary to say that no Catholic will assent to this gratuitous claim, and that no philosophical

historian will tolerate it even as an assumption. It would be a long, though not a difficult task, to detail all the arguments against it, even so considered; and we allude to it merely in the way of protest, and lest we should appear in what we have already written, to suffer this important point to go by default.

It is enough to say that every candid historian represents the Papacy of the fourth (or at farthest of the fifth) century as already in possession of the substantial prerogatives of what Catholics regard as the primacy; and even Mr. Riddle, as we have seen, hardly denies the facts, although he endeavours to explain them as an unwarranted aggression on the independence of the Church.

Again, the enjoyment of such powers by any individual bishop, must be admitted to be directly at variance with the natural feeling of pride and independence which the individual Churches, and especially those of the more distinguished cities, are known to have cherished from the earliest times.

Finally, it is contrary to all the analogies of human nature and of history, that such a preeminence could have sprung up by a spontaneous and unresisted growth.

The very *existence*, therefore, of such an institution as the Papacy, is at least prima-facie evidence of its *legitimacy*. And hence, so far from the burden of proof lying upon the advocate of the Papacy, he is, on the contrary, entitled to assume its divine origin as a fact, until every particular as to its alleged human growth has been satisfactorily demonstrated.

This is a position from which the Catholic historian must never suffer himself to be seduced. It is one to which every new human revolution gives fresh strength and solidity. "When we look back upon past ages," says Hurter, "and behold how the Papacy has outlived all other institutions, how it has witnessed the rise and wane of states and kingdoms, itself amid the fluctuations of human things, preserving the selfsame unchangeable spirit, can we wonder that men look to it as to *the Rock* which rears itself unshaken amid the beating surges of time!"

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*An Essay on the Identity of the Scene of Man's Creation, Fall, and Redemption.* By the Rev. W^m HENDERSON. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

THE object of this brief Essay is sufficiently expressed by its title; and the attempt is not less ingenious than interesting. Of course the question as to the identity of the scene of our creation, fall, and restoration, is one upon which opinions will vary; but even though our readers may be somewhat sceptical on this point, we think Mr. Henderson's Essay will not be read without interest.

II.—*Narrative of the Conquest of Finland by the Russians in the Years 1808—9.* From an unpublished Work by a Russian Officer of Rank. Edited by GENERAL MONTEITH, Madras Engineers, 8vo. London: Booth, 1854.

An able and interesting narrative of a campaign which may very soon possess a very deep interest in England. The present aspect of affairs in the Baltic may not improbably portend a series of events in the winter 1854—5, very similar to those of 1808—9, recorded in the present volume.

III.—*The Children of Mary Instructed.* By a MOTHER. Second Edition. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1854.

This little volume, which comes to us with the imprimatur of the Bishop of Plymouth, is the work of a lady equally distinguished by her rank and position in society, and by the practical religion which marks her out as especially a "Christian Mother." It is one of those charming little books which only a parent—and only a pious parent, could write; its style being just adapted to fascinate the minds, and arrest the attention of little children. The volume, however, is one from which adults need not be ashamed to gather fruits; the little meditations, prayers, and resolutions, with which each chapter ends, being as full of devotion and of practical theology as they are of simplicity and tenderness. It cannot fail, we

are sure, to prove a general favourite with children, as is shown from the fact that, although only published in 1852, it has already reached a second edition.

IV.—*Selections, Grave and Gay, from Writings Published and Unpublished.* By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. 8vo. Vols. i.—iii. Edinburgh: Hogg, 1853—4.

Mr. De Quincey's characteristic and prolific pen is too familiar to every reader of the current literature of the last thirty years to require any introduction at our hands. We need only say that this collected edition of his works, the only one as yet attempted in England, is executed with great elegance and taste, and will (what cannot be said of the American one which has been for some time in circulation) enjoy the advantage of the thorough correction, arrangement, and supervision of the author.

V.—*The Genius of Christianity.* By Chateaubriand. Translated by the Rev. E. O'DONNELL. Paris: Thunot and Co., 1854. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

Mr. O'Donnell is already favourably known to the Catholic world as the author of a prose translation of Dante, which was noticed in our pages not long since. We have now to thank him for an equally creditable production, in the shape of Chateaubriand's celebrated work on the Spirit and Beauties of the Christian Religion, which is here for the first time given to the reader in "the vulgar tongue." Chateaubriand's treatise, appearing as it did among the closing scenes of the French Revolution, rivetted the attention of the whole French nation by the magic spell of its rhetoric and poetry, as well as by the sound basis of reason upon which he based the Christian religion—the accommodation of its sacred truths, its sacraments, and its ordinances to the spiritual wants of mankind. We are glad, however, to see that Mr. O'Donnell is fully alive to the fact that 'to translate *Le Génie du Christianisme* into another language in a style equal to the original, is next to an impossibility,' and that as 'it is more than presumptuous to attempt it,' so it is also 'more than vanity to expect it.' We are prepared, therefore, to pardon some of the trifling faults of style which occur here and there in a volume consisting of nearly 400 pages,—faults into which we think Mr. O'Donnell has

been betrayed by his anxious desire to adhere as closely as may be to the original of his author,—for the sake of the vivid portraiture of Christianity which the translation, as a whole, sets before us.

It is no small merit in a translation to be able to say that it is a readable book to an ordinary Englishman. And this Mr. O'Donnell's version most certainly is. We should have liked it better, perhaps, if he had kept more closely to the English idiom in one or two particulars of tolerably frequent recurrence; e. g., the habit of retaining the French usage of the present tense in historical descriptions of past actions, which is so charming in their language, while in our own it sounds theatrical and affected. To those of our readers (if any such there be) to whom the plan and scope of the work is not familiar, we will only add, that the twelve books which it contains review in a rapid and very graphic manner, the external and internal proofs of the Christian religion, as drawn, not only from the works of nature, but from man's moral sense and consciousness,—from the excellence of Holy Scripture and the sublimity of the Church's worship and sacraments,—from her religious orders and missions to the heathen,—from the services rendered to mankind by her clergy, her orators, her historians, poets, and divines,—and from the fostering care with which she has cherished all that is sublime in printing, sculpture, and architecture.

VI.—*The Paris Catechism*. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

We have recommended many excellent works tending to promote the true and real interests of mankind. In the *Paris Catechism*, we have a work of this description. It will enable those who master its contents, and carry out its principles in practice, to arrive at a state of perfection in this life, and of happiness in a future state of existence. It is a work which ought to be in the hands of every Catholic.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1854.

ART. I.—*A Catholic History of England.* BY WILLIAM BERNARD
MAC CABE. Vol. III. London: Newby, 1854.

WERE the skill and honesty of modern historians at all in proportion to their opportunities, we should not be wanting in trustworthy annals of men, if not always of things, during the last three or four hundred years. For some time past the whole anatomy of government and politics has been laid bare to the student. His scalpel has never been forbidden or restrained. State papers of all kinds, the most confidential dispatches, protocols of diplomatic meetings, minutes of deliberations in the cabinet, draught treaties, and treaties complete, not even excepting the secret articles, instructions to ambassadors, correspondence between ambassadors and their courts, everything, in a word, which can reveal the most secret thoughts and deepest plans of princes and ministers, from Henri III. and Elizabeth, to Napoleon III. and Victoria, from Aubespine and Walsingham, to Drouyu de l'Huys and Clarendon, have, with commendable liberality, been made accessible to the historian by nearly every civilized government. This would appear to have removed every pretence for piling up theories, or forcing constructions upon act or omission. Private judgment is silenced, faith is staggered by works, kings and their agents tell their own tale, and are convicted or vindicated out of their own mouths. Thus we come at what used to be farthest beyond our reach, the characters of the men, and their motives; but the events themselves, usually considered

least subject to question or cavil, continue to provoke different judgments, and to be differently estimated by men of the calmest temperament and unquestionable fairness; so that Protestants who join with us in despising the vanity, indecision, pride, and cruelty of Elizabeth, and mutilate as pitilessly the painted idol of their school-days, exalt, notwithstanding, and glorify the religious change she effected, with all its consequences, moral and political. But should our researches lead us to a period when ministers and heads of departments were in practice unknown, when kings had hot heads, and would listen to no counsel, or wise heads, that could do without it, when ambassadors were mostly special and temporary, dispatched more frequently to claim a territory, or bring away a bride, or offer defiance, than to conduct a tedious intrigue, in such times we are rather more at a loss to discover characters and motives, and must fall back upon the events, in order to form an opinion of the men.

This is the ground for theorists and philosophical historians, who would seem, in many instances, to have elaborated the characters of their personages beforehand, and then forced them to square in with the occurrences. The depth of policy, the intricacy of plans, the delicacy of combinations, the master-strokes, the vices and virtues ascribed to many a stout old prince, Frank, Teuton, or Norman, would scarce be recognizable to their reputed subject if he came to hear of them. But even in these matters our information is not altogether so deficient as was supposed; and the modern spirit of enquiry, stimulated by the conflict of theories upon economic and governmental questions, has been at work in the "dark ages" for facts and precedents, in pursuit of which, if the precise end in view had not always been attained, truths worthy of note have been elicited; theories, from having been imaginative, have come to be regarded simply as absurd; and light has been thrown upon times long since considered the private and peculiar domain of fable. Amongst others the monks of the Anglo-Saxon period have had their memory re-established by modern research; and the public, once put upon enquiry, will look for something more authentic than Sir Edwin Landseer's "Bolton Abbey in the Olden Time," or even the classic gibes of Erasmus. There are not many persons of ordinary research who retain the belief that the monks of the time were chiefly

occupied in the discussion of venison and sack, or that those of a more literary turn spent whatever moments they could spare from feasts of homeric duration and excess, in stringing together the queer hexameters that bear their name, or contriving theological puzzles for the schools. Independently of having been the conservators of whatever learning we possess, they are almost the only historians of their own times, so that were it not for them, we should be practically without record of the middle ages. But how popularize the monkish historians? how make their value known? how bring out their simplicity, their sincerity, their open-heartedness, qualities that no one who comes to know the old chroniclers will fail to acknowledge? We fear it is hardly to be effected by ordinary editorial labour, by notes and glossaries, however full and correct. The age of Aldus Manutius is gone by for readers, perhaps, as well as publishers, and none but the most resolute students will encounter a folio that would only have amused the leisure of our ancestors. University presses are scarcely equal to a single Greek tragedy, or solitary oration; and a modern scholar would as little attempt to compile a dictionary of twelve languages, as to edit the book with the seven seals.

Some students there are, notwithstanding, of the old stamp, and these require no introduction to the monks; but for those whose time and opportunities deny them the indulgence of antiquarian tastes a different and less arduous course of reading must be traced. The thing cannot be done by writing history in the easy, off-hand style of Goldsmith, or in the trim periods of Robertson, with any amount of learning, and files of authorities *ad calcem pagine*. This is not the way to rehabilitate the memory of our ancient historians, and the times they chronicle. It has been reserved for Mr. MacCabe to open up this mine of historical learning by a very original and happy conception; and he has wrought into it so vigorously and so successfully, as to command, we believe, universal approval.

His work supplies us with the history of the Anglo-Saxon period, in the words of the contemporary writers, borrowed from them, each and all; sometimes closely, and even severely translated, sometimes slightly varied in expression, but preserving throughout an uniformity of style scarce conceivable, if we consider the number of chroniclers who are made to contribute to the whole. In the

hands of very many writers Mr. MacCabe's plan would have been very likely to miscarry, to have become a question of scissors and paste, of fitting and dovetailing, a mosaic of curious and unprofitable labour. Fortunately, however, he had an eye to one feature, in which all the monkish historians resemble each other, notwithstanding those inevitable differences of style which result from diversity of character and acquirements. They all aimed at a plain and unembellished narrative of events, and Mr. MacCabe himself had nothing more in purpose. To this, in a great measure, may be attributed the homogeneous simplicity of the "Catholic History of England," although the views and inferences of the authorities are often various, and not unfrequently opposite. And again, when any one reads deeply, and with interest, and writes without making pretensions to style in a matter of this kind, his thoughts, and consequently their expression, will take a decided complexion from the study on which they are engaged, and if the mental powers be sufficiently vigorous, if the dissolvent medium (so to speak) be sufficiently strong, it will break down and assimilate all foreign elements whatever, though it may itself, as in the present instance, take a hue from them all. Thus, though it has been Mr. MacCabe's desire, and, we may add, his triumph, to make the old historians use their own words, he has never expressly adopted their style, or indeed any other, so that we meet with no studied quaintness or affectation of archaisms. The thoughts and sentiments of the chroniclers are rendered for us as closely as the idiom of actual English will admit—not more so. There was another course open to Mr. MacCabe under the sanction of a sufficiently respectable precedent. M. M. Poujoulat and Michaud, in editing a curious fragment of Geoffroi de Villehardouin, whose French is many degrees more obsolete than Latin, have modernised it only so far as to make it intelligible, and the pages, as they stand, might well have been written by the "Sieur de Joinville." Many would no doubt have been pleased had Mr. MacCabe taken the same course, and a dash of mediæval quaintness would not have been found at all amiss where the manner would have been found a perfectly suitable dress for the matter; but to our mind the author has been better advised, and the absence of all parade of erudition, or pride of reading, seldom disguised by any but the most

graceful scholarship, is quite remarkable. The learning of the work, deep and varied as it is, comes upon the reader in a matter-of-course way, infinitely agreeable to readers who like to be enlightened, and at the same time get credit for knowing something themselves. You can also perceive throughout, that Mr. MacCabe's book is not a *task*, even self-imposed, but a work of mere inclination, growing naturally out of studies taken up and pursued for their own sake. It is a good thing to see a writer completely in love with his subject, as it affords a strong presumption that his book will be, not necessarily what Montaigne calls "un livre de bonne foi," but a book of great research, and that all the sources of information relative to that study, no matter how far they lie out of the common road, will be explored and appropriated.

It is pleasing to find that at such a time as the present, and in so unsound a state of public feeling, the author's labours should have met with a fair, we might almost say generous appreciation from the organs of the most adverse opinions. It shews too, that the value of the monkish historians is beginning to make itself felt. The circumstance that these writers were contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the events they chronicle, must be a large element in the decision to which any fair-judging student of history will come in their regard. For though, perhaps, he may discredit the legends and miracles, so as even to consider them a disfigurement and an evidence of credulity almost as dangerous as bad faith, and though he may think that proximity to the time and place of action, do, to a certain extent, disturb and unsettle the judgment; it is plain that it leaves nothing dependent on the memory, and even if it lead to some colouring of the facts, will give their leading features most carefully. We suspect, after all, there is more jealousy about the imperfection of contemporary judgment, and more stress laid upon the impartiality of historical decision, than the facts will at all justify, and it is even to be feared that when individual historians speak in this way they pay an implied tribute to the serenity of their own judgment in particular. History may doubtless correct some rash opinions, but it is not to be denied she forms a good many herself, and though posterity may rectify the miscalculations of past times, it must always rely upon them for the tradition of the facts, for the feelings and passions,

and sufferings of the actors.—“The difficulty,” says Mr. Disraeli, “of treating contemporary characters and events, has ever been acknowledged, but it may be doubted whether the difficulty is diminished when we would commemorate the men and things that have preceded us. The cloud of passion in the first instance, or in the other the mist of time, may render it equally hard and perplexing to discriminate; but it should not be forgotten that the most authentic and interesting histories are those which have been composed by actors in the scenes which they record. The contemporary writer, who is familiar with his times, has unquestionably a great advantage, but it is assumed that his pen can scarce escape the bias of private friendship, or political connexion. Yet truth is, after all, the sovereign passion of mankind, nor is the author of these pages prepared to relinquish his conviction that it is possible to combine the accuracy of the present with the impartiality of the future.”*

The historians from whom Mr. MacCabe compiles his work, were actual witnesses of, and sharers in the events they recount. The episcopacy was almost invariably recruited from their body, and innumerable bishops, exhausted with pastoral toil, retired when relieved of their charge to the dear solitude from which they had been forced, and brought back with them the history of the great world they had left, and in which they had played a part scarcely, if at all, subordinate to the kings of the period. It was of common occurrence, too, that all the inmates of a convent, sacked by the Danes, took refuge in some other convent, yet unvisited by the scourge, while there was hardly one without experience of these horrors in its turn; and every feature of that terrible visitation is brought out with delightful freshness and simplicity by those industrious and unpretending hands, that wrote at the command of a superior, and under the supervision of conscience. The Danes, however, it will be seen, throughout the course of the “*Catholic History*,” were not the only persecutors whose misdeeds the monks had to record. They had their “perils from false brethren,” and the Church at large had to suffer from simoniacal bishops, and reprobate kings. The monks, as was natural, took their own

* Lord George Bentinck, a Political Biography, by Benjamin Disraeli, M. P.

peculiar view of things, and being the sole historians of their times, we might, in the first instance, be disposed to make allowance in our own minds for pictures coloured by what, in this age, would be termed partizans; but the family likeness is unfortunately so strong between the oppressors of those remote times and their successors to-day, that the picture scarce ever seems overcharged, while, under any circumstance, the narration gives us an idea of the age, its manners, its advantages, and its miseries, the faithfulness of which no one has offered to question.

The author appears to take a singular pleasure in tracing analogies between ancient and modern spoliation of Church property, between ancient and modern enemies of ecclesiastical and monastic franchises, and sometimes pushes his parallels to the very entrenchments of long admitted theories. There is sufficient scope for this in his notes, where critical controversies involving points of the kind have to be discussed, and facts are elicited which throw no inconsiderable light upon many an obscure passage in modern history. Thus, in relation to the famous massacre of the Danes, under Edgar, occasion has been taken by Mr. Shaaron Turner to institute a parallel between that slaughter and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, and Mr. MacCabe pursues the comparison and brings into view some cruelties perpetrated by the liberators of conscience in modern times, which, upon the avowal of their own partizans, might have been written in blood rather than ink. There are, however, circumstances in connexion with the massacre in question which we do not remember to have seen commonly noticed. The butchery of that execrable night and execrable age, frightful as it was, and shocking to every feeling of humanity and justice, was a reprisal, nothing more or less, and if our general histories were commonly accurate, would be styled the *second* Massacre of St. Bartholomew, because on that day precisely three years previously, numerous Catholic gentlemen had been perfidiously assassinated in Bearn, a circumstance which, it is not commonly known, directed the choice of the day, while the reprisal, as it was considered, like every other vindictive measure, was excessive and unjust; but the second massacre, though planned and executed on a larger scale than the first, was not a whit more traitor-

*St
Mass
re*

ous or pitiless.* Horrible as was the retaliation on the Danes in the one instance and on the Protestants in the other, the provocation given by both was of the most intolerable kind—on both occasions it was a contest between two perfidies, and the sole crime in the gainer was precisely his success.

There are other parallels in the valuable notes, and assuredly the closer we look into modern history the more constantly do we find events reproduce themselves, and the more frequent is their revolution in a fatal cycle. With a slight adaptation to times and ideas the leading parts are everywhere the same and the acting perfectly uniform. Take, for instance, the third volume of the history which embraces the period extending from the reign of Edward the Martyr to the Norman Conquest. It has given rise to a large amount of angry controversy. It takes in a considerable portion of the life of St. Dunstan, whose character has been more grossly disfigured by modern historians than that of any other ecclesiastic of his time. They usually content themselves with assigning and condemning his imputed motives, unsupported by one page of contemporary history, and, indeed, without reference or allusion to such. Ordinarily speaking, we are well acquainted with the circumstances of his life in their modern dress, but we are indebted to Mr. MacCabe for the lights and shades, for the collateral circumstances, for the tone and sentiment:—

. “in quo
Votivá pateat veluti descripta tabellá,
Vita senis.”

Another, and we need hardly say to us most interesting feature in the “Catholic History,” is, that it fully brings out the minute adherence of the Anglo-Saxon Church to every point of Catholic doctrine, so as to show that no doctrinal innovations were introduced by the Normans, and to disprove at every line the very paradoxical asser-

* Le Roi avait résolu de faire une *seconde* St. Barthélemy en expiation de la première commémoratif, encore des seigneurs dagués en sang froid en Bearn par Montgommeri..... Toutes ces choses firent resoudre le Roi à faire une saignée, et à oter par icelle toutes les humeurs corrompues de partie du corps de France.—Hist. de Navarre, liv. xiv.

tion, to say the least of it, we remember to have noticed in a letter of Dr. Pusey's, that "our Cathedrals" were constructed for a worship different from that actually prevailing in the Catholic Church. Now, without meaning any disparagement to the Protestant form of worship, nay, more, granting our own to be corrupt, histrionic, overlaid with frivolous and superstitious ceremonies, a thing of tapers, bells, and incense-pots—yet, to any reader of the Catholic History who looks merely to the fitness of things, it would appear about as appropriate to build the legislative *palace* of Westminster for the squatting council of the Ojibbeways or Flatheads, as to construct the Abbey *Church* of Westminster for the purposes of Protestant devotion, however delicate, spiritualized, and volatile an essence it may be. Perhaps we should not do ill to extract in this place a passage from Ailred, as quoted by Mr. MacCabe, which will serve to show how very similar, to say nothing more, were the purposes for which Westminster Abbey was built and consecrated to those for which it was used up to the change of religion. The passage in question is a legend referred to in the Pope's letter to Edward the Confessor, authorizing the constitution of the Abbey Church of Westminster, in commutation of a vow made by that prince to visit the shrine of the Apostles, a circumstance in itself sufficiently suggestive of the worship for which the Church was built.

"Sibert, the capital of whose kingdom was London, built, within the walls, the church of St. Paul, and then appointed, with episcopal dignity, Melitus. Beyond the walls of London, and in a district to the west of the city, Sibert also founded a noble monastery, to the honour of St. Peter, which he endowed with large estates. Upon the night preceding the dedication of the same church, a fisherman was in his boat on the opposite bank of the river Thames, and to him St. Peter appeared in the habit of a pilgrim, and promised to bestow upon him a sufficient compensation for being rowed across the river. The fisherman complied with the request, and he perceived St. Peter, upon leaving the boat, enter into the monastery. The moment that he did so a celestial light burst forth, changing by its brilliancy night into day, and illuminating all the place with a marvellous splendour. With the apostle there appeared to be a multitude of angels, a heavenly melody arose, and the circumambient air was filled with a fragrance so exquisite that its odour was indescribable.

"All the ceremonies that are performed upon the dedication of a church were gone through, and then returned to the fisher of

fishes, he who is the illustrious 'fisher of men.' The man, dazzled by the refulgence of the light of heaven, and his senses confounded by what he had witnessed, could not be restored to his complete senses until the bland discourse and gentle, consolatory language of the apostle had been for some time addressed to him.

"Both—the fisherman and St. Peter, then entered into the boat, when St. Peter said: 'Have you not as yet caught anything?' The fisherman replied, 'Confounded by the dazzling light which shone upon me so unexpectedly, and awaiting thy return, I have not made the attempt, but have rested satisfied with the reward, whatever it may be, that thou hast promised me.' 'Let go your nets now,' replied St. Peter, 'and take a good draught of fishes.' The fisherman obeyed, and instantly his net was filled to repletion with a vast number of fishes. All the fishes so caught were of the same species, excepting one, which was a salmon of wondrous size. All these being taken out, and placed on the river bank, the apostle said: 'This fish, which exceeds all the others in size and value, bring to the bishop for me,—the remainder, however, as the price of the service you have performed, retain for yourself; during your life an abundance of the same kind of fish shall be caught by you, and the same shall be the case with your posterity, on condition that neither you nor they shall ever presume to fish on the Lord's day. I am Peter, who now speak with you, and I, with my associates in heaven, have now dedicated the church that has been built in my name, and I have, by the authority of my sanctification, anticipated the episcopal benediction. Tell, therefore, to the bishop what you have seen, and what you have heard. The signs marked upon the walls of the church will testify to the truth of your assertions. That which remains to make the dedication complete the bishop can supply,—it is the offering up of the most holy mystery of the Body and Blood of our Lord. There instructing the people by his discourses let him notify to them that the place shall be frequently visited by me, that there I shall ever lend a willing ear to the vows and prayers of the faithful, and joyfully shall I unclose the gates of heaven to those in this world that have lived soberly, piously, and justly.'

"And the apostle, having said these words, instantly vanished.

"The next morning, when Bishop Melitus was on his way to dedicate the church, he met the fisherman carrying the large fish, and the man told him all that he had been commanded to say to him. The bishop was astonished at these tidings. He opened the doors of the church. He saw the pavement inscribed with the letters of both alphabets. The walls in six places bedewed with the waters of sanctification; the remains of twelve wax lights still adhering to twelve crosses, and every place around him still moist, as if from the recent aspersions that had been showered upon them. No sooner did the bishop see this, than he, with all the people, blessed God, and thanked Him for His great mercy."—Ailred.

Vit. Sti. Edwardi, Conf. pp. 385-6. Cath. Hist. of England, Vol. 3. pp. 638-9.

The description of the several encounters with the Danes, of their ravages and devastations, of the fatuity of the English princes, and the treachery of their followers, the delineations of character, often bold and masterly, and to all appearance faithful and minute, are well brought out by Mr. MacCabe; and thus, while the spirit of the original is sufficiently preserved, we are spared those little improprieties of speech and offences against pure Latinity, that some are sufficiently weak to allow to stand between them and the sterling merit of the chroniclers. We had marked a good many passages for extract, but we fear we shall be obliged to confine ourselves to one; it is that in which the death of Elphegus, the successor of St. Dunstan, is described with an eloquence and unction such as are rarely surpassed.

“A large number of armed men was sent for Elphegus. By these soldiers he was conducted from a horrible prison to a terrible death; from an abode of filth to the judgment-seat of vain glory. As his persecutors were aware that his legs had become paralyzed from the long and wearisome confinement to which he had been subjected, they, for the double purpose of hastening the period when they might exercise their cruelty upon him, as well as of exhibiting him as a mark of scorn, placed him upon a pack-horse, and thus led him to the synagogue of Satan. As soon as he was thus seen, a loud lamentation arose amongst the Christians, and they followed the animal on which the prelate was borne with tears and sighs. Thus was Elphegus, in the midst of the encampment, a spectacle to men and angels; and being so, he begged of the Christians that they would not, by their sorrow, so affect his feelings, that, in the contest in which he was engaged against the dark Prince of the World, he might not afford to their common adversary any advantage over him; but that they, on the contrary, would aid him to the utmost of their abilities by their prayers. In reading this account of Elphegus there will probably be suggested to the mind of the reader the description of the Son of God, as he is portrayed seated on an ass, or as bearing the cross on his shoulders, with the holy women weeping for him, the Pharisees insulting, and the soldiers crucifying him.

“Elphegus thus proceeded until he came within an arrow's flight of the Danish council, when, with a loud roar, all its members thus saluted him, ‘Give us gold, Bishop, or you shall this day be made a spectacle to the world.’ The Archbishop, received with sufficient reverence by them, and overpowered at first by

extreme lassitude, was silent, but as soon as he had recovered his breath, and could respire freely, he thus answered them :—

‘ ‘Gold, indeed, I do propose to give you, but it is the gold of the Divine Wisdom. It is that, abandoning the vanity you love, you turn all your hearts and desires to the one living and true God. But if this counsel of God, which, through me is now announced to you, be obstinately rejected, and perversely despised by you, then I tell you that the death by which you shall perish shall be worse than that of Sodom, and that you never shall have a permanent abode in this country.’

“Then did these fitting ministers of the devil, animated with an infernal spirit, foam with rage; they were no longer able to bear the weight of his words; and hence, bounding up from their seats, they spring upon him as the fierce lion springs upon his prey, and striking him with the backs of their battle-axes, they dashed him to the earth, whilst crowd followed crowd to bury him beneath a mass of stones. Elphegus felt that the moment was fast approaching when life must be parted with, and then calling to mind that Christ our Lord, while hanging upon the cross, had prayed for a persecuting nation, he knelt with his right knee upon the earth, and steadying himself as well as he could, by fixing his left foot firmly upon the earth, he thus prayed aloud for himself, and for those who were at that moment persecuting him :—

“‘O Lord Jesus! only-begotten Son of the Most High Father, Thou who from the womb of a stainless Virgin camest into the world to bring salvation to sinners, receive me in peace, and have mercy on these men.’

“With these words Elphegus fell prostrate to the earth; but again he struggled to rise, succeeded in doing so, and said :—

“‘Good Shepherd! only Shepherd! dying, I commend to Thee the children of the Church; protect them.’

“As he said these words, a certain man whom he had received from the sacred font of baptism, perceiving that the Archbishop was struggling too long in his mortal agony, and moved by an impious pity for his sufferings, ran up to him, and buried his battle-axe in the brains of St. Elphegus; and on the instant the saint rested in eternal peace, and his victorious spirit sprang up in triumph to heaven.

“Excepting those who were the leading members of the first flock of our Lord, what person, we may ask, lived more innocently, or died more meekly, than Elphegus? Or amongst all the saints, we may enquire what saints were there more like in their merits than the champion of heaven, and the protomartyr St. Stephen? unless that the one could perform and complete all the mysteries of religion, whilst the latter could but participate in them. Both, however, were like in this, in their proper mode of dispensing the revenues of the Church; both alike in their urgent and vehement rebuke of the wicked; similar to each other in the mode of their being

put to death, and equal to one another in love for their enemies. Behold, then, these stones of the sanctuary, once trodden upon by the foot of every passer by, now conjoined with that supreme cornerstone, Christ, and made by Him, although coming from opposite directions, one and the same in Himself, in love, in will, in beatitude, and in eternity."—pp. 170, 173.

We have already noticed the means whereby the monks, secluded as they were from the world and its cares, became so minutely acquainted with the history of their times. Thanes, bishops, and kings themselves, brought with them to the cloister those treasures of history which their brethren have transmitted to us, and which we shall be permitted to add, our author has popularized and made generally accessible. Indeed, for our own part, we have been able to venture on but a slight notice of this most valuable work, evincing, as it does, no ordinary degree of research and judgment. The old chroniclers it has been necessary to consult, translate, collate, and fit into the history; the amount of collateral reading critical and otherwise; the notice, friendly and hostile, of other authors in different languages, which the work represents, is hardly credible. It presents the most perfectly uniform picture of the Anglo-Saxon nation, notwithstanding the number and variety of the authorities from which it is borrowed. We have the physiognomy of the nation fresh and life-like, the causes of its rise, decline, and final subjugation, are boldly and clearly stated—its simplicity, faith, and attachment to its princes, with a good many of its coarser and less attractive qualities, are faithfully brought out; we come at the root of nearly all our customs, we find in all we read the integrity of Catholic belief, we have the origin of all our most valuable laws, and of all that is best and most precious in existing institutions, apparent in the most purely Catholic period of our history; before kings had learned to appropriate the revenues of widowed churches, and embroil themselves in frivolous quarrels with the hierarchy; when mortmain and premunire were as little known to the law as they are foreign to the language; and centuries before "the statute for converting use into possession," had whetted the wit and evoked the subtlety of generations of conveyancers. We there see all the materials for a great and good nation marred by the treachery of leaders and the debauchery of princes, as has been the case before and since. [We have the repeated and

humble avowal of the monks that all the miseries of the nation came from the hand of God, that they could be withdrawn by Him alone, but that the people were to blame for their continuance. We have the rivalries of monasteries and the politics of the chapter, as well as the intrigues of courts and the encounters of armies, all laid before us with the simplest straightforwardness and sincerity. There is scarce one of the stale but ever popular delusions in regard to the monks which does not find its refutation in the pages, a refutation all the more valuable for not having been intended as such. And in no one point, perhaps, are they brought out more strongly than as the general preservers of literature, to whose obscure and despised labours we owe the whole tradition of our actual civilization. "Not a man," says Dr. Newman, "in Europe now, who talks bravely against the Church, but owes it to the Church that he can talk at all;" and when speaking of the Church we understand the monks, as theirs was universally the work after each successive ruin, to revive civilization, to bring together, to arrange, to transcribe, to catalogue whatever remnants of literature had escaped.

It is not a little to be regretted that Mr. MacCabe has not been permitted by circumstances to prosecute his original plan, and carry on his history through the entire of the ante-reformation era; nor do we altogether despair of his resuming a task with the studies incident to which he is so familiar, and for which he has probably amassed considerable materials; but even as it is, the work is complete in itself. It includes the triumphs, the civilization, the reverses, and final subjugation of a remarkable race; it records all the phases of a Christianity surprisingly rich in saints and doctors, and which has placed more kings upon its altars than perhaps all the nations in Europe put together. It is itself a standing evidence of the almost miraculous preservation and cultivation of religion and letters in the darkest ages of the world, and a perpetual memorial where the conservators of both are to be sought; and we trust, that not only Mr. MacCabe, but many others, may be encouraged to pursue investigations so useful and so indispensable, not less to the general history of civilization and religion, than to that of Anglo-Saxon civilization and religion in particular; we take pleasure to observe that these studies are daily

gaining upon the learned public; and though we have alluded once already to the gratifying fact that English journals, very far beyond the imputation of Romish leanings, have given the fair meed of approbation to our author's labours, we cannot refrain from expressing our opinion that it is a healthy symptom, and would seem to augur favourably for the return of good feeling and good fellowship to some, at least, amongst the organs of opinions in England. *Fiat Lux.* Let our antiquities be explored and manifested with all their honour and all their scandal. Scandals must come, and the ages of faith had their ample share; but they belonged to the time, not to the faith; and the scandals of the age we live in are of the same growth, and of the same family as those gone by. The virtues, the merits, the charity, the long suffering, the zeal, and the devotions of our fathers, will inspire love, and excite to emulation; and those who have not the courage to follow their examples, will at least forbear to rail at those who have.

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- ART. II.—1. *A Bill for the Improvement of the Sea Coast Fisheries of Ireland.* (Prepared and brought in by Lord Viscount Morpeth, and Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland.) Ordered to be printed, 11 April, 1838.
2. *A Bill to regulate the Irish Fisheries.* (Prepared and brought in by Lord Eliot, and Mr. Solicitor-General for Ireland.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6 April, 1842.
3. 5 & 6 Vict. c. 106.—*An Act to regulate the Irish Fisheries.*
4. 6 & 7 Vict. c. 79.—*An Act to carry into effect a Convention between her Majesty and the King of the French, concerning the Fisheries in the Seas between the British Islands and France.*
5. *A Bill to amend an Act of the Sixth Year of her present Majesty, entitled "An Act to regulate the Irish Fisheries," and to empower the Constabulary Force to enforce certain Provisions respecting the Irish Fisheries.* (Prepared and brought in by Lord Eliot and Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 22 July, 1844.

6. 7 & 8 Vict , c. 108.—*An Act to amend an Act of the Sixth Year of her present Majesty, entitled an Act to regulate the Irish Fisheries, and to empower the Constabulary Force to enforce certain provisions respecting the Irish Fisheries.*
7. *Report of the sub-Committee of the Loyal National Repeal Association, on the Irish Fisheries, 1844.*
8. 8 & 9 Vict. c. 108.—*An Act for the further Amendment of an Act of the Sixth year of her present Majesty, for regulating the Irish Fisheries.*
9. 9 Vict. c. 3.—*An act to encourage the Sea-Fisheries of Ireland, by promoting and aiding with grants of Public money the construction of Piers, Harbours, and other public Works.*
10. 9 & 10 Vict. c. 114.—*An Act for the further Amendment of an Act of the Sixth Year of her present Majesty, for regulating the Irish Fisheries.*
11. *An Seòl air an glacar agus an greidhear an Sgadan ; agus air an greidhear an Trosq, an Langa, an Traille, agus am Falmair ; leis an RIDIRE TOMAS DIC LAUDER, Run-chleireach Buid Urramaich na h-Iasgaireachd Bhreatuinnich. Air Eadar-theangachadh chum Gaelic, le ALASDAIR MACGRIOGAIR, A.M., Ministear-cuideachaidh ann an Cillmhuire ; agus air a Chraobh-sgaoleadh air Iarrtas cuideachd Urramaich a' Bhuid. Dunedin : T. Constable, 1846.*
12. *Directions for taking and curing Herrings ; and for curing Cod, Ling, Tusk, and Hake ; by Sir THOMAS DICK LAUDER, Bart., Secretary to the Honourable the Board of British Fisheries : translated into Gaelic, by the Rev. Alexander Macgregor, A.M., assistant minister at Kilmuir, Skye ; and circulated by order of the Honourable the Commissioners of the Board. Edinburgh : T. Constable, 1846.*
13. 10 & 11 Vict. c. 75.—*An Act for the further Improvement of the Fishery, Piers, and Harbours of Ireland.*
14. *A Bill for the Protection and Improvement of the Salmon, Trout, and other Inland Fisheries of Ireland. (Prepared and brought in by Sir William Somerville and Sir George Grey.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7 August, 1848.*
15. 11 & 12 Vict. c. 92.—*An Act for the Protection and Improvement of the Salmon, Trout, and other Inland Fisheries of Ireland.*
16. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Inland Fisheries of Ireland, 1849.*
17. *A Bill to consolidate and amend the Acts relating to the Irish Fisheries. (Prepared and brought in by Mr. Anstey, the Lord*

Viscount Naas, and Mr. O'Flaherty.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 5 February, 1850.

18. 13 & 14 Vict. c. 88.—*An Act to amend the Law relating to Engines used on the Rivers and on the Sea Coasts of Ireland for the taking of Fish.*
19. *A Bill to consolidate and amend the several Acts relating to the Irish Fisheries.* (Prepared and brought in by Mr. Connolly and Colonel Taylor.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 2 June, 1851.
20. *An Inquiry into the Legislation, Control, and Improvement of the Salmon and Sea Fisheries of Ireland,* by HERBERT FRANCIS HORE. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1850.
21. *Report by the Commissioners for the British Fisheries, of their proceedings in the year ended 5th January, 1850.* Being Fishery 1849.
22. *Report by the Commissioners for the British Fisheries, of their proceedings in the year ended 31st December, 1852.* Being Fishery 1852.
23. *A Bill for the Improvement of the Irish Fisheries.* (Prepared and brought in by Mr. M'Mahon, Mr. Sergeant Shee, and Mr. O'Connell.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 3 March, 1853.
24. *A Bill (No. 2.) for the Improvement of the Irish Fisheries.* (Prepared and brought in by Mr. M'Mahon and Mr. Duffy.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 23 June, 1853.
25. *A Bill for the improvement of the Irish Fisheries.* (Prepared and brought in by Mr. M'Mahon and Mr. Duffy.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 8 February, 1854.
26. *Report by the Commissioners for the British Fisheries, of their proceedings in the year ended 31st December, 1853.* Being Fishery 1853.
27. *Report of the Commissioners of Fisheries, Ireland, for 1853.* To his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, pursuant to the Act, 5th & 6th Vict. c. 106.

OUR apathy respecting the sea fisheries seems unaccountable: had we attended to them we should not have had the famine. Were we to attend to them now, we may mitigate the sufferings likely to flow from the present exorbitant prices of provisions. So completely have we forgotten them of late, that even Sir Robert Kane, in his "Industrial Resources," has not a chapter or para-

graph on the subject. Surely we, the starving inhabitants of an island surrounded by seas teeming with inexhaustible supplies of fish, ought to make a resolute effort to get rid of the Acts of Parliament and abuses which prevent us from availing ourselves of those supplies, and compel us to keep our poor unemployed and perishing of famine, and to pay upwards of £150,000 a year to Great Britain for herrings, hake, cod, and ling, which we might catch at home, and which we import, in the words of the Commissioners of Irish Fishery Inquiry, in 1836, "almost side by side with the living shoals on our own coasts." Here is a field of industry supplying a harvest ripe for gathering at all seasons, without the labour of fencing, watching, or tilling, the expence of seed or manure, or the payment of rent, rates, tithes, or taxes—and supposed by many persons of experience and authority, to be as valuable, acre for acre, as the land itself. "Every acre of these seas," says a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, who appears to have paid great attention to the subject, "is far more productive of wholesome, palatable, and nutritious food than the same quantity of the richest land. They are fields which, perpetually white to harvest, require only the labourer's willing hand to reap the never-failing crop which the bounty of Providence has kindly bestowed." Vol. ix. p. 266. In the course of the last summer we heard one of the most eminent fish brokers connected with the port of London say, that he firmly believed this view of the value of our fisheries to be correct, and could prove it so if a rational system of legislation were adopted. Can we doubt that what was said two centuries ago of the people of England, by one who was urging them to catch their own fish, instead of buying it of the Dutch, is true of us now? "It maketh much to the shame and ignominy of this nation, that God and nature, offering us so great a treasure, even at our own doors, we do notwithstanding neglect the benefit thereof, and by paying money to strangers for the fish of our own seas, impoverish ourselves to make them rich."

The same writer, Sir John Burroughes, says :

"The coasts of Great Britain (and in this he includes Ireland,) do yield such a continued sea harvest of gain and benefit to all those that with diligence do labour in the same, that no time or season in the year passeth away without some apparent means of

profitable employment, especially to such as apply themselves to fishing, which, from the beginning of the year unto the latter end, continueth upon some part or other upon our coasts, and these in such infinite shoals, and multitudes of fishes are offered to the takers as may justly move admiration."

If we cannot agree upon the land question, we ought at least to agree upon the sea question. And, according to Arthur Young—

"Next to the cultivation of the land there is no object in their (our) national economy of so much importance. No manufactures, no trade, can be of half the consequence to Ireland, that many of her fisheries might prove if encouraged with judgment.....There is no undertaking whatever in which a small capital goes so far, nor any in which the largest will pay such ample profits... ..There is scarcely a part of Ireland but what is well situated for some fishery of consequence; her coasts and innumerable creeks and rivers' mouths are the resort of vast shoals of herrings, cod, hake, mackerel, &c., which might, with proper attention, be converted into funds of wealth."

So, too, Dr. Campbell, who thoroughly understood the subject, says:—

*"No species of natural industry is more lucrative than fishing, because it converts the ocean into a mine, and furnishes immense profits without any other expense than what consists in labour."**

Sir William Temple, who was well acquainted with the value of the Dutch Fisheries, and was chief Secretary here for some time, said of ours, that if attended to as in other countries they "would prove a mine of wealth under water as rich as any under-ground."

"A single Salmon," observes Mr. Hore, "grown to its full size, is nearly as valuable as a sheep, while no expense is incurred in its care or food. The philosopher, Franklin, remarks that, 'he that puts seed into the ground reaps fortyfold; but he that puts a line into the water and draws up a fish pulls out a piece of silver.'"[†]

The returns of the Commissioners of British Fisheries shew that on the average of the twenty years ending in January, 1850, we imported annually from Great Britain 127,833 barrels of white herrings, and about 10,000 cwt. of

* Political Survey of Great Britain, v. ii. p. 736.

† Inquiry, p. 4.

cod, ling, and hake—which at £1 a barrel and 10s. a cwt., respectively, would be £132,833 a year, besides about £14,000 worth of fish of British taking from foreign parts—altogether £146,000 a year. This estimate is considerably under the mark, for the British Fishery Commissioners did not get full returns of the quantities of herrings imported into this country till 1834, and from their returns it appears that from the 5th April, 1834, till the 5th January 1850, when they ceased to take the accounts for England, we imported from Great Britain 2,556,674 barrels of white herrings. The respective value of the herrings, cod, ling, and hake, we take from their returns—though we find from the evidence before the Commissioners of inquiry in 1836, that the prices of herrings were sometimes as high as 30s. or 40s., and those of the other fish in proportion.

By the Board of Trade returns of the imports and exports of the United Kingdom, for the three years ending, 5th January, 1853, it appears that we imported in those years from foreign parts fish of British taking to the values following:—

1851.	1852.	1853.
£13,250.	£19,591.	£10,561.

That our exports of fish were—

£154.	£109.	£940.
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Fishing tackle—

£...0.	£...0.	£...0.
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And our total exports of all kinds whatever to foreign parts were—

1851.	1852.	1853.
£256,515.	£235,295.	£296,263.

While the exports of fish and fishing tackle alone from Great Britain to foreign parts were:—

	1851.	1852.	1853.
Fish of all sorts	£337,553.	£344,290.	£349,456.
Fishing tackle	37,424.	53,112.	46,566.
	<hr/> £374,977.	<hr/> £397,402.	<hr/> £396,022.

The return, it will be seen, exhibits three noughts to represent our exports of fishing tackle. Thus, the exports of fish and fishing tackle alone from Great Britain to foreign parts, exceed the exports of all kinds whatever from Ireland to foreign parts, by upwards of £100,000 a year. We say specially "*foreign parts,*" for of course we do not include our exports to England; but as if it were not bad enough that we should be buying instead of selling, even the worst, and the worst cured fish are sent to us. Indeed, so adapted is the Irish market for badly cured fish, that the Commissioners more than once complain that, it leads the British curers into a system of negligent management, which is prejudicial in other markets. Whatever fish are particularly bad, come off to us. Thus the Lough Roag herrings "are rather of a coarse nature, but they cure well and make a capital article of commerce, especially in the Irish market."*

It is needless to dwell upon the importance to a Catholic and potato-fed population of a cheap, regular, and abundant supply of fish. In order to shew that we do not over estimate the importance of the fisheries as a source of employment, food, wealth, and power, let us point attention to the views of other States with reference to this subject.

The United States pay in bounties upwards of 300,000 dollars a year, besides imposing an import duty of 20 per cent. on foreign fish. The bounties paid for cod and mackerel alone, from 1844 to 1848, amounted to 1,627,505 dollars. The result is that they now import herrings into London, and sell cod and mackerel in Canada cheaper than Colonial fishermen. The words in which Webster expressed the determination of his government to protect the rights of their fishermen at Newfoundland, shewed the light in which the States view the question:—

"The American fishermen shall be protected in all their rights of property, and in all their rights of occupation. To use a marble-head phrase, they shall be protected—'hook and line, and bob and sinker.' The most potent consequences are involved in this matter. Our fisheries have been the very nurseries of our navy. If our flag-ships have conquered the enemy on the sea, the fisheries have been at the bottom of it. The fisheries are where

* Report, 1844, p. 30.

the seeds form, from which these glorious triumphs were born and sprung.”

France pays a bounty of ten francs on every quintal (about a cwt.) of fish imported, and five francs additional on exportation to foreign parts, besides imposing heavy import duties on foreign fish. Holland and Belgium impose duties upon the import of foreign fish, and pay bounties for their own fisheries; though these were not thought of till the great Dutch herring trade began to decline. This latter trade was fraught with such vast consequences as to deserve more than a passing notice.

When some Scotch fishermen, driven by injustice from their own country settled in Holland, and first attracted the attention of the Dutch to the British fisheries, Holland was a wretched province of the Great Spanish Monarchy, whose armies and fleets were the best and greatest in Europe, and whose treasuries were enriched by the then newly-discovered mines of Mexico and Peru. It was a morass below the level of the sea, which was kept habitable only by dint of continual labour, and could not at any time raise native merchandize to freight 100 ships, or in the time of its greatness food for one-eighth of its population. In size, Sir John Burroughes says it was “not so big as one of our shires of England containing not above twenty-eight miles in length, and three in breadth.” From the dampness of the climate, and from their living continually below the level of the sea, most of even its agricultural population were unfit for military service till they had been for a year on high land.

There were many apparently insurmountable obstacles to their pursuit of the herring fishing. They had not herrings on their coasts, or timber, or iron on their land for building ships, or making barrels, or salt for curing fish, or markets in their own territories to consume them. But these difficulties they overcame by a little common sense and perseverance. So great a trade did they drive, that their actual sales of fish in foreign markets were at various times computed to fetch from £3,000,000 to £9,000,000 a year, and these computations were not loose conjectures, but were founded on the actual quantities entered at the various custom-houses of Europe, with the prices or values which they fetched, or at which they were rated.

About the year 1695, they were said to derive annually, about £20,000,000 a year from the British sea fishery (IX. Quarterly Review, 274). About the year 1653, the English were said to pay them £1,600,000,—£1,600,000 a year for the fish taken on their own (English) coasts. They had 3000 vessels from 50 to 160 tons each, fishing on their own shores and bays; 800 vessels of about the same size fishing for cod and ling, on the coasts of England and Scotland, and 1600 busses (of which 100 were doyer vessels of 150 tons, and the rest varied from 60 to 100 tons) fishing for, and curing herrings for their own or foreign markets, along the coast of Great Britain, from Bougonness to the North of the Thames, “besides 400 busses taking herrings at Yarmouth.” Sir John Burroughes, from whose work we have taken this estimate, thus dwells upon this last grievance:—

“And what is more strange, and greatly to our shame, they have 400 ships which fish, (our men of Yarmouth within ken almost at land), and do vent our herrings amongst us here in England, and make us pay for the fish taken upon our own coast, ready money wherewith they store their own country.”—p. 44.

Including the vessels employed in carrying salt to the fisheries, bringing home the fish, and exporting it, it was computed that there were 8400 ships, and 112,000 mariners and fishermen, engaged in the fisheries; and that Holland had, besides these, 1600 other vessels engaged in general trade, or altogether 10,000 sail of shipping, and 168,000 mariners and fishermen, and that it built annually 1000 ships. Sir John Burroughes says that this number (10,000) was “more than are in England, France, Spaine, Portugall, Italy, Denmarke, Poland, Sweden, and Russia. And to this number they add every day, although their country itself affords them neither materials, nor victual, nor merchandize, to be accounted towards their setting forth.”

And Dr. Benjamin Worsley, who was secretary to the Board of Trade in the reign of Charles II., stated that the least valuation of the herring trade alone amounted to more than the “whole manufactures and commodities of England apart, the whole manufactures of France apart,” and “the whole plate and manufactures of Spain apart.”*

* See “The Wealth of Great Britain in the Ocean.” London: 1749.

The public revenue derived to the States from the sea fisheries varied from £600,000 to £1,000,000 a year. The following estimate of the population of the States General in 1669, which we find in several works on this subject, will show how very large a portion was engaged at sea.

“Persons employed in the fisheries, and in equipping fishermen with their ships, boats, tackle, conveying salt, &c.,	... ..	450,000
Persons employed in the navigation of ships in the foreign trade, wholly independent of the trade connected with the fisheries,	... ..	250,000
Persons employed as manufacturers, shipwrights, handicraft trades, dealers in the said manufactures, &c.,	... ..	650,000
Persons employed in agriculture, inland fisheries, daily labour, &c.,	... ..	200,000
Inhabitants of all descriptions employed in various concerns connected with articles of domestic consumption, and in general use,	... ..	650,000
Idle gentry without callings, statesmen, officers, usurers, soldiers, beggars, &c., who are supported by the labour and care of those above-mentioned,	... ..	200,000
		2,400,000”
Total,	... ..	2,400,000”

The Dutch themselves were not ashamed to acknowledge their obligations to the herring. They called the trade the right arm of the Republic; said the foundations of Amsterdam were laid on herring bones; and built in honour of their little benefactor a magnificent tower, to this day one of the ornaments of that city, and known as The Herring Tower. And as the Spaniards were proud of their gold and silver mines in Mexico and Peru, they took no less pride in avowing, in one of their proclamations, “that the fishing and catching of herrings is the chiefest trade AND PRINCIPAL GOLD MINE of the United Provinces, whereby many thousands of household families, handicraft trades, and occupations, are set on work, are well maintained, and prosper.”—(IX. Quart. R., 273.)

The author of the pamphlet, “The Wealth of Great Britain in the Ocean,” thought that the fishery was the principal means of enabling the Dutch to throw off the Spanish yoke, and of making them “truly high and mighty.”

It is said that the Dutch owed the herring trade to a Protectionist contrivance on the part of the “gude folks”

of the Royal Burghs of Scotland. From a period so early as the ninth century our Gaelic cousins of the Highlands and islands of Scotland pursued the herring trade; and so late as the reign of Edward III., there used to be a great annual herring fair at Scone, to which both English and Flemings resorted; and where, in 1371, the English were ill-treated by the Sterlingers for having carried cloth instead of money to make their purchases.* This trade prospered till the Convention of Royal Burghs hit upon the notable expedient of prohibiting the exportation of fish until the townsmen were supplied at a stipulated price; and the fishermen abandoned the trade in consequence. A number of these men, thus driven from home, settled in Holland, contriving, however, to fish off their native coast; and their example attracted the attention of the Dutch to the value of the Scotch fisheries, and to the commercial advantages of that branch of industry.† The kings of Scotland, when they discovered their error, endeavoured to repair it, but in vain. In England also, from the earliest times, the herring fishery had been of great national importance, prospering under a system of perfect free trade, no restrictions, no special encouragements, but seems to have fallen into decay towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII.—(33 H. 8, c. 2.) Elizabeth attempted to restore it by compelling her subjects to eat fish on Fridays.—(5 Eliz. c. 5.) This did not succeed. And on James's accession, one of the first statutes of his reign was "an Act for the better increase of seamen to be readie at all times to serve in the king's majesty's navy, and the navy of England, of which the fishermen of England have ever been the chief seminarie and nurse-rie."—(1 Jac. I. c. 29.) The English were naturally jealous of the Dutch in rising to a naval rivalry with them, chiefly by catching the raw material on the British coasts, and manufacturing it, and selling it to them, with the profits of capture, manufacture, and carriage, upon it. In 1653, as we have said, the people of England paid the Dutch £1,600,000 for fish; that is more than ten times the amount we now pay England for the same material.

* See 2 Rot. Parl. 306.

† Historical Sketch of the British and Irish Fisheries—Appendix to First Report of Commissioners of Irish Fishery Inquiry, 1836.

About that time we exported, not only to England, but even Holland; and while the people of England regarded us as partners in trade, and let us alone, we prospered exceedingly; but as soon as they got into the trade, and we were found to interfere with them, they looked on us as rivals, and soon laid a heavy hand upon us. With the Dutch they had a longer struggle. All manner of contrivances were tried; prohibitions of foreign fish, special encouragements of pet companies, exemptions from dues, and, at length, bounties, but without success, till the present century. Adam Smith says, that in 1759, the whole buss fishery of Scotland brought in only four bushels of "sea stocks," "each of which, in bounties alone, cost the government £113. 15s.; and each barrel of merchantable herrings cost £159. 7s. 6d." In 1795, "on an average of ten years, 54,394 barrels were taken, at a cost to the government, in bounties, of £20,922, being about 7s. 6d. per barrel."* About that time the town of Wick, which now cures annually upwards of 100,000 barrels of herrings, did not cure more than 10,000; and the other Scotch towns in proportion.†

In 1803 "the herring fishery was in a state of inanition, and at the point of extinction," and, in an elaborate essay presented to the Highland Society, it was said "the herring fishery seems more than ever to have got out of our hands, and to be on the eve of final departure from Great Britain."‡ The overthrow of the Dutch power, the war, her naval supremacy, and her notions of the rights of neutrals, and Napoleon's continental system, soon gave Great Britain an opportunity of which she availed herself. In 1809 a Board of Commissioners was constituted in Edinburgh, to superintend the herring, cod, ling, and hake fisheries of Great Britain, with a staff of inspectors, superintendants, and other officers, to see that the fish were properly caught, cured, &c. Increased bounties were also given, which were continued up to 1830, and since then that

* See Historical Sketch of the British Fisheries, in the Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Fishery Inquiry.

† See that Appendix, p. 55.

‡ See Report of Commissioners on British Fisheries, for 1853, p. 2.

Board has received from £12,000 to £14,000 a year for building piers and harbours, repairing fishermen's boats, nets, &c. They appear to have done their duty honourably, zealously, and successfully, and under their management the herring harvest of Great Britain has been raised from 90,185½ barrels, cured in 1809, and 35,848 exported, to 778,039 barrels cured in 1853, and 342,630 exported. Herrings cured red are not within their jurisdiction, and consequently not included in their returns. From these it appears that of the gross catch of herrings about one-third are disposed of fresh, or cured red, and of the gross catch of cod, ling, and hake, about two-thirds are disposed of fresh. Since the year 1849 the commissioners have ceased to collect returns from England, and have confined their operations to Scotland and the Isle of Man. The gross catch for 1849 was, of herrings, 1,151,979 barrels, and of cod, ling, and hake, 375,390 cwt., besides 6,588 barrels cured in pickle, altogether worth, according to the estimate of the Commissioners in 1844, "moderately valuing the barrel of herrings at twenty shillings each, and the cwt. of cod and ling at ten shillings," £1,345,000. The number of square yards of netting amounted to 94,916,584, and of yards of lines to 36,313,706, and the total value of boats, nets, and lines was £1,189,090. The number of boats employed in the fisheries was 14,962, of 126,520 tons, with 59,672 fishermen and boys, and 40,273 employed as curers, coopers, labourers, &c. The tonnage employed in carrying salt amounted to 39,061 tons, and the number of hands to 2834, and the tonnage employed in exporting fish amounted to 42,730 tons, and the number of hands to 3267. Thus there were altogether directly employed in these particular fisheries 106,046 persons. The herring fishery of that year was the most successful the Commissioners ever had to record, and thus they sing their song of triumph.

"The returns of the herring fishery which the Commissioners have to lay before Parliament for the year ended 5th January, 1850, are much the largest upon record. Hitherto the fishing of the year 1841 has been the standard by which all other fishings were measured, but it has now been greatly surpassed by the fishing of 1849.

"In 1841 the total amount of herrings cured was 667,245½ barrels.

"In 1849 the total amount was 770,698½ barrels."

From the report of that year it further appears that the only port in England in which the quantity of herrings cured white, exceeded 5,000 barrels, was North Sunderland, in which 29,217 barrels were so cured, and that the only other ports in England in which the quantities taken exceeded 20,000 barrels, were as follows:—

	Barrels.
London,	26,224
Whitby,	29,123
Yarmouth,	113,574

From the report of the fishery for 1852, which was an improvement on that of 1849, it appears that only two towns in Scotland cured more than 40,000 barrels, namely, Banff and Wick, which cured respectively 46,677, and 109,038 and that in only one town there did the number of barrels taken, but not cured, exceed 20,000, namely, Eyemouth, where they reached 25,500, and the entire number caught or cured in the Isle of Man reached only 25,250 barrels, while in 1853, seven towns cured above 40,000, namely, Lybster 47,186, Anstruther 51,542, Eyemouth 52,299, Fraserburgh 53,755, Banff 60,640, Peterhead 70,430, and Wick 157,139, and the Isle of Man only 23,782.

The following opening passage of the Report of 1853 will give the reader a clear insight into the rapid progress of the Scotch fisheries.

“In making their Report of the Herring Fishery for the year 1853, the Commissioners have to congratulate the country that the Fishery has been prosperous. The quantity caught has been great, and of these a very large number has been cured. Taking for a standard the year 1849 as the highest Fishing hitherto reached, and comparing also the Fishing now reported on with that of last year, the number stands as follows:—

	Barrels.		Barrels.		Barrels.
Gross Catch, 1849,	1,151,979½	1852,	602,660½	1853,	908,800½
Cured,	770,698½	”	498,787½	”	778,039½
Branded,	213,286½	”	169,159½	”	248,136½
Exported,	340,256½	”	283,526	”	342,630½

“But the Returns of 1849 included English Stations, whereas those of 1853 are confined to Scotland and the Isle of Man. One of the English Stations was Yarmouth, well known for its Herring Fishery. The Returns for English Stations in 1849 gives a total

of 209,362 Barrels, which form part of the gross catch of 1,151,979½ Barrels. Deducting then these 209,362 Barrels from the 1,151,979½ Barrels, there remains a gross catch for Scotland and the Isle of Man, in 1849, of 942,617½ Barrels, compared with a gross catch for 1853 of 908,800½ Barrels. The Fishing, therefore, of 1853, has nearly equalled the great Fishing of 1849."

But herrings, cod, ling, and hake, form a very inconsiderable portion of the Fisheries of Great Britain. The writer of the well-known letters on "Labour and the Poor in England," gives the following statement as to the extent of the business transacted at Billingsgate for one year, which he was "assured by an official gentleman connected with the market, is as correct as it is curious."

"An account of fish sold in Billingsgate Market during 12 months.

Salmon,	29,000	Boxes, 7 in a Box,	203,000	Salmon.
Live Cod,	400,000	averaging 10lbs. each, or	4,000,000	lbs. of Cod.
Barrelled Cod,	15,000	Barrels, 50 to a Barrel,	750,000	Barrelled Cod.
Salt Cod,	1,600,000	averaging 5lbs. each,	8,000,000	lbs. of Cod.
Fresh Haddock,	2,250	Tons, 2lbs. each, or ...	2,470,000	Fresh Haddock.
Smoked Haddock,	65,000	Barrels, 300 in a Bar., or	19,500,000	Smoked Haddock.
Soles,	12,000	Tons, ½lb. each, ...	97,520,000	Soles.
Mackerel,	10,500	Tons, 1lb. each, ...	23,620,000	Mackerel.
Fresh Herrings,	250,000	Bar., 135 to Bar., 3 to lb. or	3,375,000	Fresh Herrings.
Red Herrings,	100,000	Barrels, 500 to a Barrel,	50,000,000	Red Herrings.
Bloaters,	265,000	Bas., 150 to Bas., 4 to lb.,	147,000,000	Bloaters.
Eels, from Holland, 672 Tons, from England and				
Ireland, 57 Tons, or 729 Tons, 6 to a lb., or ...			9,797,760	Eels.
Whiting,	3,000	Tons, 6 oz each, ...	17,920,000	Whiting.
Plaice,	15,000	Tons, 1lb each, ...	36,600,000	Plaice.
Turbot,	2,500	Tons, 2 to 16lbs, lbs. av. or	800,000	Turbot.
BRILLS & MULLETT, 1,500 Tons, 3lbs. each, or ...			1,220,000	Brills & Mullet.
Oysters,	309,935	Doub. Bush., 4 pecks to } bush., 400 oys. to pk }	493,396,000	Oysters.
Lobsters, ... ..	...	...	1,200,000	Lobsters.
Crabs, ... ..	...	...	600,000	Crabs.
Prawns, 12 tons, 120 to 1lb., or			3,225,600	Prawns.
Shrimps,	192,295	Gallons, 324 to a pint,	493,423,628	Shrimps."

Besides the fish here mentioned, the pilchard fishery of Devon and Cornwall employed, in 1836, 1,000 boats, and 3,500 men, at sea, and 5,000 men and women ashore in curing, &c. The catching of sprats for manure on the Kent, Essex, and Norfolk coasts, employed at the same time from 400 to 500 boats,* and for the whelk bait taken on those coasts, the London North Sea fishing boats pay £10,000 a year. The little town of St. Ives employs

* Report on Channel Fisheries, 1836.

400 boats, 735 fishermen, and a capital of £150,000 on the pilchard and mackerel fisheries.*

When the other nations of the world pay such attention to the fisheries, we cannot be excusable in so entirely neglecting them. Our seas are the only patrimony of the people that has not been, in due form of law, confiscated from them seven times over. They are sufficient to give food and employment to the whole of our population; and are an estate in which the people themselves feel that "their profits and improvements would not be taxed by an increase of rent." It is, therefore, our bounden duty to try to get liberty for them to cultivate this estate; and it will be a great shame if we allow one more of them to perish of hunger—that most awful and torturing of all deaths—while there is a superabundance of food on our shores which Frenchmen and Belgians may come and take, by virtue of express treaties; and which Americans, Swedes, Norwegians, and all other foreigners, may take by the ordinary law of nations, while we alone, of all the world, are restricted from touching them.

To strangers our inattention to the fisheries seems an absolute mystery. Our coasts, and especially the coasts of those counties whose inhabitants are periodically suffering from famine, whose poor-rates frequently range as high as 18s. or 20s. in the pound, and whose inability to supply, by any rates levied upon them, the wants of their own population, led to the Rate in Aid, the Consolidated Annuities, and the Income Tax, abound with all sorts of the finest sea-fish, which come in shoals, as if sent by heaven for our relief, and yet pass away unmolested; and while we thus neglect these supplies of delicious fresh fish at our very feet, we go to Scotland and buy the refuse of its saltings, in one year, (1842,) importing no less than 187,953 barrels of herrings. We should not be angry or surprised because English writers, who are not acquainted with the minute details of our laws, and who fancy that they cannot be very different from those of other civilized nations, should cast about for all manner of odd explanations of this extraordinary phenomenon.

Thus MacCulloch says:—

* Report of Admiralty on the St. Ives' Harbour Improvement Bill, 1853.

“The herring fishery of Ireland has never been of any material importance. It is only indeed in a few places that we meet with any regular fishermen in that country. The *minute subdivision of the land, and the dependance so generally placed on it, are very formidable obstacles to the success of the fisheries.*”—Statistics of British Empire, art. Fisheries.

And a writer of eminence, in the Edinburgh Review points to the defect in our organisation, which “leads the Irishman to beg for a penny rather than work for a shilling, and the Irish fisherman to pawn his nets, and burn his boat for firewood;”^{*} whereas, till we were prohibited by Acts of Parliament, we were the greatest fishermen in Europe, next to the Dutch, and competed with them, two centuries ago, in their own markets; and Wexford cured more herrings in 1654 than any town in Great Britain did in 1852; and in 1698 the fishermen of England were obliged to imitate the example of her cattle breeders, and woollen manufacturers, and to implore Parliament for protection against us.

For obvious reasons we waive all notice of the direct and incidental proofs of our success as fishermen and seamen, to be found in our own or foreign early annals, our connexion with Carthage, our intercourse with Spain, our expeditions to Gaul and England, in aid of the Gauls and Picts and Britons, against the Romans, our defeating the Danes, confessedly the first seamen and fishermen of their time, on their own element, ship-for ship, and man for man, and proceed to proofs which none can gainsay.

The first Act of Parliament that notices our fisheries tells us that,

“Where diverse vessels of other lands, from day to day going to fish amongst the king’s Irish enemies, in diverse parts of this land, by which the king’s said enemies be greatly advanced and strengthened, as well in victuals, harness, armour, as diverse other necessities, also great tributes of money paid by every of the said vessels to the said enemies, to the great augmentation of their power and force against the king’s honour and wealth, and utter destruction of this said land.”—5 Edward IV., cap. 6. (Irish).

This Act prohibited foreign vessels from fishing in Irish waters without a royal license, and paying a sum certain for it, except the north part of Wicklow, to which the Act

* October, 1849. Social Characteristics.

was not to extend. It was repealed in 1842, and why, it is difficult to discover, as it afforded strong proof of the right of the Crown to keep foreigners off our shores. In the reign of Henry VIII. a practice seems to have prevailed in England, of English fishermen buying fish of strangers and importing it as of their own catch, and the English Parliament in imposing a check upon the practice, allowed an exception in favour of fish bought of Irish fishermen (32 H. VIII. c. 5.).

So, in the "Motives and Reasons to induce the City of London to undertake the Plantation of Ireland." James I. and his ministers describe the coast of Derry as,

"Very plentiful of all manner of usual sea-fish, especially herrings and eels; there being yearly after Christmas, for taking of herrings, above seven or eight score sail of his Majesty's subjects and strangers for lading, besides an infinite number of boats for fishing and trolling."

One of the blessed effects of the Plantation is, that in 1836 one of the coast-guard officers of that district examined before the Commissioners said, there was not a net in his guard, from Lough Swilly to Farland, except for salmon, and the right of taking the salmon was leased by the Irish Society of London to a gentleman resident in Scotland, who prevented the people from using a net for any fish, lest they might take a salmon. Indeed, so dangerous was the use of a boat in the neighbourhood of these monopolists that from 1799 till 1842, an Act of Parliament 39 Geo. III. c. 5., was in force, providing that all boats employed on the Bann between Coleraine and Lough Neagh, should be registered with the mayor of Coleraine, and security given against "*catching fish illicitly*" under penalty of forfeiture.

In the reign of Charles I. the Irish Parliament state (10 Car. I., sess. 2. c. 24.) that :

"The trade of fishing for herrings, pilchards, and seine fish, within the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, and of other counties and places within the said realm of Ireland, and the dominions thereof adjoining to the sea coast, is, and of late time hath been, very great and profitable, as well to divers of the fishermen, as other his majesty's subjects within this realm of Ireland and the dominions thereof."

And on these considerations they secured to fishermen

certain privileges which these enjoyed till 1842. Wakefield, who was an Englishman, and by no means disposed to flatter our pretensions, says :

“Formerly the herring fishery on the coasts of Ireland was thought worthy of attention, and a considerable quantity of herrings were exported, so long ago as between the years 1580 and 1655, at least there is reason to believe so, from the frequent mention of them, both fresh and salted, in the Dutch lists of articles published during that period, liable to pay increased duties on account of convoy and licenses.”*

From the extreme caution with which he views this most unexceptionable piece of evidence, one would almost think that he feared that the Dutch custom-house officers conspired two centuries ago, to charge themselves with duties never received, for the purpose of laying the foundation of a claim on the part of Ireland, at some distant age, to eminence as a dealer in herrings. Besides the proof of the fact that Wexford *cured* more herrings in 1654, than any town in Great Britain cured in any year up to 1852, and more than half of all that were taken in all England in 1849, the best fishing season on record, we are indebted to Mr. Hore for many evidences of the great value of the northern and north-western fisheries, to the O’Neils and O’Donnells, to which we would particularly refer the reader. Wexford, as our readers may remember, † cured 120,000 barrels of herrings, and entered for exportation 80,000 in 1654. In 1849, the gross catch for all the English stations was 209,362, and the only town in England, where more than 30,000 barrels of herrings were taken, was Yarmouth, where the numbers were only 113,000 barrels; and in 1852, which was a still better year for the herring fishery, the only town in Scotland, where more than 50,000 barrels were taken, was Wick, where the numbers were 124,000, but of those, only 109,000 were *cured*. On the average in Scotland, about a third of the fish taken are used fresh or uncured. Apply this average to Wexford, and you have a *take* of 180,000 barrels.

In the reign of Charles II., an Englishman, Mr. Andrew Yarranton, who was thoroughly acquainted with the

* Statistical Account, v. i. p. 101.

† See Dublin Review for April last.

Dutch fisheries, and also with the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, having been engaged to survey and value some estates there, and who wrote one of the best books ever published on the subject of the fisheries, and who is entitled to the credit of having suggested Portsmouth as the site of a naval arsenal, suggested Wexford as the site of a great naval dockyard, and recommended as the first means towards recovering the herring trade from the Dutch, that the English should build their busses at Enniscorthy, out of the oak of "that noble, great, and good wood called shilela." The timber of this wood, which has been since cut away, probably like most of our other woods, without, as Swift says, "one single ship being built out of it," he calculates—

"May be brought to a convenient place upon the said river (Slaney) for eight shillings the ton or load: there all the timber and beams of the buss may be fixed, and then she may be taken off the stocks. And the river (with four or five thousand pounds charge) may be made sufficiently useful for the purpose; then she may be conveyed towards the sea by several flashes from place to place, till you come to *Enniscorthy* or *Scarawalsh*, where she may be fitted up and finished."

He proposed further, that by means of the timber, then lying waste, and the offal of the timber that should be used for building busses, and ironstone brought from the forest of Dean, and Kilkenny coals, "within twelve miles of the place," ("the best and durablest pit coals for smiths that ever yet I saw,") iron might be made near the spot, "at not above nine pounds the ton in the bar, and eleven pounds drawn out in bolts, as it is in Germany, for the use of the Dutch in building their shipping."— p. 141.

Up to the Restoration, our fisheries prospered, as up to that time we were "let alone," had a perfectly free trade in buying what we wanted for the fisheries, or found most convenient to take in exchange for fish, and in catching, curing, exporting, and selling our fish when, how, and where we best could, and up to that time we were regarded by the people of England as partners in trade, rather than rivals. Then, however, began that unhappy system of treating us as rivals and enemies, which has caused so much misery here, and so much ill-feeling between the two nations. The first direct effect of it upon the fisheries, was in 1661, when a duty was imposed upon

the import of salt, "as well that which is spent in making or saving of fish as all other salt whatsoever."—(14 Car. II. c. 1). In 1662, acts passed, which in addition to the most exorbitant duties amounting to a prohibition upon the import of the materials of ship or boat building, net making, or fish curing (14 & 15 Car. II. c. 8.), imposed duties upon the export of fish, of which the following is a sample:—

	£.	s.	d.
Codfish, the barrel	0	10	0
Salmon, the tun	8	0	0
Hake-fish, the hundred, containing six score ...	0	3	4
Eels, the barrel	1	0	0
Herrings, full fish, the barrel	0	13	4
————, Shotten, the barrel,	0	10	0
Pilchards, the tun	6	0	0
Sprats, the tun, containing one thousand ...	0	10	0*

The effect of these export duties we will illustrate only by a comparison of the views of Englishmen on similar duties at the present day, on the import of their fish into foreign countries. The Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1836, to inquire into the state of the British Channel Fisheries, say: "The fisheries appear, to your committee, to be in a comparatively prosperous state, *but suffering much in the herring fishery from the heavy duty levied at Naples upon herrings exported thither, being sixteen shillings per barrel, which, for the last three or four years has amounted to a prohibition, and consequently none have been exported to that country,* though it is proved that if this duty were reduced, the exportation to Naples may be estimated at from 10,000 to 12,000 barrels annually." (p. 16.) So of the Devon and Cornwall pilchard Fisheries, they say that those fisheries "have lately suffered great depression, and decrease," in consequence of the withdrawal of the bounty on pilchards exported, "at the same time that a *heavy duty* upon pilchards imported into the Neapolitan territories, (which is the chief market for this fish,) has been continued and increased to 18s. 2d. per hogshead." (p. 15.) What would the Committee have said to an export duty of £6. per tun? We need not add a word to show that these export duties on our herrings, pilchards, cod, hake, salmon, eels, and sprats, amounted to an absolute prohibi-

* 14 & 15 Car. II. c. 9.

tion, and we are obliged to say that we think they were intended in that light, for the same Acts gave the most extravagant protection to English manufacturers; and in the preceding year an Act was passed in England for the special encouragement of the herring, pilchard, and mackerel fisheries of Devon and Cornwall, which shows that the Legislature was fully aware of the importance of the fisheries, as it recites, "Whereas *the public honour, wealth, and safety of this realm, as well in the maintenance of trade and support of navigation, as in many other respects, doth in a high degree depend upon the improvement and encouragement of the Fishery.*" 13 & 14 Charles II. c. 28.

In 1663 an Act was passed, which, under pretence of amending the Navigation Act, put this island on the same footing with regard to trade with Great Britain or her colonies as a foreign state. This monopolizing spirit of the English traders went on, from year to year developing more mischief. Our fisheries rapidly declined. In 1673 Sir William Temple considered them almost extinct, but in 1698 they had so far recovered that the English fishermen were obliged to appeal to Parliament for protection against us. Against the odds of extravagant duties upon sails, iron, and all other articles of ship chandlery, upon nets, salt, Spanish wine, and all other articles which we had been in the habit of taking from our customers in exchange for fish, of duties amounting to virtual prohibitions upon the export of fish, of restrictions upon our foreign trade, and of embargoes upon all our external commerce whatever, we struggled on till Parliament began to *encourage and protect us* by all manner of regulations as to the means and times of catching and curing fish, which were and are so extravagantly absurd and unjust, as to aptly illustrate Swift's observation, that it would seem as if our legislators examined the institutions of all other countries, and having found out what were wise, just, and beneficial, adopted the very reverse here by way of experiment in *corpore vili*.

This new system began in 1734. In that year, before its operation could be felt, we exported 21,057 barrels of herrings, 2594 hogsheads of pilchards, 470 cwt. of hake, and twenty barrels of mackerel, and we imported none of these articles, and the result of the fostering legislation of a century has been, that in 1834 we did not cure

a mackerel or catch a pilchard, and we imported from Great Britain, besides an unascertained amount of hake, certainly more than 2000 cwt., 149,254 barrels of herrings. The first restriction was on the size of the meshes of our nets, and was obviously devised by the sea-shore salmon interest, though contained in "an Act for the further Encouragement of the Fisheries of this kingdom," which provided that, after the 9th September, 1734, "no drag-net, or other sea-net, which hath a mash of less than three-and-a-half-inches from knot to knot shall be made use of in catching any kind of fish (except herrings, pilchards, sprats, shrimps, and prawns,) upon any part of the coast of this kingdom, or within any of the bays, harbours, or rivers, or creeks thereof, &c., under penalty, on conviction before a justice of the peace, of forfeiting forty shillings, or being imprisoned thirty days." (7. Geo. 2. c. 11.) This provision was re-embodied in the 25. Geo. 3. c. 35. s. 41., and in the 59. Geo. 3. c. 109., and so continued in force till 1842. It effectually protected the salmon for the owners of weirs, but conceive what a quantity of other fish it prevented the people from taking. They could not take with nets mackerel, pollock, mullet, haddock, skad, sea-trout, or any other fish except those named in the exception, that could pass through a mesh "of three-and-a-half inches from knot to knot." We will give but one practical illustration of the working of this extraordinary law. When the Commissioners, in 1836, made their enquiry, there was not a single mackerel net in the whole country. Along the greater part of the coast the people never took a mackerel with a net, and were obliged to content themselves with a line, though they came in such shoals as to fill the bays up to the very shore. In some places the people used little hand hoop-nets, in others they formed (as at Killybegs) a few herring nets into a train, and in some places attempted to take them by means of trammels. Several witnesses recommended the introduction of seines for the mackerel, as a great boon to the fisheries; but another, whose attention had been called to the statute in that behalf, observed,

"By the 59th Geo. III., chap. 109, (if still in force) *catching Skad and Mackerel is fineable, see sec. 14.* This section wants revision very much; one part of this section provides that sprats may be taken. Another part prohibits the use of the net they are taken with."—p. 168.

Before this Act had been capable of producing all the mischief for which it was calculated, our average export of mackerel for the seven years ending 1762, was 671 barrels, while at the present time we do not cure a barrel. A conclusive proof of the parentage of this provision, and of its absolute injustice, is furnished by the fact, that in the Bill of 1842, as prepared and presented under the directions of the salmon-weir owners, the size of the mesh for taking salmon was fixed at three and a half inches. As it passed through the Committee it was reduced to two and a half inches between knot and knot, (5 & 6 Vict. c. 106. s. 20.) And in 1845 another Act declared that this measure for salmon is "*too large, and permits the escape of great quantities of valuable fish, as well as diminishes the value of much of the fish that may be taken,*" 8 & 9 Vict. c. 108. s. 11.

From the 29th September, 1734, till 1819, we were not free to make or buy our herring-barrels as and where we pleased, but were obliged to get them from the coopers of our corporate towns, pursuant to another section of the same Act, which after reciting "the great abuse committed in making of barrels for white herrings of insufficient timber, to the very great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom," provided that "no person or persons shall buy or sell any barrel or barrels for packing of white herrings for exportation; or shall pack up herrings in any barrel or barrels for exportation, unless the same be made of staves not less than three eighths of an inch in thickness, and free from sap, and each barrel bound with sixteen sufficient hoops, and branded with the maker's name and the place of his abode; and before such barrel or barrels shall be examined by a public officer to be appointed for that purpose by every city, town-corporate, or place, which are already empowered by law to choose or appoint weighmasters; which officer so to be appointed, or his deputy, shall, and is hereby empowered, and required, to examine such barrels, and upon finding them conformable to this Act, the said officer or his deputy is hereby required and directed to brand on the head, side, and bottom of such barrel or barrels, the first letter of his Christian name, and surname in length, with the name of the city, town corporate, or place where such barrel or barrels shall be examined as aforesaid; which barrel or barrels so branded as aforesaid, shall be only sold in some public market in this kingdom," &c., under certain penalties. And this re-

striction was continued by the 25 Geo. III., c. 35. s. 43. down to 1819.

In 1758 there was tacked on to an Act for the protection of the inland fisheries, a final clause, providing that, "Whereas the fishing for herrings upon the coasts of this kingdom in the daytime is very prejudicial to the herring fisheries in general," no one should after the 1st June, 1758, "in the day-time (that is to say from sunrise to sunset) fish for or kill any herrings in any harbour on any coast in this kingdom, by casting of any net or nets for that purpose," under the penalty of £5, 31 Geo. II. c. 13. s. 9. In 1763 this restriction was rendered more comprehensive by another Act which provided "that no nets shall be shot or wet for the taking of herrings in the day-time, under a penalty of £5," (3 Geo. III. c. 24. s. 3). So that nets could not be shot anywhere in the day-time, and even if shot in the night-time, and found wet (or in the water) in the day-time, the forfeiture should follow. But this penalty not being sufficient to deter the people from this extraordinary crime, it was raised to £10, (5. Geo. III. c. 7. s. 3; and after twelve years further experience of its insufficiency, to £20, and extended to all who should either "shoot or wet any net for the taking of herrings in the day-time, or be aiding and assisting in the same," (17 & 18, Geo. III. c. 20. s. 6,) but most oddly, "the day-time" was explained incidentally by another section to be, "that is to say, between the 1st of August and the 1st of September, from four o'clock in the morning till sunset, and between the 1st of October and the 1st of August, from sunrise to sunset." Well, surely, might the persecuted fishermen ask what was "day-time" between the 1st of September and the 1st of October. In 1785, on a consolidation of most of the provisions of the *Fishery Acts*, the penalty was reduced to £10 for the shooting or wetting of a herring net "in the day-time," without giving any definition of the day-time; and this continued to be the law till 1842, when it was amended by the aid of additional forfeitures and restrictions.

Notwithstanding these statutory contrivances, we struggled on and maintained our ancient pre-eminence as curers of fish, till late in the last century. The writer of a pamphlet, entitled "The Wealth of Great Britain in the Ocean," which was published in London in 1749, after stating that the Dutch mode of cure is the best, says:—

“*The next best to the Dutch are the Irish herring, and those of Galway larger than from any other port in that kingdom, and are very well tasted when not cured with alum salt ; but they are neither so well sorted, nor so well cleansed as the Dutch herring.*”

2. “*The Scotch send some herrings to France, but they are not of a good quality, nor well packed or placed in the barrels ; besides they are unequal, salted with fowl salt, and more slovenly drawn than the Irish.*”

3. “*The English herrings that come to France are the worst of all ; they are very dry, and cured with weak salt.*”

In 1777 an Act was passed which effectually put an end to our pretensions in this way, by forbidding us, under penalty of forfeiture, from tanning our nets and lines with oak bark, and compelling us to cure them with TAR AND OIL !! Oak bark had been the material used here from time immemorial.—(Evidence of, 1836, p. 115.) It is the material used in England, Scotland, the Isle of Man, Holland, and Norway ; and certainly in no country in the world, except Ireland, did a Legislature ever yet force fishermen to befoul their nets and lines with tar and oil. The avowed object of the Act was the protection of *plantations* ; but the real object, probably, was to prevent the catching of salmon by any means but weirs ; for tarring nets and lines was nothing more or less than unfitting them for the purpose of catching fish, for the black glistening appearance in the water of the tar and oil would frighten off the fish, and the very touch would be sufficient to taint their flesh ; and indeed it is said in the letter on Labour and the Poor, from which we have before quoted, that it is with tar the fish condemned by the Inspector at Billingsgate are besmeared before their removal from the market, for the purpose of being sold as manure.

Another slight symptom of this parentage of the clause is to be found in the evidence of Mr. Commissioner Fennell, before the Committee of 1849, who says, (question 4584-7,) that a member of a firm “*very extensively engaged in the salmon fisheries,*” “*purchasers of fish, and renters of weirs, and stake nets, in different parts of Ireland,*” “*holding weirs of proprietors in different parts of Ireland,*” “*to whom weirs have been let upon the Shannon,*” “*on the whole shore of my Lord ——’s property,*” burnt with oil of vitriol the nets of a rival that were out drying on a Sunday. This is only one stage beyond tar and oil.

This provision is to be found in "*An Act for the better preservation of fish in rivers, lakes, and inland waters,*"—(17 & 18 Geo. 3. c. 19.) and is the tenth section of the said Act. It remained in force till 1842, having been made perpetual by the 32 Geo. 3. c. 40 and 33. Geo. 3. c. 50. for having (with others) "answered the purposes for which they were passed." It was as follows:—

"And whereas there is a very pernicious practice, all round the west and northwest coast of Ireland, of tanning, or barking of nets, which practice is not only of little effect in regard to the first intention of preserving nets, *but, on the contrary, of infinite detriment to the growth of young trees, and destruction of plantations, through the villanous practice of stripping trees merely for the bark thereof, in order to tan or bark nets for the herring, salmon, or other fisheries,* notwithstanding there is a much more efficacious method of curing of nets less expensive, and in no shape detrimental to plantations, by curing said nets with tar and oil; which nets, so cured, may lie for a month wet without getting damage, whereas bark-cured nets must be dried daily, or they will rot. Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all nets for taking herrings, salmon, or any sea-fish, and all fishing-lines, cured after the passing of this act, shall be cured with tar and oil, and not barked, or tanned, under penalty of forfeiture of all such nets to the informer upon conviction before a justice of the peace."

Was there a particle of truth in any one of these allegations respecting our ancient mode of curing our nets? Were tar and oil a better preservative than oak bark? The evidence taken before the Commissioners in 1836 puts the matter beyond question. The English tan their nets with bark; we comply with the statute, and tar them; and the Commissioners say, "The evidence shows that tarred nets last only a season or two, while tanned nets, by repeated tannings, may be preserved for several years."—(App. 188.)

Of the nets used by the English boats that come every season from Penzance for the herring fishery to Ardglass, in the county of Down, it is said: "The nets are barked once a month, regularly, during the herring fishery, and sometimes once a fortnight. They may thus last twelve years if kept in use;" and of the nets of the Irish boats fishing in the same place, "The Irish nets are generally tarred instead of being barked; the tarring is renewed twice a year, and the nets last only two years. Tarring the nets burns the fine twine of which they are

made.”—(pp. 19 and 20.) So again, in the evidence respecting Sligo, we are told that “the Cornish fishermen of Mount’s Bay work their nets twelve seasons, and often more. The nets are kept well barked,” while the Irish nets “seldom last more than two years, and are tarred once at the commencement of the season.”—(p. 72.) So very injurious is the slightest taint of oil, that though shoals of pilchards pass every year around the coasts, and we had formerly a great trade in pilchards, and that fishery is sometimes so profitable, that it has happened on the Cornish coast, that “one seine enclosed in five minutes pilchards to the value of £8,000,” (p. 247,) yet our fishermen will not now take them at all, “because they think that the oil of pilchards destroys their netting.”—(p. 144.)

On the subject of preparing the nets the Commissioners of the British Fisheries are very particular in their directions to the fishermen.

“These nets should be properly tanned; and if done with the drug called *catechu*, or *terra japonica*, it will be found much better than oak bark; but care must be taken, when using it, not to overdo the process, otherwise the meshes may become contracted, or too much hardened. Sir William Burnett’s patent, likewise, has been found extremely good for the preservation of nets.”—p. 6.

None of these to-be-used-with-care novelties, was available to the fishermen in 1778, and probably on a full trial of them will be found superior to that material which has been used with success and safety from time immemorial. However, catechu, terra japonica, and Burnett’s patent, are not tar and oil. We can conceive with what horror the Commissioners would regard a proposition to cure the nets of Scottish fishermen with tar, when they thus warn the fisherman to have the tar upon his boat

“Well-hardened before the fishing season commences, for, if the tar happens to have been too recently applied, those fish which accidentally touch the skin of the boat, will be contaminated with a taste of tar, and as early caught fish are often slightly salted and hurried to market, to obtain high prices as an immediate delicacy, if the flavour, or even the smell of tar is perceptible in the pickle or fish of a single barrel, the character of the whole parcel may be injured.”—*Ibid.* p. 4.

If such be the effect of a few fish touching accidentally the side of the boat as they are lifted into it, what must be

the effect of the whole take being meshed in tar and oil, and having those substances thus forced into their flesh?

Our fishermen having probably communicated this evil practice to the Manxmen, the attention of a Committee of the Local Legislature was called to it, who thus denounced it:—

“There is a practice exclusively confined to the Manx fishermen, of comparatively modern introduction, expressly prohibited by law, that of tarring the nets, or boiling them in a mixture of bark and tar; and there is a still more recent practice of soaking them in oil, or other nauseous mixtures, probably offensive to the fish, certainly so to the consumers, and seriously affecting its commercial value. It were superfluous to insist on the absolute necessity of effective measures for the abolition of this practice.”

Not only did the tar burn the fine twine of the net, and injure the fish, but it prevented the fishermen from catching as many as they otherwise would. Thus, of the English and Irish boats at Ardglass, it is said, “The English take at least three fish for every one taken by the Irish.”—(p. 19.) and the Inspector of fisheries at Penzance accounts for the inability of the Manxmen to compete with the Cornishmen by saying, “The Manxmen cannot expect to catch as much fish as the Cornishmen, owing to their nets being tarred.”—p. 249.

Seven years after the passing of this Act, our reputation as curers, was departed. This is confessed by the Parliament, who attributed it to the former defective system of bounties, in consequence of which they say, “the owners have neglected to cure the fish in a merchantable manner, and thereby brought Irish cured fish into disrepute at foreign markets.” (25 Geo. III. c. 35. s. 1.) “It is probable as the bounties were proportioned to the quantities cured, and not to the excellence of the cure, that they may have tended to this result, but the tar and oil were alone enough to effect it.

In 1737, bounties were given for the Irish whale fishery, and in 1764, for the herring, cod, and ling fisheries. After a short experience of these, the people found it more profitable to fish with a view to sale in the market, irrespective of the bounty as of old, and the consequence was, that in 1784, so hopeful was our position, that MacPherson, the MacCulloch of that period wrote:—

“The Irish have great advantages in the herring fishery. The arrival of the herrings, so precarious upon the extensive west coast of Scotland, is certain on the north-west coast of Ireland, and they swim close to the shore. The fishery is free from restrictions, and the adventurers either fish for themselves, or purchase from the fishers as they find most convenient, &c., &c.” “And thus they obtain a greater quantity of fish in the same space of time, and also run their cargoes much earlier to a market than the British fisherman, who is tied down by restrictive laws to lose a great deal of time, and support a heavy expense that he may be entitled to the bounty. The certainty and great abundance of herrings have induced many of the fishermen of England and Scotland to prefer the Irish fishing grounds to those of their own coasts. But there is an unneighbourly jealousy upon the subject of the fisheries, between the Irish and the Scotch, greatly against the true interests of both. There are surely herrings enough for both, and if the fishery is wisely and harmoniously conducted, markets may be found, notwithstanding the decline of Popery, sufficient to employ the industry of both to great advantage. Upon the whole, the Irish fishery may be considered as but in its infancy. But if nature and the legislature shall continue to favour it as they have hitherto done, it must, undoubtedly, in a few years, surmount all rivalship, at least, in Great Britain, unless an entire new system of fishery laws shall be adopted.”*

An entirely new system was adopted here, in 1785, by the 25 Geo. III. c. 35., which granted increased bounties on a new and improved system, and appointed Commissioners, Superintendents, Inspectors, &c. (By the bye, from 1785, till 1830, we could not catch a herring until we got notice from the Inspector of the District). Our fisheries at once declined, and have never since recovered. In 1799, their ruin was hastened by a bounty on foreign fish, which a certain great merchant, an importer, had influence sufficient in the Irish Parliament to carry, that he might profit by the measure.† This bounty was paid till 1811.

We will not detain the reader with a statement of many other causes sufficient of themselves to account for the destruction of our fisheries. In 1819, bounties, commissioners, superintendents, inspectors, were again appointed on a still more improved principle. In 1827, an Act was passed to provide for the cessation of the bounties

* Annals of Commerce, Vol. 3. p. 724.

† Wakefield, vol. ii. p. 133.

in 1830, and this Act prohibited in Ireland, except by leave of the Commissioners, the use of a net called a trammel net, which is prohibited in no other part of the world, and the prohibition of which was proved in 1836 to have reduced to beggary many humble people who before had earned a comfortable livelihood.

In 1830, the bounties, boards, &c., ceased here; and £13,000 were given to finish some piers and harbours begun before 1827, and to pay for enforcing the collection of some loans and advances which had been made to some poor fishermen. These exactions drove many of them and their sureties to America. While the Government was acting thus here, they were giving £14,000 a year for the fisheries of Great Britain, and £500 a year of this as grants to poor fishermen to enable them to make or repair their boats, nets, &c., &c. Even during the famine, while the Scotch fishermen received upwards of £2500 for these purposes, the Irish fishermen were obliged, as appears by the returns, to pay fines to the extent of £260, besides suffering all manner of forfeitures of nets and restrictions for fishing in the day-time for herrings, or with trammel nets or trawl nets, or at the mouths of bays or rivers, or within half a mile of "a several fishery," the bounds of which even the proprietor would not pretend to define. The result of this whole system will be seen in the annexed returns of our imports and exports. The first we take from Mr. Wakefield's work, the second from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry of 1836, and the third from the last Report of the British Commissioners. Study in this last the figures showing the great and rapid increase of the British fisheries, and of our imports of salt herrings.

	EXPORTS.				Average of
	1711	1734	1738	1740	7 years ending 1762
Cod, barrels ...	141	2	...	...	32
—, cwt. ...	...	...	...	...	6
Hake, do. ...	1859	470	1532	1245	1163
Herrings, barrels	6674	21057	7743	258	5838
Ling, cwt. ...	27	...	...	1	77
Mackerel, barrels	...	20	110	293	671
Pilchards, hogsheads	...	2594	2754	366	...
Salmon, tons ...	920	545	513	383	489
—, dried, cwt. ...	59	...	...	...	1

	IMPORTS.				Average of 7 years ending 1762
	1711	1734	1738	1740	
Anchovies, barrels	309	776	619	401 $\frac{1}{2}$	564
Cod, cwt. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	300 $\frac{1}{2}$	122 $\frac{3}{4}$	678	427
—, barrels ...	14	15	...	22	33
Herrings, barrels	..	...	...	...	18
Ling, cwt. ...	...	39 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{3}{4}$	214
Mackerel, barrels	...	...	...	...	18
Pilchards, hogsheads	...	...	...	...	69
Salmon, tons ...	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	6	21

“Cured Herrings imported into, and exported from Ireland, between the years 1770 and 1817, according to the Annual Public Accounts of Finance and Trade.

(These Accounts do not show the Imports and Exports of Cod, Ling, &c.)

IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.		
Year.	Barrels.	Irish Fish. Barrels.	Foreign. Barrels.	Total. Barrels.
1771 ...	44,689	3,770 $\frac{3}{4}$	17,794	21,564 $\frac{3}{4}$
1772 ...	54,010	3,295 $\frac{1}{2}$	27,867	31,162 $\frac{1}{2}$
1773 ...	62,134 $\frac{5}{8}$	5,062	24,567	29,629
1774 ...	46,792 $\frac{1}{8}$	7,600	25,993	33,593
1775 ...	43,821	15,192 $\frac{1}{2}$	15,176 $\frac{1}{2}$	30,369
1776 ...	76,378 $\frac{1}{2}$	17,566	41,693	59,259
1777 ...	30,919 $\frac{1}{2}$	13,512	34,357	47,869
1778 ...	23,523 $\frac{7}{8}$	11,450	20,512	31,962
1779 ...	20,049 $\frac{1}{2}$	16,229	3,452	19,681
1780 ...	21,116	15,718 $\frac{1}{2}$	334	16,052 $\frac{1}{2}$
1781 ...	3,618	26,664	17	26,681
1782 ...	4,324	48,481	50	48,531
1783 ...	13,261	23,398	73	23,471
1784 ...	22,512	35,514	—	35,514
1785 ...	2,385	17,188	121	17,309
1786 ...	6,235	11,366	242	11,608
1787 ...	17,474	16,855	—	16,855
1788 ...	12,088	11,177	2,452	13,629
1789 ...	4,402	7,980	50	8,030
1790 ...	52,121	1,321	38,841	40,162
1791 ...	52,028	4,072	14,597 $\frac{1}{2}$	18,669 $\frac{1}{2}$
1792 ...	50,628	364	1,376 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,740 $\frac{1}{2}$
1793 ...	53,671	1,390	—	1,390
1794 ...	51,793	2,170	—	2,170
1795 ...	93,085	1,261	—	1,261

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
Year.	Barrels.	Irish Fish. Barrels.	Foreign. Barrels.	Total. Barrels.	
1796	... 93,989	3,793	... —	... 3,793	
1797	... 96,431	5,555	... —	... 5,555	
1798	... 106,172	4,215	... —	... 4,215	
1799	... 122,430	5,589	... 7,631 $\frac{1}{2}$	... 13,220 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1800	... 44,180	1,040	... 8,694 $\frac{3}{4}$	... 9,734 $\frac{3}{4}$	
1801	... 70,492	2,789	... 19,444	... 22,233	
1802	... 79,610	3,797	... 23,026	... 26,823	
1803	... 43,581	1,471	... 14,878	... 16,349	
1804	... 21,035	2,729	... 8,042	... 10,771	
1805	... 12,656	2,680	... 2,688	... 5,368	
1806	... 22,348	4,248	... 6,931	... 11,179	
1807	... 42,097	743	... 13,220	... 13,963	
1808	... 33,531	2	... 4,841	... 4,843	
1809	... 37,733	24	... 1,061	... 1,085	
1810	... 56,596	1,088	... 2,990	... 4,078	
1811	... 69,612	875	... 3,017	... 3,892	
1812	... 91,199	704	... 2,423	... 3,127	
1813	... 71,179	1,541	... 1,125	... 2,666	
1814	... 63,563	2,129	... 5,835	... 7,964	
1815	... 67,667	1,610	... 4,225	... 5,835	
1816	... 60,161	915	... 1,161	... 2,076 $\frac{1}{2}$	

“ABSTRACT of the Total Quantity of WHITE HERRINGS Cured, Branded, and Exported, in so far as the same have been brought under the cognizance of the Officers of the Fishery, from the 1st of June 1809, when the system hitherto in force for the Encouragement and Improvement of the British Herring Fishery took place, to the 31st of December 1852; distinguishing each Year as under, and the Countries to which they have been Exported.

PERIODS.	Total quantity of Herring Cured.	Exported to Ireland.	Exported to places out of Europe.	Grand Total Exported.
	Barrels.	Bls. or Crans.	Barrels.	Barrels.
Period extending from 1st June 1809 to 5th April 1810,	90,185 $\frac{1}{2}$	28,014	7,834	35,848
Yr. ended April 5, 1811	91,827 $\frac{1}{2}$	28,212	9,921	38,133
“ “ 1812,	111,519 $\frac{1}{2}$	30,417 $\frac{1}{2}$	27,672 $\frac{1}{2}$	62,820
“ “ 1813,	153,488 $\frac{1}{4}$	57,980	40,699	109,725 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1814,	110,542 $\frac{1}{2}$	43,061 $\frac{1}{2}$	51,899	118,403 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1815,	160,139 $\frac{1}{4}$	49,635 $\frac{1}{4}$	55,778 $\frac{1}{2}$	141,305 $\frac{1}{4}$
“ “ 1816,	162,651 $\frac{1}{4}$	29,456 $\frac{1}{2}$	62,668 $\frac{1}{2}$	107,688
“ “ 1817,	192,343 $\frac{1}{2}$	36,341	57,855	138,628 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1818,	227,691	53,386 $\frac{1}{2}$	65,057	162,339 $\frac{1}{2}$

PERIODS.	Total quantity of Herrings Cured.	Exported to Ireland.	Exported to places out of Europe.	Grand Total Exported.
	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Bls. or Crans</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>
Yr. ended April 5, 1819	340,894	89,704	85,125	227,162
“ “ 1820,	382,491 $\frac{1}{2}$	101,109 $\frac{1}{2}$	88,104	253,516
“ “ 1821,	442,195 $\frac{3}{4}$	125,445	79,836 $\frac{1}{2}$	294,805 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1822,	316,524 $\frac{1}{4}$	102,719	77,485	214,956
“ “ 1823,	248,869	56,528	75,914 $\frac{1}{2}$	170,445
“ “ 1824,	392,190 $\frac{3}{4}$	116,747 $\frac{1}{2}$	82,652	239,630 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1825,	347,665 $\frac{1}{4}$	96,409 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,577 $\frac{1}{2}$	202,016 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1826,	379,233 $\frac{3}{4}$	121,386 $\frac{1}{2}$	67,519	217,073 $\frac{1}{4}$
“ “ 1827,	288,495 $\frac{1}{4}$	78,735	70,970	166,406
“ “ 1828,	399,778	109,108 $\frac{1}{2}$	78,061	211,659
“ “ 1829,	355,979 $\frac{1}{2}$	107,651	69,944	205,875 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1830,	329,557	89,680 $\frac{1}{2}$	67,672	181,654 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1831,	439,370 $\frac{1}{4}$	130,300 $\frac{1}{2}$	72,947	264,903
“ “ 1832,	362,660 $\frac{3}{4}$	128,458	57,941 $\frac{1}{2}$	217,499 $\frac{3}{4}$
“ “ 1833,	416,964 $\frac{1}{4}$	114,137	58,991	220,684 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1834,	451,531 $\frac{1}{4}$	149,254	66,987 $\frac{1}{2}$	272,093 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1835,	277,317	73,960	50,795 $\frac{1}{2}$	158,805 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1836,	497,614 $\frac{3}{4}$	168,960	55,982	273,393 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1837,	397,829 $\frac{1}{4}$	102,968 $\frac{1}{2}$	39,520	189,265 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1838,	507,774 $\frac{3}{4}$	139,095	38,674 $\frac{1}{2}$	235,158
“ “ 1839,	555,559 $\frac{3}{4}$	149,926	24,934 $\frac{1}{2}$	239,730 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1840,	543,945	157,359	12,647 $\frac{1}{2}$	252,522
“ “ 1841,	557,262 $\frac{1}{4}$	150,517 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,668	250,137
“ “ 1842,	667,245 $\frac{1}{4}$	187,953	5,713 $\frac{1}{2}$	284,736
“ “ 1843,	623,419 $\frac{3}{4}$	165,327 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,336 $\frac{1}{2}$	291,800 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ 1844,	665,359 $\frac{3}{4}$	127,770	3,793 $\frac{1}{2}$	313,516 $\frac{1}{2}$
Period extending from 5th April 1844 to 5th January 1845,	526,032 $\frac{3}{4}$	120,293	2,326 $\frac{1}{2}$	266,373 $\frac{1}{2}$
Yr. ended Jan. 5, 1846,	532,646	127,027 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,488 $\frac{1}{2}$	243,194
“ “ 1847,	607,451	102,585	4,765 $\frac{1}{2}$	255,714
“ “ 1848,	562,743 $\frac{1}{2}$	102,690	4,959	250,181
“ “ 1849,	644,368 $\frac{1}{4}$	78,262 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,682 $\frac{1}{2}$	249,994
“ “ 1850,	770,698 $\frac{1}{4}$	78,889 $\frac{1}{4}$	4,258 $\frac{1}{2}$	340,256 $\frac{1}{4}$

From the report of last year, it appears that the export of herrings from Scotland to Ireland was in 1853, no less than 95,339 barrels.

The Commission appointed in 1836 to inquire into the subject of the fisheries after examining witnesses on all parts of the coasts, and receiving information on the subject of the fishery laws of other countries, recommended as to the deep-sea fisheries, that all the existing statutes

relating to them should be repealed, and “all provisions deemed necessary should be embodied in one statute:” “that the chief superintendence and control of all matters connected with the fisheries be vested in some public department:” “that the jurisdiction of the local magistracy in maritime counties be extended to offences committed by fishermen at sea”—that, as in Great Britain, and here under the Act of 1819, “a government vessel be furnished at the requisition of the superintending body at such times and places as may be deemed necessary for the protection and assistance of the fisheries, and that a competent authority for the preservation of the peace accompany such vessels:” “that the superintending body be empowered” to adopt “any local regulations which they shall consider as decidedly salutary, either for the due conduct of the fishermen, for the preservation of the peace, or the protection of the fisheries:” that the government should aid in building piers, harbours, &c.; (their recommendations on this head were adopted by the Acts of 1845, and 1846,) that loan funds should be encouraged—that loans should be made by the Board of Works “to parties desirous of erecting curing-houses, fishery-yards, salt-stores, or fishermen’s storehouses:” that tenants in tail, &c. be empowered to make leases for fishery purposes: “that the section of the statute of Charles the First securing to the public a right to the use of the strands and wastes on the shores of Ireland for fishing purposes, and conferring a complete freedom of fishing on all British subjects be clearly established by a farther enactment,” and “that a practical education in the manufacture of nets, and in other fishery avocations be adopted in the national schools of the maritime districts of Ireland.” On the subject “of restrictions relating to seasons, &c., &c.,” the Commissioners most wisely say: “It must be observed, that with respect to the general policy of all interferences with the freedom of industry in these and similar particulars, there is much ground for hesitation, and there is in the present case a minuteness of legislation which throws great suspicion on its presumed utility..... Before such interference is assumed the particular restriction requires a special justification,—a necessity must be demonstrated, and in all cases of doubt the wisdom is to abstain. The general maxim, therefore, is to interfere as little as possible, and never to advance a step on speculative grounds.”

With regard to the inland or salmon fisheries, they recommended assimilation with England. Lord Morpeth, who, as Secretary for Ireland, issued the Commission, brought in a Bill in 1838 literally carrying out the suggestions of the Commissioners as to the coast fisheries, but not interfering with the inland fisheries. This Bill, unhappily, was not passed, and in 1842 a Bill was introduced and passed almost as a private Bill, without a single sentence being said in either House in explanation of its provisions, (so far as we can judge by Hansard) and the only reasonable clue to which is, that the promoters of it thought that the persons who had had the courage to set at defiance the then existing law, and to erect stake-weirs, and other nuisances in navigable and tidal waters, were the only deserving portion of her Majesty's subjects, and that any one, who caught a salmon or other fish by any other contrivance, was a public enemy. The ingenuity with which they perverted the Reports of the Commissioners of inquiry is quite extraordinary. Let us pass in review a few of their contrivances.

From the earliest period the Common Law of England, like the Civil Law, the Brehon Law, and the fundamental law of every civilized country, reprobated all obstructions in navigable rivers to the passage of vessels, or of fish, as public nuisances. The great Charter had two chapters against them. In every subsequent reign down to the time of Edward IV., there were one or two, or more confirmations or extensions of those provisions of the Charter, and all these confirmations and extensions were applied to this country by Poyning's Act, 10 Henry VII. c. 22. The Irish Parliament also passed several additional statutes to protect the rights of the public, and especially one in the tenth year of Charles I., which made the erection of weirs, or standing nets in waters frequented by salmon, a misdemeanour punishable by fine and imprisonment. Now, the framers of the Act of 1842, perverting the suggestion of the Commissioners to repeal and consolidate the statutes relating to the sea-fisheries, repeal all these Irish Acts, and by implication, the Great Charter, and all the statutes confirming it, and pretending that "doubts exist with respect to the right to use stake-weirs, and stake-nets, and other fixed nets for the purpose of catching salmon in the sea and tide-ways along the coast of Ireland, and it is necessary to define and *declare*

such right," "therefore, declared and enacted" that the proprietors of several fisheries, and "enacted" that the owners of lands "adjoining the sea and shore, or any estuary," might erect such nets. (ss. 18 & 19.)

To carry out this declaration and enactment they create a Board of Commissioners, at the public expense, for the Sea and Inland Fisheries jointly, there being no such Board in either England or Scotland, and they invest them with the power of calling to their aid the navy and coast-guard, which, in England and Scotland, aid only in keeping order among the Deep Sea fishermen; and then they use the navy and coast-guard for the protection of their newly acquired rights in the Inland Fisheries, and reduce the number of their water bailiffs, and have the hardihood to complain of the coast-guard for neglect of duty.* They repeal the several Irish Acts which made the legal close season in each river accord with the natural close season; and they adopt one uniform close season for all Ireland; and they thus ruin all the salmon fisheries, to which this new season was unsuited; and this absurdity they enact, under the notion that the salmon might be made to conform to the law after the experience of a few seasons.† They repeal the Acts of Charles I., securing to fishermen the right to go on the shores of the sea, and the adjoining high lands, to watch for fish, and give the semblance of a substitute for it. They repeal the section of the Act of 1819, securing to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom the right of fishing on the coasts, and in the bays and creeks of both countries, and give no substitute whatever for it. Indeed, so bent were they on getting rid of all competitors in the catching of fish, that they repeal a provision as to the right of fishermen and their apprentices, to fish on "navigable rivers, or waters, with lawful nets and engines," not merely in a general Act relating to all Ireland, but also in a special local Act, relating only to the Barrow, and other waters, in the county of Kilkenny."

These are a few of the new contrivances as to the

* See the evidence of Sir James Dombrain, Inspector of Coast-Guard, before the Committee of 1849.

† See the evidence before the Committee of 1849 as to this extraordinary crotchet of one of the supporters of the Bill.

Inland Fisheries. But still further to protect their newly acquired privileges, and to get rid of all competition in the fish line, they authorize the Commissioners to prevent any one from setting "any net at, or across the entrance of any bay, or estuary," (s. 10,) or from using any trawl, or trammel-net at any season, or any place, either in the sea, or within the tideway in any estuary." (s. 9.) And they extend the restriction as to daylight fishing, which formerly applied to herrings only, to all nets whatever, "except stake, or fixed nets, for the catching of salmon; and also seines, or drift-nets, for pilchards, or fish other than herrings,"—pilchards being a fish now almost never taken by the Irish fishermen, but which is taken in great quantities by the men of Devon and Cornwall, with which part of the world Lord Eliot, the nominal framer of the Bill, was familiar. And not only do they prohibit the use of any net, between sunrise and sunset, in the sea, or within the tideway in any estuary" (s. 7.) but if such a net is set after sunset, and is unfortunately not taken up before sunrise, it is forfeited, and the owner is subjected to penalties. (s. 8.)

The Society of Friends, the Rev. Mr. Alcock, and the Reports of the House of Lords, have made the public familiar with the cruel operations of these sections during the famine, especially in the Ring district on the coast of Waterford. The oppression is still continued; and this very last year a train of twenty nets was forfeited under this law, and six families deprived of the means of subsistence. But, as if all these restrictions were not enough, in 1848 an Act was passed to prohibit any person from fishing with rod, or net, for salmon, sea-trout, pollen, or eels, either at sea, or in inland waters, without having a license for the district and year in which he was found committing the crime. Under this Act the country is divided into 17 districts; and if a fisherman wishes to fish with a net wherever the wind blows him, say from Wexford to Dublin, he must pay no fewer than three licence fees, varying, according to the effectiveness of the net, from £1 10s., to £5 each. There are no such laws as these in England, or any other civilized country.

The object of the Bills introduced by Mr. M'Mahon is simply to repeal this whole code, and to replace the law in the state in which it was here in 1654, and in which it is now in England—to revive the Chapters of the Great

Charter supposed to be repealed—the Act of Charles I., giving fishermen the right to go on high lands, and waste shores, adjoining the sea—the clause of the Act of 1819, securing to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom the right of fishing on every part of our seas, creeks, and bays—the Act of Charles I., against standing nets in rivers for taking salmon, or eels—and to extend to Ireland an Act of James I., against weirs on the sea-coasts—and two Acts of George III., and Victoria, enabling magistrates at sessions to fix the close season for each river in each county; and thus to pave the way for enabling the Board of Trade (if it thinks proper) to rescind the Minute by which the Act regulating the Coast Fisheries of the United Kingdom is now suspended as to Ireland; and thus carry out the recommendations of the Commission of 1836, and assimilate the law of Ireland to that of England.

We hail these propositions, coming from Irish members, with great satisfaction, as they tend to establish an uniformity of law between England and Ireland, and to restore that harmony and good feeling which anciently existed between the inhabitants of the two countries, and which nothing but perversity, injustice, and folly, could ever have disturbed.

ART. III.—1. *The Christian Remembrancer*, No. LXXIII. January, 1854. Art. II. St. Alfonso de Liguori's Theory of Truthfulness. J. and C. Mozley.

2. *The Works of St. Alphonsus Maria de Liguori.* Edited by R. A. COFFIN.* Vol. I. The Christian Virtues. Burns and Lambert.

ALTHOUGH it is not our habit to review reviews, yet an article of so mischievous a character has appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer* of January last, that we think ourselves justified in making an exception in its favour. The article, to use the words of the writer, is confined almost wholly to the examination of the single question, "What is Rome's Theory of Truthfulness and Lying?" Every here and there, however, will be found

* We perceive with great pleasure that the Redemptorist Fathers have already commenced their new edition of St. Alphonsus' Works. The volume, the title of which is given above, augurs well for the general character of the Series; and Father Coffin deserves our warmest thanks for the able way in which he is carrying out the great work he has undertaken. It is indeed a great work; nothing less than the introduction among us, or rather the making us thoroughly acquainted with a saint whose name is connected with so much that every Catholic holds most dear. Besides his own sweet spirit of charity and tenderness in dealing with sinners, a more fervent and personal love for the Sacred Humanity of our dearest Lord, a greater devotion to His Passion, and Presence among us in the adorable Sacrament of the Altar, a more real devotion to Mary seem to us must ever attend the footsteps of St. Alphonsus. And should the reader feel disheartened at the present outcry against his name, and fear that the Saint is too un-English ever to gain a footing among us, let him remember that thirty years ago the same battle had to be fought in France against an almost equally powerful opposition. Hitherto St. Alphonsus has scarcely had fair play. His works have been but partially known, and that, too, through the medium of very imperfect translations. This impediment is, however, being fast removed, and we can now look forward confidently to the time when every Englishman will be able to contemplate the devotional system of the Saint in all its completeness. He will then be able to estimate fairly the harmony and due proportion of its parts, and judge whether the strongest love to Mary be not one of the most powerful ways of showing love to Jesus.

in it little digressional attacks upon various doctrines more or less important, as, for example, in page 44, the distinction between mortal and venial sin, is discussed, after which Pascal, "in his own inimitable manner," explains the doctrine of probablism; and again, to show that the materials are not exhausted, we are presented with samples taken from the Theory of Theft, besides which there is no lack of inuendo that there are worse things behind the scene unfit for publication. The writer's method of conducting the proposed inquiry, as to Rome's Theory of Truth and Falsehood, is as follows. He introduces the reader at once to the so-called Theory of Amphilogy, which he proceeds to analyze, and deduces the conclusion, that as it can only be said to differ from lying by virtue of the material truth asserted, therefore, since Rome permits its use, she clearly considers the essence of Moral Truth to be Material Truth. Thus in page 49, he says, "The Theory of Amphilogy confounds this vital distinction, its essence consists in being a Moral Falsehood conveyed by means of a Material Truth. Romish theologians would try to persuade us that the latter compensates for the former, whereas we have seen that it does not annihilate, or remove one grain of its native deformity." Had the reputation of the *Christian Remembrancer* been our sole object, it would have sufficed to have shown that, whether true or false, the writer had never even apprehended the doctrine of equivocation, as maintained by Catholic divines, or their mode of defending the same; hence, that the arguments directed against it, however forcible in themselves, are simply irrelevant. The reader then might have been left to form his own judgment as to the intellectual and moral capacity of one who, on so simple and fundamental a point, thus misunderstands those whom he presumes to criticize, and brings a charge against a theologian and a Saint, and through him against the whole Catholic Church, of having violated the plain principles of morality.

But as a thus purely negative position would partake too much of the unsatisfactory character necessarily attaching to all such modes of arguing, it has been thought better to lay before the reader a statement of the doctrines contended for by Catholic theologians upon the subject under dispute, and thus immediately and directly put him in possession of their position, and the real arguments

they adduce in its support, while indirectly and more by way of accident, the objections of the Christian Remembrancer will, we hope, meet with a satisfactory refutation.

The reader must be cautioned against falling into an error which the language of the Christian Remembrancer would be not unlikely to suggest. The expressions, "St. Alphonso's Theory of Truthfulness, St. Alphonso's Theory of Theft," seem to indicate, that the Saint has some definite views peculiarly his own on the subject; that he has analysed and reduced them to principles differing from those generally received. The object of the writer is, 1st, to prove that these systems or theories are radically immoral; 2ndly, that the Church of Rome, by its explicit sanction has adopted them, and is therefore to be held responsible for the immorality they contain. This way of viewing the matter is, however, false; it is not true that the Church has adopted the theory of St. Alphonsus, but that St. Alphonsus has never departed from the theory of the Church. The remark which Mœhler makes with reference to the individual Father, is equally applicable to the individual theologian. "No Father," he says, "not even the most revered, has ever succeeded in imposing his own peculiar opinions on the Church; as of this fact St. Austin furnishes a remarkable proof. What writer ever acquired a greater authority than he? and yet his theory respecting original sin and grace, never became the doctrine of the Church; and herein he showed himself a good Catholic, that he gave us permission to examine his private opinions, and retain only what was sound." The Church, then, properly speaking, never adopts theories, either in dogma or morals, in both she has her own fixed truths; her own fundamental principles and maxims, which are assumed as starting points by every one of her theologians; in both she has from time to time placed limits, beyond which speculation cannot advance without censure; but so long as these are not transgressed, she has no wish to check discussion or diversity of opinion in the schools, knowing very well that such, so far from being adverse to the unity of the faith, rather tends to its more definite and complete manifestation. With respect, then, to the expression, "St. Alphonsus's Theory of Truthfulness," if the word Theory is intended to apply to the fundamental principles of truth and falsehood, we deny that the Saint has any special theory of his own upon any question of morality.

If the word means only a particular application of acknowledged principles, and that the Saint is attached to one school of theology rather than the other, then we not only own the fact, but will give reasons presently which induce us to believe that it could scarcely have been otherwise.

But since St. Alphonsus has been brought forward as representing the teaching of the Catholic Church, it will be proper to say a few words on this particular authority, as also on the attitude which Catholics are bound to assume towards him.

The authority of St. Alphonsus rests upon two formal decisions from Rome. The first was given in May, 1803, by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, when all the works of the Saint were examined with a view to his beatification. The decree, consequent thereupon, and which was afterwards confirmed by Pius VII., declares the writings of St. Alphonsus to contain "*nihil censurâ dignum.*"

The second decision was given by the Sacred Penitentiary in an answer to Cardinal de Rohan-Chabot, Archbishop of Besançon, 1831, who had put the following questions: "*Primo: utrum Sacræ Theologiæ Professor opiniones quas in suâ Theologiâ Morali profitetur beatus Alphonsus à Ligorio sequi tuto possit ac profiteri?*" *Secundo: An sit inquietandus Confessarius qui omnes beati Alphonsi à Ligorio sequitur opiniones a praxi sacri Pœnitentiæ Tribunalis hac solâ ratione quòd à Sede Apostolicâ nihil in operibus ejus censurâ dignum repertum fuerit, cum adnotatione quod nempe confessarius iste non legit opera beati Doctoris nisi ad cognoscendam accurate ejus doctrinam, non perpendens momenta rationesque, quibus variæ nituntur opiniones sed existimans se tuto agere eo ipso, quod doctrinam, quæ nihil censurâ dignum continet prudenter judicare queat sanam esse ac tutam nec ullatenus sanctitati Evangelicæ contrariam?* On the 5th of July, the same year the S. P. gave the following answers: *Ad Primam—Affirmative: quin tamen inde reprehendi censeantur qui opiniones ab aliis probatis auctoribus traditas sequuntur. Ad Secundam—Negative: habitâ ratione mentis Sanctæ Sedis circa approbationem scriptorum Servorum Dei ad effectum canonizationis.*

Now what is the meaning of these two decisions? The first declares that nothing against sound faith or morals is to be found in the works of St. Alphonsus;—the second

declares that the private opinions of the Saint do not come under the class of those opinions which a confessor is forbidden to follow as unsafe, and that, of this fact the approbation of the Holy See is a sufficient warrant to enable the confessor to select any opinion, certainly St. Alphonsus, without being obliged to enter into the various arguments by which it is supported. But, without doubt, neither this latter decision, nor the former, gives any authority to the private views and opinions of St. Alphonsus in obliging us to accept them; nay, according to the maxim laid down by Benedict XIV., it would not even be rash to reject the whole system of St. Alphonsus, so far as it is peculiar. *Doctrina debitâ cum reverentiâ potest citra ullam temeritatis notam impugnari, si modesta impugnatione bonis rationibus innixa sit, etiam postquam Dei servus qui scripsit inter beatos aut sanctos fuerit relatus.**

There are two aspects under which the English Protestant is in the habit of objecting to the moral teaching of the Church, one in the abstract, as it is found in the writings of our theologians, the other in the concrete, as it exhibits itself in the conduct of those nations over whom its influence extends.

He takes up, perhaps, a popular treatise like that of St. Alphonsus, on the Commandments, and is at once struck by observing how very little relative importance is given to virtues which he has been accustomed to place in the first rank, and the violation of which he feels would produce in his own case a total ruin of the character, while others, again, he cannot but consider unduly exalted. He discovers, for instance, that a mere lie is only a venial sin, while a single impure thought deliberately entertained may cut the soul off from the grace of God and merits eternal punishment. He is indignant and shocked at the one, and regards the other as painfully exaggerated and grotesque, and concludes, that his author must have some disease in his moral vision which prevents his taking a natural common-sense view of his subject, and causes him to exaggerate out of all proportion small objects, and scarcely discern others of far greater magnitude. He does not hesitate to assume his own view to be the right one, because it agrees with that entertained by those about him,

* De Can. SS. l. 2. c. 21, s. 28.

while the theory of [the Saint he calls peculiar, unnatural, the evident result of his education in the moral malaria of Italy, which disease, in proportion as he extends his reading to other theologians, he will feel inclined to consider universally prevalent in Catholic countries. Next, in descending from books to people, in order to observe the working of the Church's system, he will be equally disgusted and self-satisfied at the result. "Untruthfulness," he will remark, "is a phenomenon which is found, in a remarkable degree, in all the southern nations of Europe, and, he is afraid, it must be added, in Ireland too, while the northern nations are, in general, comparatively free from it." His previous study of the pages of St. Alphonsus immediately suggests an adequate hypothesis to account for the same, "when S. Philumenism," he proceeds to say, "is put in the place of manly faith, when all duties are merged in the one duty, called by the specious name of advance in religion,—when men and women put the entire direction of their souls out of their own hands into the absolute control of others, in spite of the nature which God has given them, when those who have control of the consciences of others are supplied (and supplied by an authority which they hold infallible,) with a system of moral principles and rules, in which truth is flagrantly violated, good faith sapped, and the obligation of oaths reduced to a trick of words, which a hair-splitting sophist may play like counters, what can we expect but the very phenomenon we find existing? the lock and the key answer to each other admirably."

These observations seem to us shallow, and the result of not keeping in sight certain truths, partly belonging to morality in general, and partly arising out of the special nature of the morality of the Church. First of all, then, although it is undeniably true that virtues and vices regarded absolutely, are everywhere of the same relative importance, yet we do not think it true to say that they are of the same relative importance with respect to individuals.* Virtues and vices, considered in the abstract, are everywhere one and the same, because their object matter, human nature, as such, is equally identical and universal; but since that same human nature admits of manifold

* Conf. Macaulay's Essay on Macchiavelli.

varieties of form, according as it is divided and subdivided in time and space by the almost infinite distinctions of race and nation, so must it exhibit at different times and places a corresponding diversity of moral phenomena. Nowhere do we find the individual soul equally developed in all its parts; everywhere, according to the influence of circumstances, some one faculty gains an undue share of importance over its fellows. In countries and times favourable to the development of the intellectual element, vices which discover ingenuity, subtlety, forethought, and refinement, will be much more readily pardoned than those which appear wanting in these respects. Whereas, among a people of a different temperament, and in a different stage of civilization, the characteristic moral qualities will be found seated in the desires and affections, and moral acts will be appreciated according as they speak favourably or not for these latter. Hence arise what are called, national virtues and vices, which cannot but give rise in their turn to special ethical codes. A man's moral progress is advanced or impeded in exact proportion to the estimate his conscience sets upon particular steps in an onward or backward direction, and the conscience's estimate will be formed according to the standard of excellence it has been taught to look to as the end of morality. Hence each individual of a nation is led through a special association of ideas, to acquire a special moral sense which, being more practical, is far more exercised in passing judgment upon actions than that faculty for discerning right and wrong, possessed by all men in common; indeed, so much so, that the very existence of a moral faculty essentially inherent in human nature, has been called in question, and all our moral notions have been considered the effect of education and circumstances. It may be that the best thing for the individual to do is without hesitation to follow the dictates of the special sense in his own case, but it is quite obvious that such a faculty can be no safe criterion beyond the sphere of its native element. Nevertheless, men do use it as freely abroad as they do at home, and when we remember that our judgment concerning the acts of others, depends on our judgment as to what those acts would be in our own case, we need not be surprised at finding different nations so ready with mutual recrimination, and so little able to comprehend practices and

habits peculiar to each other, or to estimate aright one another's moral words. The society for which St. Alphonsus wrote is Italian; and his theology is consequently to a great extent shaped to suit the moral exigencies of that people, and presupposes all their customs and conventionalities.

It is scarcely possible to imagine two characters more widely different than the Italian and English, nor any two less capable of judging one another. Should we not, then, naturally expect that the Englishman, whose ideas are formed upon so different a structure of society, should find in the particular illustrations of St. Alphonsus much that is hard to digest, much that is difficult to reconcile with his ideas of right and wrong? The Italian may be unable to appreciate the merits of a good open lie, while the Englishman thinks it far preferable to what he calls a miserable evasion; he thinks so because he feels that the latter would be much more destructive to his moral progress than the former; and perhaps in his own case he judges rightly, but he has no ground, on that account, to argue that it would be so in the case of the Italian.

"Well but," our Protestant countryman may say, "I fully concede the truth of the observations you have made upon the influence of circumstances in forming the moral character of a people. I am willing to grant, also, that the Italian may be naturally less truthful than the Englishman, but how does this fact excuse your Church? You have said truly enough that the moral progress of a nation is in proportion to the standard of excellence instilled into the mind by education; now, from whence does the Italian get his education, except from the Church? Is it not then in her power to make truthfulness so much the standard of excellence as to counteract the natural tendencies of the people? Why, then, is so little prominence given to this virtue in the works of your theologians?" This mode of reply shows an ignorance of the grand fact that Catholic morality is supernatural, and not natural, and that the teaching of the Church has a distinct end and object matter, and consequently is based upon distinct principles as compared with the teaching of nature. Natural morality, on the one hand, takes human nature as it is, and endeavours to ascertain what those principles are by which man attains the end of his being, according to his original constitution: in proportion, then, as a dis-

position is favourable or not thereto it is praised or blamed, encouraged, or regarded with indifference. Thus, since man is naturally a social animal, whose actions are so dependent upon those of other men, that he can scarcely fulfil the end of his being, except through the medium of mutual understanding, the virtue of Truthfulness, which tends to supply this need, will ever occupy one of the highest places of natural ethics, whilst its opposite, Lying, will be held proportionately ruinous to the character. Catholic morality is equally concerned with man's nature and its perfection, but then it is man's nature elevated by grace, and the end of his being in the supernatural, not in the natural order. Now the end of man's nature supernaturally constituted, or regenerated, is direct union with God, consequently this latter becomes the test whereby virtues and vices obtain their relative importance and significance.

“Thus,” observes Father Newman, “the Church aims at three special virtues which reconcile and unite the soul to its Maker;—faith, purity, and charity;—for two of which the world cares little or nothing. The world, on the other hand, puts in the first place in some states of society certain heroic qualities; in others, certain virtues of a political or mercantile character. In ruder ages it is personal courage, strength of purpose, magnanimity; in more civilized, honesty, fairness, honour, truth, and benevolence:—virtues, all of which, of course, the teaching of the Church comprehends, all of which she expects, in their degree, in all her consistent children, and all of which she exacts, in their fulness, in her saints: but which, after all, beautiful as they are, are really the fruit of nature as well as of grace; which do not necessarily imply grace at all: which do not reach so far as sanctity, or unite the soul by any supernatural process to the source of supernatural perfection, and supernatural blessedness.” Hence, we are able to understand why, according to Catholic theology, a mere falsehood, which does no great harm to any one, is a venial sin, because it is not a great offence against charity: for an opposite reason the mendacium perniciorum is mortal. So, too, Thefts are measured by the amount of injury they inflict upon our neighbour; a fact which the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* seems utterly unable to comprehend. But to look a little closer at the end and object which authors like St. Alphonsus have in view, Moral

Theology with them is no mere speculative science, setting forth a standard of ideal holiness, or even that which multitudes of Christians reach ; it looks rather to the direction of the Confessor, in the administration of the Sacrament of Penance, and penance is for sinners, not for saints. The question is not, what are the highest principles of morality?—what system looks best, sounds best, and is least open to attack?—but how can the principles of morality be best applied to save souls?—what is the system which, upon the whole, works best, and taking human nature as it is into consideration, is found to answer better than any other? The ruling maxims are: First precept, and then counsel. First save the soul from sin, and then aim at perfection. Hence the point for the Catholic theologian to decide is between the licitum and illicitum ; how far, as a matter of fact, do we find our liberty restrained by the law of God? what is the least we are required to do? where is the exact limit beyond which we cannot advance without falling into the abysses of mortal and venial sin? “The Church knows well,” to quote Father Newman again, “that the vast masses of population, as viewed in the individual units of which they are composed, are in a state of continual lapse from the Centre of sanctity and love, ever falling under His displeasure, and tending to a state of habitual alienation from Him. Her one work towards these many millions is, year after year, and day after day, to be raising them out of the mire, and when they sink again to raise them again, and so to keep them afloat as she best may on the surface of that stream which is drawing them down to eternity. Of course, through God’s mercy, there are numbers who are exceptions to this statement, who are living in obedience and peace, or going on to perfection ; but the word of Christ, ‘Many are called, but few are chosen,’ is fulfilled in any extensive field of operation which the Church is called upon to superintend. Her one object, through her ten thousand organs, by Preachers, and by Confessors, by parish Priest, and by Religious Community, in Missions, and in Retreats, at Christmas, and at Easter, by Fasts, and by Feasts, by Devotions, and by Indulgences, is this increased ever patient reconciliation of the soul to God, and obliteration of sin. Moreover, as sins are of unequal gravity in God’s judgment, though all, of whatever kind, are offensive to Him, and incur their measure of punishment, the Church’s

great object is to discriminate between sin and sin, and to secure in individuals that renunciation of evil which is implied in the idea of substantial and unfeigned conversion. She has no warrant, and she has no encouragement, to enforce upon men in general more than those habits of virtue, the absence of which would be tantamount to their separation from God; and she thinks she has done a great deal, and exults in her success, does she proceed so far, and she bears, as she may, what remains still to be done, in the conviction, that did she attempt more, she would lose all. There are sins which are incompatible with Contrition and Absolution under any circumstances; there are others which are disorders and disfigurements of the soul. She exhorts them against the second; she directs her efforts against the first. Those who criticize may object to all this, that it is, after all, the taking a very low view of morality on the one hand, and of human nature on the other—that it has nothing ennobling in it to either—that it would be more dignified for the Church to be ever enforcing a strict performance of the highest principles of morality, instead of thus pandering to the corruptions of the flesh, and the seductions of the world. These, and many other reflections of a like nature the theoretical moralist is quite at liberty to make, only, when he comes to judge the Church's method of dealing with souls, he must be careful to remember that her ways are not his ways, her aims his aims; if he was sent into the world to theorize, she was not; that she has a work to do, namely, to seek the lost, which she must fulfil as best she can; and perhaps, when he reflects that while his lofty theories are but theories, the Church's knowledge is the result of practical experience gained during a contest of 1800 years with human nature under every conceivable aspect; he may be induced to doubt whether, after all, her way may not be better than his own. However this may be, it is palpably absurd to look for the Church's notion of a high standard of morality in works which only contemplate a low one.

It is absolutely essential to a right appreciation of the method about to be pursued, in order to meet the position of the Christian Remembrancer, that that position be clearly understood at starting. It may be stated thus:—The theory of truthfulness maintained by theologians of the Roman Churches, that is to say, their doctrine upon amphilogy, upon promises and oaths, is lax even to

violation of the plain principles of morality, and makes moral goodness, or badness, depend upon the act done, and not upon the intention of the agent. We intend to give the reader an opportunity of judging of the truth of this proposition by laying before him as succinctly as possible the teaching of Catholic Divines, on each of the above points.

The word truth is used to imply either a habit or a fact; used in the latter sense, it means the agreement or conformity of terms, and, according as this agreement is dependent, or not on the human mind, it is called subjective or objective, formal or material truth. Thus it is either the agreement or conformity, existing between the understanding and its object, or between the external sign, and that which it is intended to signify; or between the object and its idea, as existing in the Divine Mind. Here, then, we have three kinds of truth or agreement. 1st. Between objects and their ideas reflected in the human mind. 2dly. Between ideas and their representative signs. 3dly. Between objects and ideas as reflected in the Divine Mind. Truth,* as a habit, or as it is more

* Extra controversiam est veritatem de quâ agimus esse virtutem, et quidem ad alterum. Nam hæc virtus respicit alios quibus nostra manifestanda sunt atque ita ad justitiam reducitur.

“Veritas—ex D. Thom. doct. 2, 2. q. cix. a. 1, 2, et 3. est pars potestativa justitiæ quâ verba nostra vel facta debite ordinantur ad aliquid sicut signum ad signatum, ut ei debito quod humana societas et conversatio postulat satisfiat...Proprium virtutis hujus munus est curare veritatem in signis externis quibus aliquid alteri significamus, sive curare conformitatem signorum illorum externorum, et *mentis* in eo qui talia signa usurpat: ita ut *saltem secundum conscientiam* proponentis et usurpantis signa prædicta, non sit dissonantia inter signa et objectum per ea significatum: et in id homo sollicitè incumbit, quia nisi hujusmodi dissonantia studiosè declinaretur pessum iret civilis societas, actum quæ esset de humanâ conversatione....Respicit consonantiam signorum quibus sensa nostra de rebus enuntiamus, et nostri de rebus judicii, ita ut quod judicamus, hoc significemus, eamque consonantiam vult et curat hæc virtus, quæ idcirco circa signa illa externa tanquam circa *materiale* objectum occupatur...*Formale* autem sive motivum quod est fons honestatis materiali objecto effusæ non aliud hoc loco est quam illud debitum quod protuli in societati ejusque exigentia fundatum, ac proinde non est legale sed morale duntaxat.”—Theophilus Ray. De Æqui. et Ment. Rest. t. xiv. Op. ed. Lug. 1665, c. I. l. 2.-4.

usually termed truthfulness, in its generic character, may have truth for its object-matter in any of the above forms, but the virtue we are concerned with is that special one, the distinct province of which is to see that thoughts and words harmonize. But, if we look to the formal object from which it derives its character as a virtue, we shall find it to be none other than a certain debt due to human society, and founded upon the natural exigencies of the same, which requires that men if they make use of language at all should do so in such a way that the end for which it was instituted be not perverted. From this double nature of its object-matter, viz., that it is concerned with the fulfilment of a duty to society, and that it looks to equalization, truthfulness has been reckoned by St. Thomas as a species of universal justice; it differs, however, from justice proper, inasmuch as the debt it has to supply does not depend upon a legal, but upon a moral obligation.

Since * that from which all moral actions derive their

* “*Neque refert, etsi id re ipsâ verum sit; quia in mortalibus sive voluntariis actionibus quæ speciem suam accipiunt ab objecto non prout est a parte rei, sed prout est apprehensum, et voluntati ab intellectu propositum.*”—Laymann, Theolog. Mor. lib. iv. tract. iii. c. xiii. 2.

“*Rejiciendus est Gilbertus ubi contra expressam D. Augustini sententiam affirmat eum qui enunciat aliquid sicut se habet a parte rei, non mentiri, etiam si contra conscientiam loquatur, existimans rem aliter se habere quam ipse enunciet. Hoc inquam rejiciendum est, quia mendacium opponitur contrariè veritati morali: hæc autem non spectat nudam consonantiam propositionis vocalis cum objecto prout a parte rei se habente, sed præcipuè attendit consonantiam objecti et locutionis, prout indictæ per voluntatem. Itaque recte statuebat D. Augustinus posse mentientem, dicere verum re ipsa; et nihilo minus labefactare veritatem moralem, quæ pensatur ex effectu loquentis, ejusque conscientia.*” Theoph. Ray. De Æquiv. tom. xiv. Op. i. c. 5.

“*Mendacium aliud non est quam dictum contra mentem: si nimirum aliquid affirmes quod existimas non esse; vel negas quod existimas esse, idque fallendi gratiâ.*—Laymann, lib. iv. tr. 3. c. xiii. 1. Secuti S. Aug. c. 22. Enchir. relatus causâ, Quæst. 22. Definit. 2. ‘*Is mentitur qui contra id quod animo sentit loquitur voluntate fallendi.*’ ”

Conf. also Scavini, whose moral theology is professedly only a digest of St. Alphonso’s—*Veracitas est virtus quæ id sibi proposi-*

essential character is the object-matter, not as it is in reality, but as it is proposed by the intelligence to the will, theologians are most careful in guarding us against a confusion between moral and material truth, or from supposing that the latter can in any way compensate for the former. They say that the material truth of a statement can never affect its moral character, which must depend upon the knowledge and intention of the speaker, and continually quote, by way of authority, the well-known passages of St. Austin, to the effect that a man is not guilty of a lie because he says that which is false if he think it true; but he is a liar, who, retaining one thing in his mind, gives expression to another by words or other external signs: such being the nature of moral truth, it is apparent in what its opposite falsehood consists. Since truth has been found to be a habit, having for its object-matter the agreement of thoughts and words, falsehood will look to a disagreement between the same, and to lie will be to exhibit externally some sign which does not correspond with the object as understood by the speaker; and the doing so intentionally will be formal lying. Hence its common definition—*Locutio seu significatio contra mentem.*

Thus far all theologians agree, but here there arises a doubt and difference of opinion as to whether, over and above the intention of enunciating falsehood, the intention to deceive is not required as an essential part of the definition. The addition is recognized by St. Augustin in his book *contra mendacium*, and not a few theologians insist

tum habet, ut in significandis nostris cogitationibus res enuntiemus cujusmodi sunt, *vel cujusmodi esse putamus.* Ex quo patet discrimen veracitatem inter et veritatem: nam veritas tota sumitur ex conformitate iudicii cum ipsa re iudicatâ: veracitas autem spectat potissimum *conformitatem locutionis cum mente ipsiusmet hominis loquentis*: prima tota est *subjectiva*, altera *objectiva*. Verax ideo esse potest etiam qui falsum dicit, si nempe *putet* se verum enuntiare; sicut et mendax esset si verum pronuntiaret, *putans* se dicere falsum (vol. ii. Tract. vii. Ap. c. l. art. 11.) or Gury—“*Mendacium est locutio contra mentem cum voluntate fallendi.*—Resolves:—Non mentiuntur qui asserunt falsum *quod credunt verum*, sed errant tantum. Contra:—*mentiuntur* qui verum dicunt *quod falsum reputant, quia contra mentem loquantur.*” De Præcep. Dec. 453.

upon its insertion, among whom are Laymann and Henno. For, it is urged, no one would call a mere joke a lie, supposing all intention to deceive were absent, and, in like manner, no one can tell a lie to himself, and why not, except that no one can deceive himself? The latter argument seems weak. For no one questions that truthfulness is a relative virtue, and, therefore, that its moral violation must have some object injurious to our neighbour. But the question is, whether this injury can be considered as inflicted so as morally to affect the agent, in that which produces the injury is intended. Henno remarks, with Theophilus Raynaudus, that the *formal* intention of deceiving is not required, but that it is sufficient to constitute a lie if the words are (per se) calculated to deceive in the particular circumstances. St. Thomas, and those theologians who follow him, maintain that the intention to establish a false opinion in the mind of another does not belong to the essence, but to the completeness of a lie. He says, if three things concur, viz., 1, that falsehood is expressed; 2, that the intention of doing so is present; 3, that there is an intention to deceive, then we have a lie in all respects complete. It is *materially* false in the *statement*, *formally* in the *intention* to make such statement, and *effectually* by virtue of the intention to deceive: but the formal malice of a lie, so far as it is distinguished from other vices, must be derived from that part of it whereby it is opposed to its contradictory virtue, in other words, from the intention to enunciate falsehood.

Is a lie ever allowable? The answer to this question will depend upon what we make its intrinsic malice to consist in. The reader, of course, knows the difference between natural and positive law, i.e., the obligation binding by virtue of our natural constitution, and, consequently, for the most part recognisable by the light of unaided reason, and the obligation entrenching upon our liberty by a subsequent act of the Legislator. The first never ceases to bind, because, while our nature continues as it is, the end for which the law was instituted remains; but it is otherwise with the second, which not being co-extensive with our nature, but dependent upon circumstances, and added conditionally, and is liable, more or less to be annulled. Matter falling under the one, is said to be forbidden because it is wrong; while that which falls under the other, is said to be wrong because it is forbidden. Now, theologians

universally say, that a lie is something forbidden because it is wrong; hence it comes under the natural law, and can never in any case be lawful. Thus, St. Thomas says, a lie is generically bad,* because it is an abuse of language, which has been constituted by nature as the medium of signifying our thoughts to one another. "It is a thing," he says, "contrary to natural duty, so to make use of words as to signify that which we have not in our minds." "A lie," says Theophilus Raynaudus,† "is bad in its very nature, and not merely because it is forbidden by the positive law, but rather it is forbidden because of its badness: so that no dispensation can ever make it otherwise, nor any necessity justify its use‡—nay, further, so foully venomous is a lie, that even though honour, life, or the salvation of the world were at stake, and could be

* "Mendacium est malum ex genere.....Cum enim voces sicut naturaliter signa intellectuum, inaturalo est et indebitum quod aliquis voce significet id quod non habet in mente."—S. Thomas, 2, 2. q. cx. a. lll.

"Reprobatur mendacium quia mentiens pervertet usum ad quem data sit loquela, efficiturque audienti causa erroris quantum in ipso est."

† "Mendacium est suapte naturâ malum, nec malum quia lege positiva prohibitum, sed potius prohibitum quia malum; ita ut nullâ dispensatione honestari queat, ut per simplicitatem censuit quidem Monachus.—Apud Cant. 1. 2. c. 26. Nec possit a Deo præcipi, quod absurde concessit Gulielmus de Rubione,—nec ullâ planè ex causâ aut necessitate licere queat."

"Hæc est jampridem indubitata ac certa Catholicorum omnium sententia, quæ ut prætermittam antiquiores in III. Sent. D. xxxviii., tanquam extra controversiam ponitur a recentioribus omnibus Catholicis.....Nemo Catholicus Theologus hodie agnoscit ullum prorsus mendacium licitum esse, *quocumque tandem fine dicatur*, cum sit *intrinsece ac per se* malum."—Theophilus Raynaud: De Æquiv. et Ment. Rest. c. 11. No. 23. Oper. t. xiv.

‡ Quinimo addendum est eum D. Aug.: locis allegatis tam *tetrum* esse mendacii virus, quando quidem ex se et præciso quovis adjuncto malum est; ut nulla cujuscunque finis honesti appositione abstergi valeat; sed tametsi pudicitia, vita corporis, aut *etiam orbis universi æterna salus* periclitaretur, possetq.; levi mendacio ac nullo damno, in tuto poni; necessarium tamen esset cavere mendaciorum illud, et orbis potius excidium permittere *non enim sunt facienda mala ut eveniant bona* juxta apost. edictum.

saved by ever so slight a lie which would bring injury to none, yet ought that little lie to be rejected and the world's destruction rather permitted." "A lie," says St. Alphonsus,* "is always a sin, even though it be told in a joke or to benefit our neighbour, even though by a lie a man could save his life it would not be lawful to tell it." Theophilus Raynaudus thus analyses and determines with accuracy in what the intrinsic malice of a lie consists.† It appears, according to this theologian, that we have particular duties and obligations in connection with language, dependent upon no arbitrary compact, but springing out of the very constitution and appointment of nature; and these obligations are, first, that no one may arbitrarily use a word from its own proper notion; secondly, that no one may make use of a word in communication with others which does not truly express his thoughts; thirdly, no one may make use of a word which, per se, suggests a false notion to the mind of another.

But not only because it is a violation of a natural and Divine appointment, do theologians so strongly reprobate a lie, but also because of its effects. For if the union of society be of the first importance in the natural order, which union can alone be promoted and maintained by interchange of thought, what shall be said of that vice which tampers with and destroys the instrument of such

* "Mendacium semper est peccatum; quamvis joco dicatur aut ob alicujus utilitatem, quamvis aliquis mortem propter illud mendacium vitare possit, non licet." St. Alph. Instr. Cat., pars. I. c. viii.

† Ex quo sequitur verbum nostrum externum ad tres diversos terminos, hoc est rem verbis significatam ad ipsum proferentem, et ad audientem dicere habitudinem, et certam cum iis commensurationem servare debere, quæ si tollatur, triplex in seipso perversio contigat. Nam ad rem significatam ita comparatur locutio ut ejus sicut vere est expressio esse debeat; ad proferentem vero comparatur tanquam internuncium earum quæ in ejus animo sunt passionum; denique audientem respicit locutio ut signum excitativum ejus ad veri perceptionem. Quæ omnia cum locutioni competunt ingens omnino efflorescit concinnitas. Eam vero exterminat quisquis mendacium abstetricante linguâ parit. Nam et aliter rem externam enuntiat quam ipsa revera se habeat; et falsum internuncium assumit et falsitatis in alieno intellectu sementem facit qua qui non videt magnam planè perversionem continere ophthalmiam vel etiam exoculationem suam male agnoscit.

interchange; a vice which becomes more and more detestable in proportion as each one is more closely bound to his neighbour by the laws of relationship and charity? Some Protestant theologians, such as Grotius and Puffendorf, say that the malice of a lie consists in this, that it is a violation of an implied contract amongst mankind, who are considered as pledged to use like signs and words in their mutual intercourse. Others, with La Placete, suppose a more restricted contract, existing only between those who converse together, and implied by the fact of their entering into conversation.* A third opinion makes the evil of lying consist in its being the necessary cause of error to another. "Alia," says Raynaudus, "ad hanc ipsam mendacii turpitudinem evincendam congerit Vivaldus, concludens cum Roberto Olkot. Lect. 11. in Lib. Sap. "*Mendacium esse idioma quo utuntur qui sunt de regno diaboli.*"

It appears, then, that a lie is such an abuse of language, (or other representative signs for the time being, supplying the place of language,) as in itself to violate mutual understanding between man and man. It seems also that such a violation of language would involve consequences so destructive to the attainment of that which is the end of man's nature as a social animal, that it may be justly said to contradict the laws or condition of his being; and as such, upon no possible emergency, not even to avoid death or sin, to be held permissible.

Having thus considered the distinctive principles of truth and falsehood sufficiently well to apprehend the true nature of a lie, we are, it is hoped, in a position more favourable for appreciating the peculiarities of equivocation and mental restriction, we will proceed then to consider how far our definition of a lie includes them, and whether they lie open to the same objections as moral falsehood.

It is to be observed, that in order to constitute moral truth a virtue, three conditions are necessary, proper time, proper place, and proper manner. It fol-

* "Sicut veritas est perfectio maxime propria mentis humanæ, ita omnis error seu falsitas est ejus deonestatio et dedecus: ergo id in altero efficere per mendacium et ejus mentem in similitudinem Dei conditam sic deonestare, est per se et intrinsece malum."—Billuart, Dis. ix. art. i. vol. vii. s. 31.

lows, then, that there may be occasions when not only are we not bound to speak the truth, but when to do so would be positive sin, as for example, would be the case were a priest to betray knowledge gained in the confessional, or were any one to reveal a secret told in confidence, or publish the faults of his neighbour. Hence it is plain that a person may be placed in circumstances of very great difficulty, where, on the one hand he is bound not to tell a lie, and on the other to prevent the discovery of his secret. In such cases as these Catholic theologians allow the use of equivocation and non-pure mental restriction, in order that is to satisfy the demands of justice, good faith, and charity. Another reason (less forcible perhaps, but yet not to be despised) is, that without some such doctrine, it is impossible to explain certain facts and sayings to be found in Holy Scripture, instances of which will be given hereafter. But for these two reasons, says P. Daniel, in his reply to Pascal, it is very probable that the question of amphibology would never have been raised.

To give a brief history of the controversy upon this subject:

In the year 1625, an English Benedictine named Barnes, brought out a work entitled, "Dissertatio contra Equivocationes," in which he inveighs against Lessius for having in his work, "De Justitia et Jure," taught as a probable opinion the lawfulness, on certain occasions, of mental restriction. He was answered by Theophilus Raynaudus, in his "Dis. Theolog. de Equivocat. et Ment. Restrict." a work to which the reader has already been referred.

Pascal in his celebrated satire on the Jesuit Morality, as might have been expected, turns the whole subject into ridicule. Arnould, "Moral. Prat." and the author of a work called "Extrait des Assertions," are equally condemnatory. These attacks are replied to by P. Daniel, and the authors of the work inscribed, "Response aux Ex. des Assertions."

It appears that the ground of controversy may be resolved into the following questions:

1. Whether equivocations and mental restrictions are lies?
2. Whether they are generally blameworthy in any other respect?
3. Whether their use can be rendered justifiable by particular emergencies and under particular restrictions?

Before however proceeding further, it is necessary to explain what is meant by the terms equivocation and mental restriction. By equivocation, then, is meant a word or proposition representing more than one meaning, and is of two kinds, discoverable and undiscoverable. Discoverable equivocation is where the meaning intended by the speaker is capable of being discovered either from the common use of the word in its various significations, or from circumstances which serve to indicate in what sense it is used; undiscoverable equivocation is where the words are so fixed by usage or circumstance to one meaning, as to render any other inappreciable, but which yields a true sense when taken in connection with something else. Mental restriction* is a sentence, the wording of which, regarded in itself, represents a false meaning: it is of two kinds, pure mental, and non-pure mental; pure mental restriction is where the reservation cannot, from the circumstances, or other external indications, be discovered; non-pure mental, is where the reservation is discoverable under the circumstances: equivocation and mental reservation differ in this, that in equivocation, the words *sua natura* have a double meaning; in mental reservation the secondary meaning is supplied. But, inasmuch as the division of mental restriction into pure and non-pure, has been represented as a distinction without a difference, a triumph of casuistical ingenuity consequent upon the condemnation of certain propositions by Pope Innocent XI., it may perhaps be well to give a moment's examination to the question.

The propositions specified upon the present subject were taken as they stand, says Billuart, from Sanchez, who maintained the lawfulness of purely mental restriction in the following words:—"Possunt quoque absque mendacio ea verba usurpari etiamsi ex sua significatione non sint ambigua, nec eum sensum verum admittunt ex se, nec ex circumstantiis occurrentibus sed tantum verum sensum

* The word "restriction" is sometimes used for the mental act whereby the speaker limits his words to a particular meaning. Thus, Billuart says "Nota 1o. Restrictionem mentalem esse actum mentis quo, dum loquimur, verba restringimus seu detorquemus ad aliud quam ad id quod significant."

Conf. Carrière, De Just. et Jure, pars ii. de Jur. Viol. sect. ii. cap. 11. De Æquivocat. et Rest. Ment. Billuart, Theol. Mor. t. vii. Dissert. ix. Art. ii.

reddant ex aliquo addito, menti proferentis retento quodcumque illud sit," then followed the propositions condemned.* "If any one, either alone or in the presence of others, either asked, or of his own free will, either for amusement or for any other reason, swears that he has not done something which he really has done, meaning in his own mind something else which he did not do, or another way from that in which it was done, or any other added circumstance which is true, he in fact tells no lie, and is not perjured." There is good reason for a man's using these amplilogies as often as it is necessary or useful to protect himself, or his honour, or his property, or in order to perform any kind of virtuous act, so that the concealment of the truth is then counted expedient and desirable."

It is clear that the error condemned here is the supposition that the signification of words may be made to depend upon the intention of the speaker; if this were allowable language could never be trusted, and its abuse would become impossible. The principle, however, of non-pure mental reservation is something different, namely, that words may acquire a restricted meaning, i. e. one they do not naturally bear, from the circumstances under which they are used. So that to the question—Is it lawful to make use of mental restriction? the answer should be in the negative, if the restriction depends wholly on the intention of the speaker; "*Verborum significatio non pendet ex intentione proferentis.*" If, however, the restriction be indicated by the circumstances in which it is used, "yes," for circumstances confessedly do very much determine the meaning of words. No great casuistical subtlety is required to discern between this latter principle and the one condemned by Pope Innocent XI.

Three opinions may be entertained on the subject of equivocations and mental reservations.

* These same were pronounced by the Gallican clergy to be rash, scandalous, pernicious, delusive, erroneous, opening the way to lying, fraud, and perjury, and opposed to the sacred Scriptures.

† *Quærenti an liceat uti æquivocatione vel restrictione mentali dici debet id non licere, ut constat ex propositione damnata. Non solum quia æquivocatio et restrictio simpliciter dictæ intelliguntur ordinariæ de æquivocatione indeterminabili exterioris, et de restrictione mere mentali, sed quia interrogatio est indefinita ideoque universalis.* P. Antoine. *Th. Mor.* vol. ii. *Tract. de Virt.*

1. That all Equivocations and Mental Restrictions of every sort are to be rejected as unlawful, and incapable of justification, upon any occasion.

2. That all Equivocations and Mental Restrictions are lawful in themselves, and allowable on all, or almost all occasions.

3. That certain kinds of Equivocation and Mental Reservation are allowable under particular circumstances, and with particular restrictions, while others are absolutely to be rejected.

The first opinion is that maintained by the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*, and has some few supporters among Catholic theologians of the very strict school, as Barnes, *Sainte Beuve*, t. ii. cas. ccxi.; *Natalis Alexander* *Theol.* l. iv. de 8. præc. reg. xi.; and, according to *Mayol*, *Sinnichius*, *Contensonius*, and a few others. The reasons urged on the side of this opinion will be entered into presently.

The second opinion was formerly maintained by *Sanchez*, and some other theologians, but has been abandoned since the days of *Pope Innocent XI.* The last opinion is the common one among theologians of the present day, and is that which it is our object to defend.

This opinion being, that certain kinds of amphibology are unlawful, whilst other kinds are lawful, but only under restriction; the first step in the consideration of this question will be to separate those which are absolutely unlawful from those which are only so accidentally.

1. All indeterminable equivocations and pure mental reservations are absolutely forbidden, because they are mere lies. A lie has been defined to be such an abuse of language as, per se, to violate mutual understanding. Now, granting that an indeterminable equivocation has a true meaning, yet if that meaning cannot be discovered by the hearer, so far as he is concerned, it might as well not exist. The hearer, then, might justly complain that the words used were the necessary cause of his deception, and so that he had been told a lie. In other words, undeterminable equivocations are really such abuses of language as, per se, to violate mutual understanding. That these are unlawful, says *Carrière*, is the universal opinion of theologians, especially since the days of *Pope Innocent*

XI.* Thus we may not, according to Laymann, use the word *est* in the sense of eating as well as being, in circumstances where it is so determined to the latter signification, that the former is undiscoverable. “Supra monui (he says) tamesti oratio secundum se absolute duos sensus habere possit, tamen ex modo interrogantis, respondentis; aliisque circumstantiis interdum ad unum sensum certum determinari, videlicet verbum est ad significandam existentiam: tunc autem mendacium *est* dicere, *Titius non est domi meæ*, si ibi sit, liceat non comedat. Tametsi enim verbum *est*, absolute, ac quasi materialiter spectatum, comestionem significet; tamen per antecedentem interrogationem, ac respondendi modum, &c., determinatur, ut in tali enuntiatione tam secundum vulgarem loquendi modum, quam secundum sapientes, existentiam significat.”—Laymann, Theolog. lib. iv. tr. 111. c. xiii. 2. The arguments used against undiscoverable equivocations on the ground of their being lies, will, of course, be even more telling against pure mental restrictions.

Having thus disposed of *undiscoverable* equivocations and *pure mental* reservations, we come to that class about which alone there can be any difference of opinion: equivocations and mental reservations, discoverable under the circumstances in which they are used. With respect to these, two questions immediately suggest themselves. 1. Are they always allowable? 2. Are they ever? If they are never allowable, it will be because they are forbidden by some precept of universal obligation. If always, because they are forbidden by none. We have, then, to

* Verum jampridem, presertim post decretum Innocentii XI., omnes agnoscunt illicitas esse omnino hujusmodi æquivocationes et restrictiones. Ita multi quos citant et sequuntur Salmanticenses, No. 121. et seq.—Henno, loc. cit. § 1. p. 147. asserens esse jam communem, nec licere de ea amplius dubitare post condemnationem propositionis ab Inn. XI. Antoine cit. loc. p. 184. Billuart, p. 461.; St. Liguori, n° 162. et alii quas adducere supervacaneum foret.—Carrière De Just. et Jure, pars. ii. sec. 2. c. 11. De Æquiv., &c.

Nunquam licet uti restrictione *pure seu proprie mentali*, nec *amphibologia humano modo non perceptibili*; nec à fortiori licet cum iisdem jurare, quia est simpliciter mendacium. Gury. Theol. Moral. De Præcep. Dec. p. 200. It may be as well to say that this author's morality is based upon that of St. Alphonsus.

determine, first, whether there exists any precept of universal obligation which may be conceived as forbidding them; secondly, whether there is any of partial extent. Now, the only class of precepts which, from their nature, we can conceive as applicable to equivocations and mental restrictions, are those which regard the interests of mutual understanding between man and man; which latter are further resolvable into the interests of justice. We have, then, to consider what rights are possessed by man in consequence of the need of mutual understanding. We have already seen that the object of moral truthfulness is a certain debt due to society arising out of the natural exigencies of the same; we have seen that its reason is inherent in the very constitution of man's nature as a social animal, that man is so dependent upon his neighbour, that were mutual understanding deprived of an efficient medium, he could not fulfil the end of his being; and that hence arises a universally binding precept for the protection of language, which forbids us so to distort words as to render them unintelligible. Man's first right, then, with reference to moral truth, may be stated as, *The right to true language*.* But further, this need of mutual understanding, although extensive in its claims, is not called forth upon all times and occasions, for it may be prevented by other needs. Nor, again, do its demands, even when just, require an equal satisfaction upon all occasions. There are times when we are bound to open our hearts to our neighbour; at other times the obligation is not so urgent; and lastly, there may be occasions when we are forbidden so to do. Man, then, besides his universal right to true language, has a particular one, which we will call, *The right to knowledge*. This last is protected by the affirmative precept relating to truth, which bids us "speak out the honest convictions of the heart," and includes in its sphere all the interests of Christian simplicity. Now we concede to the full that even Discoverable equivocations and non-pure mental restrictions are opposed to the dictates of this last precept; but then we deny the latter's claim to be universal. Whenever it can be said to bind, whether directly, or indirectly, there we

* Conf. Whewell's *Elements of Morality*. Preface xiii., and Book ii. ch. iv. 162.

grant all amphibology is unlawful; and as we would be foremost in maintaining that the claims of Christian simplicity ought to pervade the whole atmosphere of social life, so we should consider a general habit of equivocating more detestable than we can express.

Before all things, we must consider it as an established point, says Theophilus Raynaudus, that no one may use either equivocation or ambiguity of speech,* especially

* "Ante omnia ponendum est," says Raynaudus, "nemini fas esse, si *causa legitima et sufficiens desit*, sive æquivocatione et enuntiationis ambiguitate, præsertim minus recepta et infrequenti, sive mentali restrictione uti inter loquendum. Hac in parte *omnes*, quos mox referam sententiis variasse *unanimis sunt*: et ratio manifesta suffragatur. Nam aliter se gerere esset pervertere usum in quem instituta sunt verba, et ad quem loquendi munus divinitus accepimus. Omnis colloquiorum et sermonum certitudo.....atque adeo fructus humanæ societatis tolleretur, dum nemo alteri fidere posset: sed semper merito suspicaretur subesse dolum, et eum qui secum agit ludere sermonis ambiguitate, vel subdole, non afferre nisi dimidiam sententiam. 'Quæ ratio bene librata persuadebit..... si hujusmodi locutionem usus potest ex causâ aliqua honestari, necesse esse causam arbitrio prudentis esse idoneam, et talem præ qua illud humanæ conversationis incommodum prudenter negligi queat; *alioquin usus ille non vacabit culpâ*. Esto vero non esset in ea non necessaria ambiguum verborum aut restrictionis mentalis usurpatione *violatio præcepti negativi mendacio interdicensis*:...est tamen *saltem violatio præcepti affirmativi ad veracitatem*, ejusque germanam simplicitatem pertinentis, quo quisque nisi causa proportionata et justa illud concedat, jubetur loqui prout humanus convictus et civilis conversatio postulat."

"Just as nothing," says the Jesuit Laymann, "is more befitting the nature and interests of the human race than that charity, good faith, and social intercourse, should harmonize; so that vice, which cuts asunder the bond whereby these virtues unite among mankind, should seem proportionately injurious and detestable. But it is the double heart which effects all this, and characterizes no good or prudent man, but the crafty and wicked; who, seeking only their own advantage, and not the things which are of God, or for the welfare of the State, are frequently promoters of hatred, dissension, disturbance, and grave evils in the community, insomuch that such men ought deservedly to be shunned by all."—Laymann, *Theol. Mor. Lib. iv. Tract. iii. Caput. xiii. 2.*

"It is certain," says P. Antoine, "that it is not lawful to use even determinable equivocation, or non-pure mental restriction, when there is no grave or just cause for concealing the truth, because

that kind which is less commonly understood and employed, unless he have lawful and sufficient cause for so doing; and on this side, all theologians, varying, as we shall see they do in the opinions they severally main-

both the good and the law of human society, require us to reply openly, and according to the intention of the interrogator."

"We must proceed cautiously in this matter," says Scavini, "and not use mental restrictions rashly, so as to violate the interests and customs of human society, introduce confusion and derogate from Christian simplicity; but only so far as is consistent with our speech being Yea, yea, and nay, nay."—Scavini, *Theol. Mor.* Vol. ii. Tract. v. Disp. ii. Cap. ii. Art. 3.

Perhaps it may be well to mention some special cases where the affirmative precept is to be rigorously obeyed.

1. In a matter of Faith or Religion. It is unlawful, then, to make use of the least equivocation or mental restriction, especially if, besides the obligation we are under of openly professing the faith, we have the additional one of avoiding scandal, and making reparation to the offended dignity of God. "For if," says Carrière, "at such a time, it were a betrayal of the truth even to be silent, how much more must it be so to cloke it by even the appearance of error?" *Th. Raynaudus. De Lugo, de Fide D. xiv. n. 36.*

2. In a court of Justice. When the prisoner is legitimately questioned, i. e. under the conditions prescribed by law, he is bound by justice, and the duty of obedience to a superior, to reply openly and without reservation of any kind. Raynaudus says "we are under the same obligation whenever the legality of the question is doubtful," to which Carrière assents, on the ground that the presumption is in favour of the judge, and, moreover, in doubtful cases we should follow the directions of a superior: *Addit Raynaudus: Idem dicendum cum dubium foret an judex quem constat esse legitimum debite interroget: et merito, ut videtur, quia præsumptio est in illius gratiam, et in dubio parendum est superiori, ut alibi explicatur.*"

3. Wherever injury would result to another from its use we are bound to abstain from every kind of amphibology: *Quotiescunque damnun alteri injuste inferetur ex usu vocum ambiguarum aut restrictarum facile intelligitur illicitum esse talem usum.* According to this rule no one can be held excusable who deceives another by false promises, though he conceal his perfidy beneath a covering of words, nor he who by like means eludes the fulfilment of any obligation.

4. In all public treaties and contracts we are likewise absolutely forbidden to use anything like evasion, either in their formation or in adhering to them when made. "*Ilia ipsa virtus quæ adstringit prospiciendum paci publicæ, et avertenda infinita mala quæ ex*

tain, have unanimously ranged themselves. The reason whereof cannot but be perceived, for the pursuit of a different course would pervert words from the end for which they were instituted, and on account of which the heavenly gift of language was bestowed upon mankind; in conversation no dependance could be placed on words, and no benefit could be reaped from social intercourse. Man could never trust his neighbour, but would be ever suspecting in conversation (and that, too, not without reason) some crafty subterfuge, that his friend was merely playing with the ambiguities of language, or for some secret design, enunciating only half sentences. This consideration, if duly weighed, cannot but lead us to the conviction that if such modes of speech be ever allowable, it can only be upon such an occasion as might be judged fitting by some prudent person, and of an importance sufficient to justify our overlooking the hindrance to conversation just referred to. Unless this condition be attended to, the use of amphibology cannot but be blameworthy. For though it be granted that ambiguous expressions, and mental restric-

fœderum dolosa pactione et infractione sequerentur, adstringit etiam ad *simpliciter et candide sine ullis ambagibus et subintellectionibus tacitis vel æquivocationibus, paciscendum*: multo que magis ad pactum, semel rite initum, cujus observatio peccato vacet, constanter ac firmiter observandum; juxta illud absolute et vere a S. Aug. prolatum, Epist. 205. “Fides, quando promittitur, etiam hosti servanda est, contra quem bellum geritur.”—Th. Ray. c. iv. n^o. 13, 14.

Talia sunt exempla, (says Carrière, after quoting the above from Th. Raynaudus,) quæ adducit auctor citatus, ad explicandum quomodo per accidens ut prohibitus habendus sit usus æquivocationum et restrictionum mentalium. Observat autem illud non esse *ita intelligendum ut in iis casibus non urgeant veritas et simplicitas*; sed contrahi *duplicis malitiæ labem*, nempe et ob violationem virtutis per accidens urgentis, et ob *impetitionem directam simplicitatis*, quæ item est indirecta veracitatis violatio: *obligat enim veritas et simplicitas ad candide loquendum, quoties idonea aliter faciendi causa deest*, prout modo dicemus: sicut revera deest in propositis eventibus. Idcirco tamen fere habetur duntaxat ratio virtutis illius extrinsecæ, quia, nisi ejus interdictum interveniret, suppeteret causa idonea usurpandi locutionem ambiguam vel restrictam, ob incommodumquod supponitur imminere ex locutione evoluta et aperta. Quæ intelligenda sunt, posito quod ex gravi causa liceat uti æquivocatione vel restrictione.

tions, even when used without necessity, do not come under the negative precept, which forbids lying; yet, at the very least, they offend against the affirmative precept, which protects truthfulness in all its genuine simplicity, whereby each one is bound, (unless some just and adequate emergency should grant exception to the rule,) in all public and private dealings with his neighbour, to use words according to their plain and conventional meaning.

These quotations will, we trust, suffice to show the reader that Catholic theologians, if they contend on the one hand, that the maintenance of social intercourse does not require that each one should at all times open his heart to his neighbour, and explain in what sense he uses his words, nay, that such conduct would be very often most opposed to the dictates of morality and religion, they on the other hand are not forgetful of the existence of the affirmative precept relating to moral truth, nor blind to the beauties of open dealing and singleness of heart. The only question then which remains for us to consider is, whether equivocation and mental restriction come under the class of those things forbidden by the negative precept; if we find that they do, then we shall be obliged to confess that they are never allowable, because, as we have already said, the negative precept binds universally; but if, after examination, we find that they are not to be so included, we can come to no other conclusion than that there are occasions when they may be permissible, forasmuch as they stand forbidden by no precept of universal obligation.

Now, discoverable equivocations, and non-pure mental reservations, cannot be said to be the material objects forbidden by the precept against lying, for the material objects which this precept forbids have already been shown to be words or representative signs, determined either in themselves or by circumstances to a false meaning; such, by the force of the terms, discoverable equivocations and mental reservations cannot be considered. The question is, whether they are not so formally, that is, by reason of the intuition of the speaker.

We are quite aware that the account given above of the negative precept lies open to the charge of being too limited in its scope and significance. It may be urged that this precept comprehends not merely man's right to true language, but also his right not to be led into error; that

this latter right is as inalienable as the former; consequently, that the intention to deceive must be considered as much prohibited by the negative precept as the intention to say that which is false.

Thus we are told "whenever there is an attempt to deceive, whether by a material truth or by a material falsehood, there is moral falsehood." We were not likely to forget this fact, since it is conceded to the full by all our*

* Gury. Theol. Mor. *Mentitur* qui utitur restrictione etiam non pure mentali aut æquivocatione aliquo modo perceptibili si id faciat *ex intentione decipiendi*, quia est abusus signorum.

Si quis verum dicat animo fallendi adest saltem mendacium in affectu: si autem contra falsum dicat, animo non fallendi, difficile nobis videtur eum mendacii reum putare. Cæterum in hoc duplici casu satis metaphysico valde attendendum est ad finem agentis: ut enim explicat S. Augustinus hanc quæstionem ut diximus expendens potest intendere vel ut prosit vel ut noceat ei quem alloquitur; et pro duplici illo respectio, vel arguendus, vel absolvendus erit. Carrière, ut supra. sect. ii. c. ii. De Mendacio.

Certum est, inquit P. Antoine, non licere uti ulia æquivocatione etiam determinabili neque restrictione mentali. 1. *Ex intentione decipiendi proximum seu ei falsam opinionem ingenerandi*: quia hoc per se malum est: nam, (ut ait Layman) sicut veritas est mentis perfectio ita falsitas omnis est dehonestatio, et dedecus ejusdem; alterius autem mentem a Dei similitudinem conditam dedecorare velle, intrinsece malum est.

Veritatem aliquam per verbi æquivocationem, aut facti dissimulationem, alterum celare, non est per se malum: sed interdum licitum si ob justam causam fiat..... Ratio assertionis est quia simulatio ac mendacium est falsi dissimulatio autem est veri. Atque falsum *scienter* edicere per se malum est: quippe repugnans, naturali præcepto negativo, *Ne mentiari, seu ne inducas fratrem tuum in errorem*. Sed quod verum est interdum ac licitè celamus seu dissimulamur: quia *præceptum manifestandæ veritatis* non semper obligat. Sicuti nunquam licitum est actione sua alterum directa intentione seu *ex proposito* inducere ad peccatum: quia hoc est scandalum propriè activum, et *intrinsece malum*: quandoque licitum est permittere alterius peccatum quod ille occasione actionis, quam justam ob causam exerceat commissionis putatur. Ita etiam *per simulationem*, adeoque data opera, et *ex proposito* alterum inducere in errorem, seu *deceptionem* animi, *semper malum est*: utpote *species mendacii* quæ dicitur duplicitas, per quam aliquis aliud in corde habet et aliud foris ostendit fallendi causa.—Laymann, Theol. Mor. Lib. iv. Tract. iii. c. 13.

Si igitur licitum dicatur uti æquivocatione aut restrictione men-

theologians, although some of them maintain with St. Thomas that the special malice of a lie, *as such* is to be sought from *the intention of saying that which is false*. But equivocations and mental reservations as held per-

tali, qui iis utitur *id tantum debet intendere, ut celet illud quod habet justam causam celandi. Idem admitti ab omnibus restrictionum patronis supponitur.*—Carrière, Pars ii. De Jur. Vid. sect. ii. c. 2. 951.

Altro è la bugia, altro è l'equivoco.....quando dunque vi è giusta causa, ben possiamo lecitamente rispondere ed anche giurare coll' equivoco o colla restrizione non pura mentale, perchè allora non s' intende d' ingannare il prossimo (*il che è sempre illecito*) ma di permettere ch'esso s'inganni da se, giacche non sempre siamo tenuti di rispondere secondo la mente di colui che interroga.—St. Alphonsus, Pratica dei Confes. cap. v. p. 2. v. 15.

Quæritur hic ultimo, an simulatio sit aliquando licita. Resp: simulatio *formalis, nempe cum quis intendit per factum externum aliud significare, quam in animo habet, hæc nunquam est licita, quia est verum mendacium facti, ut docet St. Th. 2, 2. q. iii. a. i. Simulatio vero materialis scilicet cum quis aliquid agit, non intendens deceptionem alterius, &c.* Auctor id. Th. Mor. Lib. iii. Tract. ii. De Jur. Dub. iv.

The arguments commonly adduced in defence of amphibology are thus summed up by Carrière: Si usus de quo agimus esset illicitus, vel est mendacium, vel tanquam dolus aut injustitia; vel quia humanæ societati noxius; ad hæc enim reducuntur quæ contra opponi possunt: atqui 1. Non adest mendacium: non quidem in æquivocis, quia supponitur verba verè significare quod intendit loquens, licet forte non ita distincte nec communiter; non etiam in restrictionibus quia licet verba naturaliter et secundum suam institutionem non significant quod intendit loquens, illud tamen significant ex circumstantiis. 2. Non est dolus aut injustitia. Loquens non *intendit decipere, sed tantum aliquid celare*: nec etiam quantum est ex se decipit, cum verba significant id quod intendit; et si decipiatur audiens, imputet suæ vel inadvertentiæ vel inscitæ, vel aliquando malitiæ, quatenus indebite interrogat, atque injuste vult extorquere secretum. 3. Non est ille usus humanæ societati noxius. Societas humana non exigit ut quisque semper et omnibus suos sensus et secreta distincte pandat; imo illud esset sæpe societati, et etiam quandoque religioni, valde noxium: ex altera parte, supponitur non adhiberi talem usum nisi et gravi causa et proportionata: ergo nullum detrimentum societati imminet: imo contrarium ex modo dicendis patebit. 4. Ex incommodis quæ ex adversariorum opinione sequerentur. Aliquando est maximi momenti ut celari possit aliquid secretum, ut patet in confessorio, in legato principis, in duce exercitus, et aliis hujusmodi:

missible by Catholic Divines cannot be objects forbidden by the negative precept in virtue of the intention to deceive which accompanies their use, for they are only allowable under the hypothesis that such intention be absent. It is certain, says P. Antoine, that we may never use even determinable equivocation or mental reservation with the intention of deceiving our neighbour or engendering in his mind a false opinion, for this is intrinsically bad. "He lies," says F. Gury, "who makes use of even non-pure mental restriction or discoverable equivocation, if he does so with intention of deceiving." "To deceive one's neighbour is always unlawful," says St. Alphonsus. "We must especially look to *the intention of the agent*," says Carrière, "who is to be held acquitted or convicted according as he speaks for the profit or injury of his hearer."..... The question is not, as the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* seems to suppose, whether it be a lie to say that which is true with intent to deceive? There can be but little doubt upon that subject: but whether we can be said to contradict any law of moral truth if, in order to keep guard over our knowledge (our right of so doing being presupposed) we first, intentionally make use of words in a true and discoverable sense; and secondly, have no intention of deceiving? Romish theologians, according to the *Christian Remembrancer*, would try to persuade us that, because the words used in amphibology are materially true, therefore no lie is told. Romish theologians try to persuade us no such absurdity. They say that amphibology is not lying, when we neither intentionally say that which is false nor intend to deceive. It may be objected, however, that as a matter-of-fact, the intention to deceive always must be present in equivocation, if not explicitly, at least implicitly, as a cause to the effect desired.

porro illud impossibile erit, nisi admittatur usus de quo loquimur: nam ita constituti sunt homines, ut si taceas vel dicas interrogationem non mereri responsum vel alia hujusmodi, statim in multis circumstantiis concludant rem ita se habere ut existimant aut interrogant. Illud que ita verum est, ut in pluribus casibus *ipsimet* theologi qui *quaslibet æquivocationes et restrictiones rejiciunt aliter a difficultate se extricare nequeant, quam reipsa et in praxi admittendo quod verbo tenus et in theoria rejiciunt.*—Pars. ii. s. ii. c. ii. 953.

Our accusation against the *Christian Remembrancer* of Ignoratio Eleuchi was not unfounded.

1. We say that were this last objection true, it would not serve the purpose of the *Christian Remembrancer*. For that which the latter endeavours to prove is not, that as a matter-of-fact Catholic divines hold a doctrine on amphibology, psychologically impossible in practice, but that the *theory* maintained by them *as it stands*, is a *lying theory*, subversive of the *plain principles of morality*, showing a *blindness* of the *moral eye* and confusion of *moral sentiment*, so that even if the theory could only be proved *moral*, the *Christian Remembrancer* would be sufficiently answered.

2. The establishing a false opinion in the mind of another is not necessary to obtain the desired effect, and therefore need not necessarily be included in the intention to that effect. All we need, in order to conceal the truth, is our hearer's ignorance, and this is all that is implied in our intention. The false opinion that may or may not be conceived by him, is an accident, which ordinarily we should take pains to prevent, but which in the cases supposed, we may, nay, sometimes are bound to permit. Very often, however, equivocation effects ignorance without error, for our hearer may suspect that we are equivocating, still, unless he can be sure of the fact, he is not, for practical purposes, a bit the wiser; he is still in ignorance even as to the existence of our secret, which he would not be, if we directly refused to answer his question. Hence equivocation is often resorted to for courtesy's sake, e. g., People tell their servants to say, "not at home" to those visitors whom they do not wish admitted, instead of positively refusing to see them: because the equivocal nature of the phrase "not at home," leaves the visitor in a state of ignorance, and prevents his taking offence.

It may be objected further, that the use of words is to represent *to others* a conception existing in our minds; hence, to use language for any other purpose is plainly an abuse. To which we reply that an abuse consists in so using a thing as to contradict the end for which it was instituted. Now, language was intended to represent thought,—1stly, absolutely, 2ndly, relatively; i. e., to our neighbour; but it was instituted for this latter end, only upon supposition of a right existing on our neighbour's part; it cannot then be said to be abused when not used for this end where no such right exists. It is abused, 1stly, when so used as not to represent thought at all; 2ndly, when used so as to be in

itself, per se, the cause of error to another, because whatever is used to injure is abused, and man, as we have said, has an inalienable right of not being positively deceived. We deny, then, that to use language for any other purpose than *plainly* to signify our thoughts is an abuse, or that it is so limited to this one purpose, that the fact of our being obliged to speak, compels us to surrender knowledge which we should otherwise have had just cause for retaining. We will endeavour to illustrate the above principles by an example. A person is in an official situation implying trust, and by consequence is in possession of much knowledge, which it is of the greatest importance to keep perfectly secret. Surely not at all an uncommon case. Well, suppose a friend in conversation asks this person, "By the bye, have you received such and such a communication? or do you know such and such an event?" what is he to say? If he refuses to answer, or is silent, it is in many cases tantamount to telling the secret. We fancy our Protestant reader to say, better he should do so than tell a lie, we may never do evil that good may come, &c. Now we quite agree with this reader; only let him for a moment have the patience to consider whether the alternative be really as he supposes. Let us look at the respective rights and duties of the persons concerned. First, the person interrogated has by supposition a clear right to his knowledge, and moreover a *duty* of protecting it by every means not sinful; the interrogator has by consequence no right whatever to the knowledge he seeks, nay, he *ought* not even to desire it. But has he any right whatever in relation to the person he interrogates, and has this latter any duty towards him? Yes, we say, 1st, he has a right to true language, i. e., language discoverable under the circumstances: 2ndly, he has a right not to be positively led into error, for all men have such right; but not to a jot more. Therefore we say the person so interrogated might, nay, ought to reply equivocally; he might say, "I have nothing to communicate," or he might even say, "I don't know," i. e., in any manner communicable, since the circumstances fully determine the words to that meaning. For the person interrogated says to himself, My friend here whom I am bound to believe is an honourable man, has asked me whether I know such and such a fact. Now, either he means, Is such and such a fact, a matter which you know and are at liberty to tell? or he means, Is such

and such a fact only known to you in your official capacity?" I am in charity bound to suppose he does not mean this latter, for if he did he would be nearly as dishonourable as if he had asked me to give him some other person's money which had been lent me. I am then only answering strictly to his intention, when I reply that I have no knowledge communicable.* Well but it may be said again, the interrogator perhaps does not analyse the respective rights and duties which exist between himself and the person he questions. He is a plain-spoken Englishman, and not used to splitting questions; he is quite unprepared for your nice distinctions: when his friend says, he does not know, he thinks he means that he does not know, and therefore goes away with an erroneous impression that his friend is ignorant of that which he knows perfectly, and what is even more to the purpose, his friend foresees and intends as much.

He may justly, then, complain that he has been told a lie, forasmuch as he has been deceived. Well, grant that he has been deceived, it is his own fault, not that of the person interrogated; it is a matter of public notoriety, and one which he had every means of ascertaining, that official secrets are not communicable knowledge; if, then, he did not know this fact, he ought to have known it; and if he did not consider the relative rights and duties in the present case, he ought to have done so; for no man, surely, should ask another a question of importance without considering whether he has a right to do so or not. The person, then, who replies, is not the cause of deception, for he gave all the interrogator *ought* to have known he was bound to give, namely, language, which the other *ought* to have discovered was equivocal; and although the deception is foreseen, yet it is not intended, but permitted, for a just reason. Speaking generally, we are not to be held responsible for the accidental, but only for the necessary results of our actions; nor can the opposite

* Put the following case. A person asks me whether I have any money? I reply truly enough, I have not a farthing, if I have none of my own, although perhaps I have plenty belonging to another person. Does my answer become a lie, if my interrogator should chance to have been a rascal who asked with intent to find out whether I had any money in my possession? or even if I perceived that he was a rascal, and would be deceived by my reply?

principle be maintained without making God responsible for evil.

Sometimes the objection to the above reply is put in the following form. An interrogation, it is said, being a demand for an answer, the answer is expected to square with the demand; he, then, who undertakes to answer, undertakes, ipso facto, to supply the demand of the interrogator, according to his expectation; in other words, to reply, as far as he can, *ad mentem interrogantis*. If he does not do so, he fails to fulfil that which he has given his neighbour reason to expect, and therefore he may justly be charged with being the cause of his neighbour's errors. Now, whatever the worth of this objection, the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* has debarred himself from any advantage therefrom by a most unhappy concession to the learned "sacerdos," author of the *Treatise on Equivocation*, "who, in enumerating the ways whereby, without a lye, trewth may be covered," gives, as a second method, "when unto one question may be given many answers, we may yielde one, and conceal the other," upon which the *Christian Remembrancer* remarks, "To this second we have no objection to make if it be used discreetly." We will illustrate what the reviewer does not object to. A person is going to Rome, and does not wish it to be known; in order to get there he must (we will say) pass by Genoa. An inquisitive friend, who ought to know better, asks him where he is going to. Now, to this question it is manifest there may be given many true answers. The one expected by the interrogator the person so questioned may be conscious is the name of the place which forms the principal object of his journey, not what places he has to pass through; nevertheless, according to the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*, (unless we greatly mistake him,) the person in the case supposed would be perfectly justified in saying he was going to Genoa: but who does not see that there is as much want of speaking out the honest convictions of the heart according to the intention of the interrogator here, as in the answer by equivocation?

We reply to the objection urged above that the interrogator ought not to expect an answer beyond his right; it is true that an interrogation is a demand for an answer, and that the answer ought to square with the demand; but it is only a demand for such an answer as the interro-

gator can lawfully claim, and it is only with this understanding that the answer is undertaken; if, then, the interrogator expects more than he ought, he must blame himself if he thereby falls into error.

“The line of defence assumed by Roman doctors,” says the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*, “is uniformly the same; each man has a right, they say, to act upon the defensive; he has a right to keep guard over his knowledge which he has, in the same way that he may defend his goods; and as for there being any deceit in the matter, why, soldiers use stratagems in war; and opponents use feints in fencing.” And then we are favoured with a note informing us “that this latter is the traditional line of defence handed down from times past to the present day.” In proof thereof we are referred to “Parsons’ Treatise,” tending towards mitigation. As logicians would tell us, there is nothing more rash than to commit oneself when arguing about matters probable to a universal proposition, because a single contradictory instance is sufficient to make our position untenable; we will therefore abstain from so doing on the present occasion, and merely say that, although it is just possible that some Roman Doctor may use the above mode of defence perhaps as an *argumentum ad hominem*; we cannot at this moment recollect a single one who even so much as hints at it. We need not inform the reader that Parsons does not rank as a Roman Doctor. The writer in the “*Christian Remembrancer*” had perhaps heard the defence alluded to adopted in conversation, and, therefore, concluded that it was uniformly to be found in our theologians. He certainly did not find it adopted by St. Alphonsus, who is, we suspect, about the only Roman theologian he has read upon this subject. He, however, proceeds to “examine this argument on its own grounds, as *chosen by our opponents*; it will be seen,” he says, “that there are two things asserted. The first is, that we may keep guard over our knowledge, and not necessarily give it up to every one who asks questions of us; this is no doubt true, provided that we use no *unjustifiable means* for doing so; in the same way that we may defend our goods, not by every means, good or bad, but only by *righteous means*. The second thing asserted is, that all kinds of equivocation and non-pure mental restriction are justifiable means, and *this is argued for,*

on the grounds that similar measures are taken in war, and its imitation, fencing. (We again ask, where?) But mark what this implies: No less than that we are living under the curse of Ishmael, that we are always at war with every one about us, that we look upon our brother Christians and countrymen as enemies, whom, as in the battle-field, or in the gymnastic-room, (where such dealings are expected, and, therefore, free from culpability,) we may fairly take in by feints and stratagems, and amphibologies. We are thankful to know that Englishmen do not regard one another in this light; but wherever this state of society does exist, there the natural consequence is lying. In several continental countries this is so. In Spain, for example, the mere fact of asking the simplest question does impose on the speaker the character of an aggressor and an assailant. We have jogged along the roads in Spain, talking amicably and frankly with a chance passenger. Presently, by way of conversation, we have asked a question, *Donde se va?* Immediately there has fallen a cloud of suspicion on the traveller's face; he has curtly replied with the name of some place far from his present direction, and then the conversation has ended; he has pushed on or dropped behind, and would have no more to say...and so *in Italy, lying is taught on the grounds that the inquirer must be dealt with by stratagem.*

One really does not know which to admire most in this luminous train of argument,—the coolness of the assumption upon which it rests,—the inconsequential nature of the deductions therefrom, or the sweeping recklessness of the last assertion. We are very sorry that the Christian Remembrancer met with such uncivil treatment during his travels in Spain; and we are still more sorry to hear that the people in Spain are generally addicted to lying. But there is no reason, on that account, why the Christian Remembrancer should come home and say that our theologians uniformly teach what they do not teach, and draw consequences which would not follow even if they did so teach, and assert boldly, that lying is also taught in Italy, giving in proof thereof no better authority, than a story found in a note to a book called "*Cases of Conscience,*" a story the internal evidence of which so loudly proclaims it to be an opportune fable, that at the risk of being

thought highly sceptical, we must say we don't believe it.

Let us concede, just for a moment, that Roman Doctors do adopt the method of defence ascribed to them:—that they teach that amphilology, though deceit, is allowable, because deceit is allowed in war and fencing. What then? Would it follow merely from this that they were contemplating a state of society in perpetual war with itself? Does it imply that we are living under the curse of Ishmael, where every man's hand is against his neighbour? Certainly not, unless they, at the same time, teach that equivocation is the rule rather than the exception, that it is to enter as a habit into the general intercourse between man and man, rather than be resorted to as a case of emergency. If they taught that equivocation might be used on all, or almost all occasions, and that all occasions, when it might be lawfully used, were occasions of warfare, then, of course, the consequence must be as the reviewer supposes.* But if, as we have already seen, they are fully alive to the extensive authority of the affirmative precept, and its obligations; if they insist upon the necessity of open dealing in order to the very existence of society—if, they say with Laymann, “the presence of the opposite vice parts asunder those bands whereby human society is bound together; ‘that it is a noxious and abominable vice;’ ‘alien to the character of a good man; that those who possess it are justly to be avoided by all’”—if they say with Billuart, “that to make use of restrictions promiscuously, in the daily intercourse of common life in trivial matters, or even those of graver importance, but without necessity, is injurious to human society, is derogatory to Christian openness of dealing, and that singleness of heart which Christ commends in those words, *Mat. v.* ‘Let your speech be yea, yea, and nay, nay,’ &c., and granting that it is not a lie, yet it is a wicked deceit, and a sin against the virtue of truth or veracity, as being included within the scope of the affirmative precept,

* *Ratio persuadebit—si hujusmodi locutionem usus potest ex aliquâ causâ honestari necesse esse causam arbitrio prudentis esse idoneam et talem præ qua illud humanæ conversationis incommodum prudenter negligi queat alioquin usus ille non vocabit culpâ.* Th. Ray., as quoted above.

whereby we are obliged, in order to the union of human society and the public good, to disclose to our neighbour when in conversation, the truth of that about which we are speaking, or about which we are being questioned,"—Vol. vii. Dis. ix. a. 2—then, we say, it by no means follows that they are contemplating a state of society under the curse of Ishmael—still less does it follow that lying must be taught in Italy with a fair prospect of being introduced into England.

The following would be a somewhat parallel mode of arguing:—The line of defence adopted by English lawyers in regard to the rights of property is uniformly the same. Each man, they say, has a right to guard his property, and in doing so, he may use fire-arms, even to the amount, in some cases, of taking away life. And as to there being homicide in the case, why soldiers commit homicide in battle, and the same takes place in more private encounters.

We might have shewn that the use of arms is allowed aggressively in certain emergencies by way of anticipating an attack, but we will pass that by, and examine this argument on its own grounds, as chosen by our opponents. It will be seen that there are two things asserted. The first is that we may keep guard over our property, and not necessarily give it up to every one who wishes to have it. This is, no doubt, true, provided *that we use no unjustifiable means for doing so*, we may defend our goods, but *only by righteous means*. The second thing asserted is, that fire-arms of every description, not excepting Colt's revolvers, are justifiable means, and this is argued for on the grounds that similar weapons are used in warfare.

But mark what this implies. No less than that we are living under the curse of Ishmael—that we are always at war with every one about us—that we look upon our brother Christians and countrymen as enemies, whom, as in the battle field, we may fairly wound or kill. Wherever this state of society does exist, there the natural consequence is murder. And so in France, murder is taught on the grounds that the robber must be dealt with as an enemy.

Does the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* really believe that his chance-passenger of Spain had been instructed in the doctrine of equivocation, and the alleged

arguments in its defence, and on that account told him a lie? We cannot help thinking that if he had put a few questions to him, he would have found his companion not much wiser than himself upon the subject. We cannot but think it a little unfair to abstract a difficult question like the present, from works designed 'alone for the study of the priesthood, and speak of it as though it were carefully instilled into the minds of every Catholic, and recommended him to be used upon every occasion, according to his discretion. The writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* would have known had he read the works of St. Alphonsus, "that many opinions lawfully maintainable in the Schools are not on that account to be made the subject of instruction for the people. Doctrines which would be likely to produce a pernicious laxity of conscience, are by all means to be avoided, it being one thing to teach with a view to the confessional where each circumstance, case, and character are weighed; another to deliver from the pulpit doctrines liable to be taken advantage of by those inclined to give their conscience license, and which might be injurious from the lax nature of deductions tortured therefrom."—*Intrust. Cat. Monitum ad Instr.* 3.

However, as the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* has positively stated that lying is taught in Italy, and has hinted not obscurely that he considers St. Alphonsus a great professor in the theory of lying, the reader will no doubt wish to see some of the Saint's catechetical instructions upon this subject. He begins with observing that a lie is never justifiable upon any plea,—“a lie is always sinful even though told in joke, or for the advantage of another. Could a person even escape death by such a lie, it would not be lawful to tell it:” (to impress which fact upon the people's minds, he tells the following story.)—“The author of the *Bibliotheca* for pastors, p. 179, relates that the Emperor Maximianus having sent to incarcerate St. Anthemus, bishop of Nicomedia, the soldiers during their search for him, entered by chance into the house of the Saint, and entreated him to give them meat and drink. St. Antimus supplied their wants, and treated them with great hospitality. Their next demand was where they might be able to find bishop Anthinus.—You see him here before you, was the Saint's reply. The soldiers, grateful for the treatment they had received, said, we will not take

you away with us, we will say that we have not been able to find you. But the Saint replied, "No, my sons, I would not that you should tell a lie. I would sooner lose my life than be the means of your so doing. And he joined himself to their company to go to the Emperor."

The reader, who, upon the authority of the Christian Remembrancer has taken for granted, first, the general principle "that the value of truth for truth's sake, is apparently unappreciated and inappreciable by the Romish theological mind;*—secondly, that St. Liguori is a pitifully-confused specimen of this mind, will, of course, expect the Saint to explain that St. Authinus was over scrupulous on this occasion, and suggest some suitable equivocation he might have used." He will be disappointed, however, for the Saint proceeds as follows:—

"Therefore a lie is always a sin, when told without hurt to our neighbour it is a venial sin, but when it does him a grave injury, it is a mortal sin. And it is of such lies as these Scripture is to be understood as speaking, which says, 'Os quod mentitur occidit animam.'"—Sap. i. 11.

When a lie is told before a judge, the twofold nature of the sin makes it mortal, and when accompanied by an oath, as is always the case in courts of justice, sacrilege is committed on account of the false oath, a most grievous sin, constituting a reserved case. According to the law of Tenesius, an executioner should stand at the right hand of the judge, ready with his axe to strike dead any one who should be guilty of telling a lie before the court. Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment, and let all the people say amen.

Eusebius tells a story of three witnesses, who brought false accusation against Narcissus the Bishop. The first said: "If the charge be not true may I be burnt." The second: "And I, on the same condition, would die of the jaundice." "And I," said the third, "would lose my sight." Shortly after, all these imprecations were verified; for one lost his sight, another died of the jaundice, and a third was reduced to ashes by a thunder bolt. † This is the

* The Christian Remembrancer judiciously tempers down this wild assertion by the most convenient saving clause, "in so far as it is Romish or distinct from Catholic."

† *Institutio. Cat. Pars. I. c. viii. De Oct. Præc. 2-3.*

way St. Alphonsus taught the Italians to lie and commit perjury. We don't, however, think it exactly calculated to encourage either.

We will consider ourselves, then, as having reached the following conclusions on the subject of truthfulness. It appears first, that the precept against lying forbids us to give our neighbour a false sign, i.e., one disagreeing under the circumstances with our thoughts;—secondly, that this does not oblige us to manifest our thoughts to our neighbour, if we have just cause for omitting to do so. Again, the precept, *Ne ducas fratrem tuum in errorem*, forbids our being the direct and positive cause of our brother's error, but does not forbid our taking means to effect his ignorance of any truth we have just cause for concealing. Nor are we bound to prevent a false notion which he may or may not derive from our words. Speaking morally, equivocation may be said to differ from lying in this, that in lying, the intention of the speaker is to deceive his hearer; in equivocation, the speaker intends *only* to prevent his hearer knowing that which he has no right to know. As Laymann says, "*Simulatio ac mendacium est falsi, dissimulatio autem est veri.*" L. iv. tr. iii. c. xiii. 10. Further, we say, that the doctrine of equivocation here defended in no way militates against the interests of society, because it distinctly and forcibly recognises the precept which is intended to guard those interests, and permits amphibology only with an express view of promoting the same.

We are challenged to a comparison of England's theologians with those of Rome, in regard to the subject of truthfulness, and will accordingly lay before the reader, at some length, what one of the former's greatest Divines has taught thereupon. But before doing so, we wish it to be particularly understood, that we have no intention of endeavouring to show that the Church of England has committed itself to the same system of amphibology as that maintained by Catholic Doctors. We are too well acquainted with that body not to be aware that she is not famous for committing herself, even in questions of far higher importance than the present; "a privilege," to use the words of a favourite author with the *Christian Remembrancer*, "which her polemical writers can scarcely value too highly; for if they do not find their account on the one side, they can fall back on the other, and always land in perfect safety, and

say, on finding "*Bishop Sanderson* on their side, while *Bishop Taylor* is against them, *Sæpe premente Deo fert Deus alter opem.*" And further, we have no objection to avowing our belief, (for from the bottom of our soul we detest making people say what we suspect they don't mean,) that from the national character of England's Church, and its proverbial fondness for broad views, it would most likely, could it ever express its mind upon the subject, reject the doctrine of amphibology as sophistical subtlety, and incline rather, in cases of difficulty, to the good open lie system.

In calling the reader's attention to Jeremy Taylor's "*Theory of Equivocation,*" we are, in the first place, simply answering a challenge put forward, with characteristic assurance, by our adversary. Secondly, inasmuch as the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* wished to leave an impression on his readers' mind that the doctrine of amphibology, as taught by Catholic theologians, was so simply absurd and wicked, that it only required stating in order to be at once regarded with horror or ridicule, according to the disposition of the observer, and was dependent upon so transparent a fallacy, that none, save a pitifully confused intellect and morally blinded conscience, such as only Rome could produce, would fail to see through the same; that the fact of such a doctrine being permitted within the pale of the Church was sufficient to justify every member thereof, as such, being treated with distrust; we thought that perhaps it might tend in a measure to weaken such an impression in certain minds if they found that one of England's greatest theologians and bishops, nurtured in the wholesome atmosphere of England's Church, well enough disposed to find fault with our theologians, agrees substantially with her malaria-stricken Saint in his lying Theory of Truthfulness.

Let us, then, hear Jeremy Taylor on this subject.—*Ductor Dub. B. iii. c. 2. Rule v. Quæst. i.* Whether it be lawful to tell a lie?

To this I answer that the Holy Scriptures do indefinitely and severely forbid lying, &c.....But then lying is to be understood to be something said or written to the *hurt of our neighbour, which cannot be understood otherwise than to differ from the mind of him that speaks.* *Mendacium esse petulanter aut cupiditate nocendi aliud loqui seu gestu significare, et aliud signifi-*

care : to lie is to deceive our neighbour to his hurt ; *for in this sense* a lie is naturally and intrinsically evil ; that is, to speak a lie to our neighbour is naturally evil, not because it is different from the eternal truth, for every thing that differs from the eternal truth is not therefore criminal for being spoken, that is, is not an evil lie ; and a man may be a liar though he speaks that which does not differ from the eternal truth ; for sometimes a man may speak that which is truth, and yet be a liar at the same time in the same thing. For he does not speak truly because the thing is true, *but he is a liar because he speaks it when he thinks it false.....* A man may be a true man though he do not always speak truth. If he intends to profit and to instruct, to speak probably and usefully, to speak with a purpose to do good, and to do evil, though the words have not in them any necessary truth, yet they may be good words. Simonides and Plato say it is *injustice, and therefore evil* ; so do Cicero, and, indeed, so does the Holy Scripture, by *including our neighbour's right in our speaking truth* ; it is contra proximum ; it is against our neighbour ; for to himself no man can lie, and to God no man can lie, unless he be an atheistical person, and believes that God knows nothing that is hidden, and so is impious when he tells a lie.

For there is in mankind an universal contract implied in all their intercourses, and words being instituted to declare the mind, and for no other end ; he that hears me speak hath a right in justice to be done him ; that as far as I can what I speak be true, for else he, by words, does not know your mind, and then, as good, and better, not speak at all. And of a lie thus defined, *which is injurious to our neighbour so long as his right to truth remains*, it is that St. Austin affirms to be simply unlawful, and that it can in no case be permitted ; Quod non est bonum nunquam erit bonum. That which is not innocent in itself can never be made so ; but vitia non sunt quibus recte uti licet. If it can in any case become good, it is not in its own nature evil ; so that if a lie be unjust it can never become lawful ; but if it *can be separate from injustice, then it may be innocent* ; here then, *I consider this right, though it be regularly and commonly belonging to all men, yet it may be taken away by a superior right supervening, or it may be lost, or it may be hindered, or it may cease upon a greater reason.*

6. Not every false proposition spoken knowingly is a sin, but if it be taken to deceive and not to profit, it is spoken to the injury of him who hears, and is a sin because it is unjust, and not to be done for any good..... I approve of the opinion of St. Austin; I am sure it was one of his opinions, for in this question he had more than one, "Dua sunt genera mendaciorum in quibus non est magna culpa, sed tamen non sunt sine culpa." There are two sorts of lies which have in them no great fault, but yet they are not innocent; the one is to lie in jest, which is, therefore, not pernicious, because it does not deceive, for it is taken but for a jest; the other is to lie for the good of our neighbour, which, therefore, is the less, because it has something in it of good will. And Tertullian is of the same opinion, who reckons this of necessitate mentiri, to lie in the time of need, amongst the sins of daily incursion or of an unavoidable infirmity.

13. But the case is not so clear in the matter of difference when it happens between a great charity and an unconcerning truth; for who would not save his father's life, or the life of his king, or of a good bishop, and a guide of souls, at the charge of a harmless lie, from the rage of persecutors and tyrants? God, indeed, in His providence, hath so ordered the affairs of the world, that these cases seldom happen; but when any man is surprised, or tried, unless he be sure that it is in that case a sin to tell a lie, he may be sure it is a very great sin to betray his prince or prelate, his father or his friend. Every man in that case would dispute hardly rather than give up a good man to death—and if it come to a dispute, and that it be doubtful on either hand whether the lie in that case, or whether the betraying the man to death be the sin, it is the safer way to determine for the charity than for the veracity; because, in case it be a sin to give him up, it is a much greater sin than to tell such a lie; and then comes in the rule, "caret peccato quod ex duobus minus est." The lie is the less evil, and, therefore, it is no sin when it is chosen to avoid that which for ought we know is the greater. Now this, and the opinion of so many great men that allow it, and the favourable nature of the case, is enough at least to make this matter probable, and if there be a doubt, it is enough to establish it; *the question being uncertain is enough to make the practice certain.*

And, indeed, if we consider things without the prejudice of easie and popular opinions, though it be said, that to tell truth is an act of justice, *yet this is not true in all propositions*, but in such truth only which concerns a man for real good to him, or for some imaginary good which hath no real evil. But when the telling of a truth will certainly be the cause of evil to a man, though he have a right to truth, yet it must not be given to him to his harm; it is the giving to a madman his own sword; you had better give him a wooden dagger though the other be his own. But in an unconcerning truth what interest can any man have that is worth preserving? What wrong is done to me if I be told that Alexander died upon the floor, and not upon a feather bed? or that Pittacus, his wife, hurt her fingers when she threw down the table of meat before her husband's friends? Truth is justice when it does good, when it serves the end of wisdom, or advantage, or real pleasure, or something that ought to be desired, and every truth is no more justice than every restitution of a straw to the right owner is a duty. "Be not over righteous," says Solomon. In these things, there is no question but the pretences of little justice ought to serve the great end of charity, and much rather, if the truth will do no good, and will do hurt to him that inquires, and more to him that is inquired after.

Question IV.—Whether it be lawful to use restrictions and mental reservations, so that what we utter is false, but joined to something within, does integrate a truth, and make up a true answer.

Taylor first condemns restriction generally upon precisely the same grounds as our theologians, and then goes on to distinguish. "I do not say that in all cases *it is unlawful* to use mental reservations, even in craftiness and escape. St. Gregory hath a case in which he affirms it lawful. Tyrannorum versutiam atque sævitiam quandoque esse tua fraude deludendam et objienda eis quæ credant, ut nocendi aditum non inveniant. *To prevent and elude the craft and cruelty of tyrants they must sometimes be deluded by a pious cosenage; and something must be imposed upon their credulity, that their ways of mischief may be obstructed*: and then he adds,—this is to be done so, ut caveatus culpa mendacii, quod tunc bene perficitur cum illud sit quod asseritur, sed quod sit sic dicitur, ut velatur, quia ex parte dicitur ex parte reticetur. Lib. vi. in 1 Reg.

c. 3. *When there is nothing told that is false, but yet the matter is hid, because it is not all spoken.* Indeed, this is one kind of innocent doing it; but this is lawful to be done without great necessity, even for a probable reason: it is nothing but a concealment of some part of the truth, and a discovery of another part even of so much as will serve our turn.

3. If the restriction *be not purely mental*, but is understood by accidents and circumstances, it is lawful.

4. When things are true in several senses, the not explicating in what sense I mean the words is not a criminal reservation.

Question III.—Whether it be lawful to equivocate, or to use words of doubtful signification with a purpose to deceive, or know that they will deceive, and in what case it is so.

It is lawful upon, a just cause of great charity or necessity, to use, in our answers and intercourses, words of divers signification, though it does deceive him that asks.

Thus, Titius, the father of Caius, hid his father in a tub, and to the cut-throats that inquired for him to bloody purposes, he answered, “*Patrem in doliolo latere;*” now that did not only signify a little tub, but a hill near Rome, where the villains did suspect him to be, and were so diverted. Thus we read of a Greek that in the like case hid his brother under a wood pile, and to the inquisitors answered that he did lie hid *ἐν τῇ ὕλην*, somewhere in the wood. Now in these cases where there is no obligation to tell the truth, any man may use the covers of truth, especially when in this case it is not a lie: for an equivocation is like a dark lantern, if I have just reason to hold the dark side to you, you are to look to it, not I; if Christian simplicity be not concerned in it, nor any other grace indirectly, certain it is that truth is not concerned. Now, that part of the ambiguity which I intend it in is true, I would never else use that way to save my conscience and escape a lie; so that if nothing else is concerned, *truth is safe*. But then care must be taken that he who hath right to be answered, be not defeated without his own fault; for, if I intend to deceive him, it must be such a person whom I have power to deceive: some one that is a child or a madman, or an incompetent person to judge for his own good: and one that in no other way will be brought to do

himself good, one that is willing, or justly so presumed. For unless I have power or right to deceive him, I must not intend to deceive him by any act of mine directly.

If it be fit that he be deceived, though I have no right to do it, let him deceive himself; it must be by his own act; to which I may indeed minister occasion by any fair and innocent means.....I am not bound to use words of single signification, if it be sufficient to express my meaning, if it be in the nature and use of the words apt to signify my mind, and to speak that which is true—let him that stands by look to it; I do all that I am obliged to do by the interests of justice and truth. In these cases he that speaks does but minister occasion to him that is mistaken, like him that represents artificial sights before the eyes, or as the rainbow in the clouds is the occasion of a popular error that it is full of colours.

There is but one of two conclusions which we can arrive at from these quotations; either the theory of amphibology is not what the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* has represented it to be; or a man like Jeremy Taylor, one of the first of England's moral theologians, who has formed the conscience and directed the spiritual life of thousands of her children, was pitiably confused upon a vital question of morality, and taught doctrines subversive of its plain principles.*

But we are referred to a higher authority than England's bishop—to a no less person than the great St. Augustine, concerning whom our opponent has enunciated the following propositions.†

* The same moral blindness must also in a measure attach to Bishop Andrews—cf. *Rambler*, May, 1854, *Correspondence ad fin.*

† We do not of course mean by this to assert that he has formally stated these propositions as they are here given, but that the substance of what he has said amounts to these.

It may suit the purpose of our opponent in attacking the canonized Saints of the present day, to contrast the fog and malaria of the modern Church with the healthy atmosphere of antiquity, but he must know very well that other writers, who may be equally candid and learned as himself, can for a different purpose feel an equal oppression upon their moral sense when dealing with ancient saints, whom, by his principles, he is bound to respect. "About this time," says one, "I had also begun to think

1. The principles of truth and falsehood maintained by this ancient Father, differ wholly from those maintained by divines of the modern Roman Church, to such an extent that what was rejected as immorality by St. Augustine, has been made moral by the decision of these casuists.

2. St. Augustine nowhere makes a distinction between lying and equivocating.

We intend to examine into the truth of both these statements, and we hope somewhat to convince even the warmest admirers of the Christian Remembrancer, that upon this occasion at least it has not succeeded quite so

that the old writers, called Fathers, deserved but a small portion of the reverence which is awarded to them. I had been strongly urged to read Chrysostom's work on the Priesthood, by one who regarded it as a suitable preparation for Holy Orders; and I did read it. But I not only thought it inflated, and without moral depth, but what was far worse, I encountered in it an *elaborate defence of falsehood in the cause of the Church, and generally of deceit in any good cause.* I rose from the treatise in disgust, and for the first time sympathised with Gibbon, and argued that if he had spoken with moral indignation, instead of pompous sarcasm, against the *frauds of the ancient fathers*, his blows would have fallen far more heavily upon Christianity itself. He (i.e. Chrysostom) argues from the Bible that a victory gained by deceit is more to be esteemed than one obtained by force; *that, provided the end aimed at be good*, we ought not to call it deceit, but a sort of admirable management. (Our readers will of course mark this evidence of the Greek national character.).....It is really frightful to reflect to what guidance the moral sentiment of mankind was committed for many ages. Chrysostom is usually considered one of the best of the fathers."....."That any one," says another writer, speaking of the works of the Fathers, "who has really read much of these productions, can think with respect of the author's judgment, or without disgust of their temper, or without suspicion of their morals, is one of the many wonders of theology."

Whether these authors have any better foundations for their view of the morality of the ancient saints, than the writer in the Christian Remembrancer has for his view of St. Alphonsus, is beside the present question; but we thought it might not be without its profit to our reader, if we drew his attention for a moment to the wonderful fact, that beautiful as the Church is to her own children and those who regard her closely in order to know her, to those who stand afar off to criticise, she has in all ages presented the same distorted countenance.

well as it expected in its appeal to the uncompromising moralist of the early Church.

Let us for a moment observe the argument by which the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* attempts to demonstrate his two propositions. It is assuredly none other than that upon which the main question of the article is founded. The argument, as the reader will remember, by which it was proved that Catholic theologians hold false principles upon the subject of moral truthfulness, was a supposed incompatibility of their holding true ones with the theory of amphibology. Starting with the supposition that the latter doctrine necessarily involves the maintenance of certain principles, our opponent quietly assumes that our theologians do *in fact* maintain those principles, and speaks throughout of them as if they explicitly taught doctrines which they never so much as hint at, except to condemn. Having been thus far successful, our opponent proceeds to show by the same method of arguing, that St. Augustine's doctrine was something very different from that maintained by the Modern Church. And further, that he could not have held the Theory of Equivocation, because he was evidently conscious of the true principles of Truth and Falsehood. The mode of proving that a doctrine is false, from the impossibility of its coexisting with the true one, is not peculiar either to the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*, or to the present question; indeed, it may be said to underlie all the common objections brought against the Catholic Faith. Thus, while the Socinian on the one hand urges that our doctrine of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity cannot but interfere with that filial love which we owe to the First Person, the Anglican, on the other hand contends earnestly that love to Mary must tend to diminish love to her Son;—that the doctrine of justification by works cannot coexist with humble reliance on the sole merits of Christ;—that those who believe in the intercessory power of the saints, by consequence do not hold that Christ is the one Mediator between God and man; and so on with many other doctrines of our holy Faith. But this argument is an especial favourite with those who wish to prove that the Church of the present day maintains a different doctrine from that which she taught of old. Thus: given the problem, that Roman theologians are opposed in their teaching to the early

Fathers, let a writer be selected from among the former, more remarkable in solving practical questions, than dealing in principles; let him be read sufficiently well to obtain certain facts necessary for the purpose; but not sufficiently well to catch his tone and spirit: above all things let the reading be confined to this one theologian, lest, perchance, untimely daylight should break in, and dispel the grotesque figures which imagination may have conjured up within the dark recesses of the work: let one or two instances which may seem to serve the purpose be seized upon, and by a hasty induction let the mind at once arrive at the much desired doctrine hereafter to be disproved, having thus assumed the point required, let no trouble be taken about its proof, but let it be spoken of throughout as the teaching of Romish Theologians. If the doctrine should be so tremendous that the readers might be disposed to doubt whether the author was sufficient to support its weight, let it be suggested that this is nothing to what he sometimes does; that the reader has no notion how pitifully confused his intellect is, and how morally blind his conscience: let the unhealthy atmosphere he has been brought up in be hinted at by way of accounting for this, and then let the author thus prepared be contrasted with some ancient Father of the Church, and let the reader be called upon to judge how unlike the two are: let it then be shown by the argument of incompatibility, that the ancient author could not by his principles have supported a doctrine such as that under discussion. Now, we fully grant that nothing can be sounder than to argue from the position of one doctrine to the amotion of another, and, vice versa, if the incompatibility of the two be *proved*: but if, instead of being proved, such incompatibility is *only assumed*, then that the whole conclusion founded thereupon is liable some day to find itself prostrate in the presence of a fact. In the former part of our article we pointed out to the reader that whatever our theologians *ought* to have taught in consequence of their doctrine of amphibology, as a matter of fact, they do at the same time teach what the writer in the Christian Remembrancer allows to be the true principles of moral truthfulness; therefore, we contend that it is an illicit inference to argue that an author could not hold the former because he strongly maintained the latter. Or to take the instance before us, it

by no means follows that St. Augustine did not know, and would have rejected at once had he known them, the instructive principles of equivocation and mental restriction maintained by our theologians, *because "his philosophic mind saw clearly that moral truthfulness in the speaker did not depend upon the material truth or falsehood of the thing spoken;"* for our theologians are equally keen-sighted about the same most palpable truism; and yet, nevertheless maintain the theory of equivocation. The reader has already seen a sufficient number of quotations from their works to make it unnecessary for us to do more than just compare one or two of them with the passages adduced by the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* from St. Augustine: which we will proceed to do as follow:—

ST. AUGUSTINE,

who taught that moral truthfulness did not depend upon the material truth of the thing spoken.

“A man is deceived when he thinks what he says to be true, and it is really false: a man lies when he thinks something to be false, and says it as though true, whether it be *really true or false*. Mark the addition which I have made. Whether it be really true or false, yet if a man thinks it false, and asserts as true, he lies, *for he is aiming to deceive*. What good is it to him that it is true? He thinks it false, and says it as though it were true. *True it is in itself, what he says, in itself it is true: to him it is false*. What he is conscious of, and what he speaks, are not the same; he thinks within himself that one thing is true, and utters another as though it were true. *His heart is double, not single; he does not bring out what he has there*. The double heart has long since been

CASUISTS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH,

who teach as moral the contradictory doctrine.

F. Gurý: De præc. dec. c. i. De Mendacio. 455. “They do not lie who assert something false which they think to be true, but only make a mistake; on the other hand, they lie who assert a *truth which they think to be false, because they speak contrary to their mind*.”

456. *He lies who makes use of even non-pure mental restriction, or discoverable equivocation, if he does so with intent to deceive*. 453. A lie is a sentence spoken *contrary to the mind of the speaker with intention of deceiving*.”

Theoph. Raynaudus, the great champion of amphibology. De Æq. et M.

Gilbertus is by all means *to be rejected, who, contrary to the opinion of St. Austin, affirms that he who enunciates a material truth does not lie, even though he speak against his conviction. This doctrine, I say, is*

reproved." "Deceitful lips..... dissemble in their double heart." Ps. xii. 2. What is deceit? When one thing is pretended, and another done. Deceitful lips are when the heart is not single.—Serm. 133. vol. v. p. 739, as quoted in *Christian Remembrancer*, pp. 76-7.

to be rejected, because a lie is opposed as a contrary to moral truth; which does not regard the bare agreement of the proposition with the object as it exists materially, but is chiefly concerned with the agreement of the object and the proposition, as enunciated by the will. And on this account St. Austin rightly maintained that a man might utter real truth, and yet offend against moral truth, &c.

S. Alphonsus, *Theol. Mor.* l. iii. tr. ii. 171.

To the question, is simulation lawful? It is replied, that *formal simulation* (i. e., when *any one intends, by an external fact, to signify something else which he has not in his mind*) is never lawful, because it is mere lie in act, as St. Thomas teaches. But *material simulation*, (i. e., when a person does something *not intending the deceit of his neighbour, but some other end,*) is lawful for a just cause, *whenever others may conjecture by the circumstances, that it is done for some other end,* as we said, when treating of non-pure mental restriction.

We can assure the *Christian Remembrancer* that it is not from lack of matter that we abstain from giving other quotations, but because we think that even he must be forced to own that these are sufficient to disprove his first proposition—That the principles of truth and falsehood maintained by St. Austin differ wholly from those maintained by Divines of the modern Church of Rome, so much so, that what was rejected as immoral by the former, has been declared moral by the latter.

We will now examine into the second proposition, and see how far it is true to say that St. Austin nowhere makes a distinction between lying and equivocating. Now we fully concede that the saint has nowhere systematically parted off the principles of the one from those of the other,

and recognised them in terms distinct as our theologians have done. But let us see whether he was wholly unconscious himself of the existence of such a distinction, and would have rejected it at once if put before him.

In page 77 the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* rightly enough informs his readers that the saint discusses all the examples of *apparent* falsehood in the Old and New Testament, to which those who had a theory of lying appealed in his day, as they do now; and concludes that, for the examples which are brought forward out of Holy Scripture, either they are not falsehoods, but are supposed to be such by not being understood, or if they are falsehoods, they are not proposed as objects of imitation. The reader may perhaps like to see *how* St. Austin defends one of these instances from the charge of falsehood and into what he resolves it.

The case we propose to relate is that of Abraham calling Sarai his sister, in order to escape molestation from Pharaoh, king of Egypt. This was very commonly appealed to in St. Austin's days, as indeed it is now by those who hold it to be lawful to tell a lie in extreme emergencies.

Any one ignorant of the principles of equivocation laid down above, and holding that if we speak at all we are bound to speak out the honest convictions of the heart according to the intention of the interrogator; could only say to such case as this; that though a falsehood, it is not proposed as an object of imitation. Very different, however, is the reply of St. Augustine:—

“They who assert that it is sometimes meet to lie, do not conveniently maintain that Abraham did this concerning Sarah, whom he said to be his sister. For, he did not say, ‘She is *not* my wife,’ but he said, ‘She is my sister;’ *because she was, in truth, so near akin, that she might without a lie be called a sister.* Which, also, afterwards, he confirmed after she had been given back by him who had taken her, answering him, and saying, ‘And, indeed, she is my sister, by father, not by mother;’ that is, by the father's kindred, not the mother's. Somewhat, therefore, of truth he left untold, not told ought of falsehood, when he left wife untold, and told of sister.....It is *not then a lie, when, by silence, a true thing is kept back, but when, by speech, a false thing is put forward.*”

Now this is a most remarkable defence to be brought forward by one who was perfectly ignorant of the princi-

ples upon which the theory of equivocation is founded. For what did it matter according to those who oppose this latter doctrine, whether what Abraham said was true or not? He said it, undoubtedly, knowing that it would mislead Pharaoh, and intending that it should do so; he certainly uttered nothing false; but he uttered a part of the truth in such a way, as to cause it to be mistaken for the whole; and this, according to the principles laid down by the reviewer, is identical with lying. St. Augustine's application of his own maxim, "*Quamvis omnis qui mentitur velit celare quod verum est non tamen omnis qui vult celare quod verum est mentitur,*" to the present case fully justifies St. Alphonsus in referring to it as constituting a principle of amphilogy, and at the same time renders the off-hand way in which the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* has reduced it to a mere truism, perfectly inexcusable.

St. Augustine applies the same principle in even a more striking manner to the cases of Jacob and David.

Our readers will remember that one of the reasons alleged as having originated the question of amphilogy was, that without it, in Holy Scripture it would be impossible to explain certain cases apparently favouring the doctrine that a lie in extreme emergencies is permissible; and it is not a little remarkable, that St. Augustine, who maintained, as every Catholic does, the contradictory of this, was driven, when he came to deal with Holy Scripture, into the very doctrine of amphilogy. But, that the reader may do justice to this consideration, let him refer to the 6th chapter of the IV. Book of Kings (if he be a Protestant, to the II. Book of Kings,) and at the eighteenth verse, he will find the following account; "And the enemies came down to him, but Eliseus prayed to the Lord, saying; Strike, I beseech thee, this people with blindness: And the Lord struck them with blindness according to the word of Eliseus. 19. And Eliseus said to them: This is not the way, neither is this the city: follow me and I will show you the man whom you seek: So he led them into Samaria. 20. And when they were come into Samaria, Eliseus said: Lord open the eyes of these men, that they may see. And they opened their eyes, and they saw themselves to be in the midst of Samaria." Now let us apply St. Austin's Canon: "The examples which are brought forward out of Holy Scripture, either are not

falsehoods, but are supposed to be such by not being understood, or, if they are falsehoods, they are not proposed as objects of imitation." Under which alternative are we to range the present example? Not under the last, for God participated in it: what, then, can we resolve it into, but an equivocation used for a very grave purpose? and so it is explained by Billuart. Vol. vii. Dissert. ix. Art. 11.

While we find, as Billuart remarks, in looking into the works of various theologians, a vast amount of agreement on the general principles of amphilology, we are no less struck by the diversity of opinion expressed among them as to particular instances. We find them sufficiently unanimous upon the following points: 1st, that the essence of a lie consists in the intentional abuse of language for the purpose of deception:—2ndly, that language is to be held abused so as to constitute a lie if it cannot be understood otherwise than in a false sense, i. e., one contrary to the mind of the speaker:—3dly, that words, besides their ordinary meaning, are liable to be determined to an extraordinary one by particular circumstances of time, place, and person:—4thly, that under such circumstances it is lawful to use words thus equivocally determined; but as to exactly when such determination may be said to have taken place, some theologians admit this occasion, others that. The consideration that words and practices acquire conventional meaning according to the language and customs of the country in which they are used, will tend in a measure to explain this; for hence, we can easily conceive that an equivocation or mental restriction might be perfectly determinable and therefore lawful in Italy, which would be simply undiscoverable and therefore the reverse of this in England. The writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* speaking of a case which will serve very well to illustrate our meaning, says, "Everybody knows that conventional sayings, such as that under discussion, bear conventional meanings, and are known to bear conventional meanings, and therefore involve no deceit, no moral falsehood." Very good, let us see whether St. Alphonsus cannot benefit by this principle.

1. In the case of the priest, who upon being interrogated, whether in court or not, with reference to knowledge obtained through the confessional, is allowed, nay, ought

to reply, "I don't know," meaning that he does not know as a man, or in any manner that he could possibly reveal his knowledge. The phrase, "I don't know," in those circumstances, we contend, is just as conventional in its meaning to the Catholic as "Not at home" is to the Englishman. For there is not a Catholic in the world, and very few Protestants among the more educated class, who do not fully understand that a priest in such a position is bound, at the risk of his life, to conceal his knowledge. There is then here no breaking of mutual understanding, no deceit, and no moral falsehood.*

* Colliges 2o. Confessarium sive in judicio sive extra interrogatum de crimine quod ex sola confessione novit, si aliter non possit evadere, posse dicere "se nescire;" quia, *juxta censum communiter receptum in his circumstantiis*, 'nescio' significat 'nescio, ut homo,' 'nescio ut revelem;' *et ita intelligunt aut intelligere debent qui interrogant.* Billuart, vol. vii. p. 409. Dis. ix. a. vi.

Quod dico de confessario, idem videtur censendum quoad et utrumque casum de secretario, et de legato interrogato circa secreta sui regis. Idem etiam quidem censent de obstetrice, medico, &c.; quia, *inquiunt, usus invaluit* ut, quando ex revelatione aperta sequeretur grave damnum, terminus "nescio" in his aut similibus personis significet, nescio ut persona particularis, aut supponat vel subaudiatur aliquam aliam restrictionem.

Colliges 4o. Reum contra juris ordinem interrogatum, si aliter subterfugere non valeat, posse respondere, Non feci, non occidi, quia, licet illa verba sint generalia et secundum suam naturalem significationem simpliciter negent quod quæritur, tamen propter circumstantias loci, temporis, et personarum, *juxta communem usum loquendi in judiciis*, admittunt sensum restrictum, hunc aut similem; non probor fecisse; non feci quod a me juridice; non feci quod tu possis inquirere, &c. Ita Barnes et alii quos citat et sequitur Sylvius hic q. 69, a. 2; idque confirmat ex sententia D. Th. q. 67, a. 2, juxta quam quando judex, procedens secundum allegata et probata, condemnat eum quem scit scientia privata esse innocentem, declarat et dicit eum fecisse crimen ob quod condemnatur; ut non mentiat, intelligere debet quod fecerit, hoc est, quod probatur fecisse, quod sit juridice talis ergo similiter, quando reus illegitime interrogatus dicit, Non feci, sensus esse potest *secundum usum fori*, "non probor fecisse." Non feci quod quæritur a me juridice, &c. *Propter easdem rationes*, testis illegitime nil interrogatus potest respondere, Nescio, non vidi, &c., p. 410.

Carrière, De Justitia et Jure, pars ii, sect. ii. 956. De variis personis publicis.....nullus inquit D. Bouvier, *consuetudinem inter homines receptam cognoscens*, ex tali responsione

2. The same mode of replying, as we have already said, is allowed to all public officers, because the knowledge such persons possess officially is never supposed to be referred to in their private capacity.

3. Thus, too, according to some theologians, the prisoner at the bar, when tried for his life, or for any very grievous penalty, is allowed to plead "Not guilty;" for he speaks with reference to his position, and means that he is not guilty before the court.

4. In the same way, the witness who is bound ordinarily to reply to the question of the judge, without reservation of any kind: if asked about a crime *known only to him*, and that under the seal of secrecy, ought to reply, "that he does not know;" because the custom of the court is supposed to sanction such exceptional cases, and he speaks in his character as witness, and uses forensic language. N.B. This reply is not allowable whenever the public good requires the revelation of the secret.

And just as language may be determined in its signification between man and man in his public relations, so may there occur emergencies in private life which serve no less to alter the received usage and meaning of words. Examples to the point will readily occur to any one

rationabiliter concludere poterit dictas personas rem petitam non accepisse sub secreto: norunt omnes ab iis quasi duplicem personam geri; sicq. ex circumstantiis, seu qualitate externa respondentis, determinatur sensus verborum, adeo ut non adsit nisi restrictio late mentalis. Before leaving the subject of equivocation we would wish the reader to note carefully the following excellent observations of Mayol:— "Hanc sententiam fuse et cum omnibus suis fundamentis retuli et stabilivi, exercitu potius gratias quam concludendi animo in hac gravissimâ et periculosissimâ materia, aliis relinquens iudicium: etsi enim probabilior mihi appareat usus equivocationum etiam pure materialium, præsertim si frequens extiterit, non caret periculo incidendi in equivocationes formales et mendacia; perinde ac ex juramentorum frequentatione facilis est ad perjuriam lapsus: ideo sicut Scriptura consulit ne jurationi assuescat os nostrum, imo ut nolimus omnino jurare, quantumvis iuramentum sit licitum, ad occasiones scilicet perjurandi tollendas, ita etiam consulendum est hominibus ut non nisi in extrema necessitate, et quam rarissime utantur æquivocationibus etiam materialibus, ut sic vitent periculum mentiendi, p. 308," as quoted by Carrière, *De Just. et Jur.* pars. ii. Sect. ii. c. ii. 54.

who has read the article in the *Christian Remembrancer*; we will therefore content ourselves with observing that those who hold them permissible, do so only upon supposition that the reserved meaning is discoverable, and that those who in conscience think otherwise could not, under such conviction, make use of them.

Of course it is perfectly legitimate to reject all these instances: many theologians of note do so. But one thing seems to us wholly incompatible with a due observance of the Eighth Commandment; to infer principles from our own view of them, and then speak of others who allow them only under a different view, as if they taught that which they in express terms repudiate.

Can promises be trusted? let us see. A promise* is a kind of contract or agreement, wherein one person voluntarily, and of his own accord, undertakes to do, or not do something in favour of another. A contract, as of course our readers know, may be either gratuitous or onerous, that is, the bargain may be for the advantage of only one of the contracting parties, or it may be for the advantage of both. It is under the first class of contracts that promises properly so called are ranged. Since a promise is of the nature of a contract, it will require for its validity four conditions. 1. That the matter, i. e. that about which the promise is made, be in itself honourable and lawful, possible and definite, and something over which the promiser has controul. 2. That the cause or consideration‡ (i. e. the direct and immediate reason of the promise) be not prohibited by any law, or opposed in any way to morality or public order. 3. That the subject, i. e. the promiser be in possession of reason, and recognised as capable by the law. 4. Consent,† is required, both expressed and intended; the latter, because the obligation of a contract takes its rise from the will and purpose of the contractor: the former, otherwise mutual understanding would be impossible: the consent must be mutual, for agreement is

* Conf. Gury, *De Contr.* pars. ii. sect. i. c. i. 758. *Carrière De Contract.* pars. ii. c. 473.

† Conf. Billuart vol. vii. adn. ad *Tract. De Contr.* "Per causam contractus intelligitur," &c. Gury, *De Contr.* pars. i. cap. i. a. 2.

‡ Auctor idem. loc. cit. a. 4. *Carrière, De Contr.* pars. i. sect. i. c. i. 20-23.

the essential notion of a contract. The only condition here which seems open to objection is making the internal consent of the contractor necessary to the validity of the promise. The question is, is it essential to the nature of a contract that an obligation should be voluntarily undertaken, or does it suffice if such obligation be voluntarily expressed? There are two opinions upon this subject, some authors maintain that a merely external consent, voluntarily given, is all that is required to establish a valid contract; the majority, however, deny this, and contend that a contract, by its essence, requires an internal consent. For what, say they, is a contract but a kind of law, by which the contracting parties bind themselves to cede their rights in favour of one another? But a law not intended by the legislator to bind, is null, however manifestly expressed; nor can there be cession of property without an intention of ceding on the part of the proprietor. Moreover, the obligation of a contract must follow either from the words which express it, or from a legal recognition, or from the will and intention of the contractors; as it cannot be said to arise from the two first, therefore, it must from the last. The obligation cannot follow from the words used, for mere words, however seriously spoken, have no obligatory force either in themselves, that is, by reason of the end for which they were instituted, or by any civil enactment, since none such exists. Hence the words, I promise, do not themselves oblige me, but signify an intention on my part to place myself under an obligation. Nor can we argue in favour of contracts being binding by virtue of a legal recognition from the fact that the law exacts the fulfilment of certain external contracts, for the law enforces such on the presumption that the internal consent is present; and further, if the obligation of all contracts depended on this latter authority, then mere verbal promises, *nudo pacto*, which have no legal force, would carry with them no obligation in *foro conscientiæ*: it remains, then, that the *essential obligation* of a contract arises from the intention of the contractor; mark the words, *essential obligation*,—for we are speaking here *solely of the obligation* arising out of the *nature* of the contract. That which the general law of justice and charity may oblige us to do is another consideration. It is clear that he who feigns consent, and thereby deceives his neighbour, has done him a wrong, and is therefore bound in some way to

make reparation according to circumstances. 1st, If the promise be wholly gratuitous, and the promisee has received no injury except that of disappointment, the promiser is bound to no other reparation than an apology. 2ndly, If the promisee has experienced loss which can be repaired without an exact fulfilment of the contract, the promiser is not bound to make it good, but only to repair the loss his neighbour has sustained by his means. 3rdly, If the loss be such that it can only be repaired by a fulfilment of the contract, the promiser is bound to make his promise valid, and to fulfil it exactly. How far do gratuitous promises bind? This may be divided into two questions, 1st, how far do they bind in their own nature, "naturâ suâ?" 2ndly, How far do they bind by virtue of the intention with which men commonly make them? 1. A promise binds in its own nature, at least *ex fidelitate*; for just as the interest of social intercourse requires that words and thoughts should correspond, and this is the proper object of the virtue of truthfulness, so does the same interest require no less an agreement of words and deeds: the virtue which provides for this latter is commonly called good faith. There is also the obligation of justice, for by a promise made and accepted, we cede our rights to a portion of our property in favour of our neighbour, and manifestly he is injured by not obtaining the same. He, then, who fails to keep his promise may sin, 1st, against good faith, 2ndly, against justice; this latter is in its kind mortal. Such are the obligations which arise out of the nature of a promise viewed in the abstract; but it is a different question, when we ask what are its actual obligations, i. e. what are the obligations which men commonly intend to take upon themselves when they make a gratuitous promise? And 1st, they not unfrequently mean to signify by the word, I promise, nothing more than a present good will and purpose to serve the person addressed, and by no means to take upon themselves an obligation properly so called,—for instance, in promising to pay a friend a visit, we commonly do not suppose ourselves obliged to go under pain of sin; very often, however, the promiser intends to place himself under some obligation, though not to the full amount implied by the nature of a promise, but to that which follows in virtue of good faith. For were we to ask a person, making a promise in the ordinary way, whether he intended to bind himself under

pain of mortal sin, and would consider himself as a thief and detainer of another's property, if he failed in its fulfilment, he would, it is thought, disown at once any such idea. This is well understood by those to whom the promise is made.

Sometimes, nevertheless, promises do bind to the full amount of their nature, i. e., *ex justitia*: in cases e. g. where the promiser really intends to make over his right of property to another, and is understood in this sense by the person to whom the promise is made—but such an intention would not ordinarily be inferred unless it were confirmed by some additional circumstance, such as the taking an oath, making a deed, or calling a witness.

The obligations of a gratuitous promise cease—1, by dispensation from the promisee—2, if the promise be unlawful, impossible, hurtful, or inexpedient, or if the condition under which the promise was made have notably changed, or turn out other than the promiser supposed, so that had he foreseen them, he would not have promised. Thus, if one man promises to help another, supposing him to be poor, he is no longer bound upon discovering that he has been deceived, and that the other person is richer than himself; or if we have promised to vote for a candidate at an election, who afterwards changes his politics and turns out a different character from that which we supposed, we are no longer bound, nay, we may be bound not to keep our promise. Such, then, is a slight sketch of what Catholic theologians teach on the obligation of promises, and, in answer to the question, can promises be trusted? we reply, undoubtedly; for first, if they are valid, the promiser is bound to keep them under pain of mortal or venial sin, according to the nature of the obligation he voluntarily takes upon himself and signifies to the promisee,—2ndly, we may rely on the validity of a promise, for the promiser is bound not to make an invalid promise under pain of mortal or venial sin, according to the nature of the case: and further, if he has done so, and any injury to his neighbour has resulted therefrom, he is bound to make corresponding restitution. De Lugo* says that

* *Locuta autem sumus hac usque de intentione requisita ad hoc ut promissio obliget ex justitia: si enim sermo sit solum de obligatione ex fidelitate, quæ ex promissione oriri potest, major potest esse difficultas, an verba externa prolata cum intentione ea profe-*

the obligation *ex fidelitate* holds whenever the words used, determinately signify a promise, even though the promiser have withheld his consent.

The following passage is quoted to show how little confidence can be placed in promises of secrecy.

“When you have made a promise without expressly binding yourself to keep the secret to your own detriment, it is certain that you may reveal it, since no one is thought to bind himself to a secret to his grave inconvenience. So say Laymann, Ronçaglia, Sporer, and Holzmann. But what is to be said if you have expressly promised not to reveal the secret, though it should cost you your life to ‘keep it?’ Can you then reveal it if in peril of life? Sporer says so, and with sufficient probability teaching that a man may in that case, and is bound to do so, because no man is allowed to throw away his own life; and Laymann attaches himself to the same view. Some doctors, however, say very probably with Lugo, Molina, Croix, that if you have made the promise, you have a sufficient obligation to keep the secret, even with danger of your life; for it is one thing to throw away life, another to neglect its preservation in order to promises.”—p. 55.

We confess ourselves unable to see anything in this passage against which exception, on the ground of immorality in principle can be taken. No promise can be said to bind beyond the mutual understanding of those between whom it is made: according to St. Alphonsus, people, as they ordinarily promise secrecy, neither intend, nor are thought to intend, such promises to bind to their own detriment. It is simply a question of fact, what is the common understanding of mankind upon this matter? Undoubtedly no one has a right to infer from the words, “I promise,” more than their conventional meaning: let it be shown that the word implies more

rendi quæ verba hic, et nunc determinate significant promissionem, et non sunt indifferentia, ut significant solam affirmationem, sufficient ad inducendam obligationem *ex fidelitate*, etiamsi desit animus obligandi se *ex fidelitate*, vel ullo modo promittendi..... Quando verba de se significant etiam determinate promissionem; nunc vera mihi videtur sententia P. Vasq. *quod verba sola obligant ex fidelitate ad rem faciendam, licet defuerit in loquente animus se ex fidelitate obligandi*: in quam sententiam tuetur etiam Basilius Legionensis de impedimenti matrimonii, cap. 29, ss. 3, et alii recentiores, quos refert, et sequitur Turrianus Disp. 64. dub. 15. n. 3. De Lugo, De Justitia et Jure, tom. ii. Disp. xxiii. sect. i. 2.

than St. Alphonsus presupposes it does; and the saint will stand convicted simply of an error in fact, not in moral principle. And as to the question whether a man ought to sacrifice his life rather than reveal a secret because he has promised under this condition, that must depend upon whether the making such a promise was not originally wrong. No promise can bind to that which is immoral, if the act promised be immoral, it was immoral to make the promise, and the keeping it would be simply perseverance in immorality. The question, then, is, whether the duty of preserving life may be lawfully sacrificed to the duty of preserving our neighbour's secret. The promise has nothing to do with the matter, for if it be wrong in me to sacrifice my life for my neighbour's secret, beyond all question my promising to do so would not make it right. Now it certainly is a very debateable point whether a person ought to stake his life, (except in particular cases,) upon keeping a secret. Sporer and Laymann take the negative side: but St. Alphonsus says, with Lugo, Molina, and Croix, "that if you have made the promise you have a sufficient obligation to keep the secret even with danger of your life, for it is one thing to throw away life, another to neglect its preservation in order to keep promises."

We cannot persuade ourselves to close the subject of promises without laying before the reader some considerations in reference to a question which we would gladly have omitted altogether, had we not thought that in so doing we should have been exposing ourselves to the charge of not being able to defend our theologians in one of the gravest imputations brought against them by the *Christian Remembrancer*. The language of the latter seems to us to insinuate almost as much as this, that St. Alphonsus, and those theologians who agree with him, have philosophised an iniquitous theory whereby promises of marriage may be broken, in order to give a privilege to the Roman nobility: at all events such an impression would very likely be left upon the mind of a not very careful reader. It is as follows: "The moral blindness and logical acumen with which we are here brought to the Q. E. D. is charming. It is the philosophy of sin. We hope that aristocratical parents will, for their sons' sake, duly appreciate the novel 'privileges of the nobility.' For ourselves we are well content that the right of seducing maidens on promise of marriage, and then refusing to keep the pro-

mise, should remain a privilege of the nobles of those countries alone where Rome's religion is professed, and Rome's teachers have sway."—p. 55.

Let us see whether this withering sarcasm is wholly deserved, and whether the decisions which gave rise to it do not admit of something like explanation and defence.

First of all, before considering the more immediate question under discussion, as to whether a man who has seduced a maiden under promise of marriage is bound to fulfil the same, we will make a few remarks upon the more general one of the validity of contracts, wherein one of the terms involves what is called a "causa turpis—or, shameful consideration."*

Now, it is certain, and a fact universally admitted, that such contracts are absolutely, i. e., viewed in themselves as contracts, invalid, inasmuch as their fulfilment cannot take place without sin; † but it is a question whether, after the sinful condition has been complied with on one side, there does not arise an obligation for the other to make good his part of the contract, by virtue of the general law of commutative justice.

It is not our intention to enter at length into the various arguments which theologians, who are divided upon this question, severally adduce in support of their position. Great names can be alleged on both sides; for while Collet, Ronçaglia, Concina, Antoine, Carrière, and we may add Gury, ‡ hold that such contracts are invalid even after the sinful condition has been complied with; Lacroix, De Lugo, Lessius, and St. Alphonsus, maintain their validity in the latter case.

Suffice it to say that the arguments of the former are to the full as strong as of the latter, if not stronger, for it is difficult to deny that the fulfilment of such contracts

* Confer Carrière De Contr. pars 1, sec. ii. c. 2, 329, 330, 331, 333.

† The law never recognises a contract which binds either of the parties to perform an illegal act. Quod turpe ex causâ promissum est.....non valet. Inst. iii. de Inutil. Stipulat. 24. Pacta quæ causam turpem habent non sunt servanda. Dig. ii. 14, 17. Cf. Whewell, El. of Mor. B. iv. c. iv. 704.

‡ 11a. Sententia probabilior intrinsece, ut videtur, negat, &c. Gury, De Contr. pars i. c. i. a. 2. 730.

has a direct tendency to encourage sin. Let the reader, then, bearing this fact in mind, imagine himself for a short time to be a priest sitting in the confessional, and suppose a man comes to him and confesses that he has seduced a maiden under promise of marriage, that he is excessively contrite for what he has done, but is unwilling to keep his promise. Well, now the question is, can he be obliged to do so, under pain of not receiving absolution? We say obliged, for remember the question is strictly one of obligation, not of propriety. It is not what would be good and laudable for the man to do, but what in such a case is he bound to do by the letter of the law.* Those who follow St. Alphonsus,† and consider such contracts generically binding, would decide that the man must fulfil his promise literally, and that, too, whether the promise had been real or feigned, for if real it carries its own obligation with it, if feigned, the promiser is bound to fulfil it in order to make equivalent reparation for the injury received. This is the general rule, and one which would be followed in ordinary cases. But suppose the man is very far superior to the woman in rank and condition, is he still bound to marriage? The question must be considered under the further supposition of whether the promise

* Conf. Carrière De Just. et Jure, pars iii. De Reparat. Jur. sect. ii. c. ii. 1361-1364. Billuart, vol. vi. Dis. x. a. xi. Ap. ii.

† St. Alph. Op. Mor. 642-644. The following is Neyraguet's summary of the latter. "Qui per veram vel fictam promissionem matrimonii copulam extorsit a virgine, tenetur eam ducere, etiamsi possit aliunde damnum resarcire. Hæc est sententia communis omnino tenenda, quam docent D. Thomas, Bus. S. Anton. Nav. Sanch. &c. Ratio 1ma. est quia aliter si deflorator virginem deceptam non ducat, nunquam ei reddet æquale, nec damnum adæquandum reficiet. Ratio 2nda. quia in contractibus innominatis *do ut des, facio ut facias*, quando alter ex sua parte implevit, tenetur alter implere ex justitiâ, quamvis fictè contraxerit.

"Hæc vero sententia limitatur: 1o. Nisi fœmina ex verbis aut aliis conjecturis *facilè* poterit advertere deceptionem promittentis. 2o. Si timeatur ex matrimonio pessimus exitus, ut si puella noscatur nimis levis. Bus. Lugo, Sanch. &c. Idem dicunt Sanch. S. Anton. etc., si timeantur magna scandala, vel rixæ inter consanguineos contrahentium. Sed quoad hoc punctum vide quæ dicemus de Matrimonio, 85—644. (Neyraguet. vol. i. Tract. De Just. p. 278.)

was real or feigned. If the promiser really intended to place himself under the obligation of marriage, then beyond all question he is bound to its fulfilment, no matter how high his rank, for as Carrière says, he has voluntarily ceded whatever advantage he might have been supposed to possess from his position in society. He has specifically promised marriage, and he is bound to repay in kind if he is able. But what shall be said if the marriage must almost necessarily be crowned with social and moral disorders of the gravest character? And this surely is no impossible supposition. A pagan could perceive not merely that the privileges of the Roman nobility, but that the whole character of a nation was dependent upon the due observance of grade in the structure of society, and regarded the interchange of marriage between high and low as the very source of corruption to a whole people. Rightly, then, as it seems to us, do theologians make an exception to the general rule in favour of cases where nought but the worst results, “*pessimus exitus*,” could be expected from the marriage.

This is the only exception, if the promise be real, so far as the man himself is concerned; but according to St. Alphonsus,* before contracting a marriage every son is *bound under pain of mortal sin*, to consult his parents’ wishes, and if they have just grounds for refusing their consent, *he is bound to abstain* from the intended marriage.† “If, for instance, from such a marriage disgrace or scandal

* Conf. Neyraguet: vol. ii. De Matr. p. 637. *Quæritur 5o. an, et quando, et qualiter, peccent filii-familias nuptias contrahentes sine consensu parentum?*

..... communiter A.A. tam 2dæ quam 3dæ sententiæ dicunt non excusari a *culpa mortali* filios matrimonium contrahentes, si parentes *juste* contradicunt *vel si censeantur rationabiliter inviti, puta si tales nuptiæ redundarent in deducus familiæ*, vel si, ex eis sint oritura gravia scandala aut dissensiones. Quarta demum distinguit, et dicit quod si parentes ab omni matrimonio filium avertere conantur cum periculo incontinentiæ filius non teneatur obedire; si vero impedire velint aliquod certum Matrimonium, nunc videndum si parentes injuste impediunt, filius non tenetur obedire; *secus* si parentes *juste* impediunt.

† *Nempe si ex tali matrimonio oriatur dedecus aut scandalum familiæ, tunc enim filius graviter peccat si non obedit, et matrimonium contrahit.*

would be brought upon the family, then the son would sin gravely if he did not obey (his parents).”* As a corollary to this, St. Alphonsus decides that the seducer is not bound to marry the promisee, if such a marriage would bring disgrace upon his father’s house, because, in so doing he would be committing a sin in inflicting upon his parents a grievous wrong. The reader may of course consider the former notion of obedience and duty to parents as exaggerated and absurd, but he must see that no one who held it, could possibly come to any other determination with respect to the latter. That so learned and moderate an author as Carrière† gives his most unqualified approval to the decision of St. Alphonsus, may, perhaps, have its weight with many of our readers. Such are the decisions we should come to under supposition that the promise given were real ; but what if the promise were only feigned? Then, the obligation the man is under assumes a different aspect ; for he is no longer bound by force of the contract, but by the duty of making reparation for the injury he has inflicted. Now, the injury inflicted admits of reparation in two ways, either by actual marriage, or a dowry sufficient to enable the woman to marry with as much advantage as she would have done had she not been seduced. As a general rule we have said the seducer would be bound to the first mode of redress, because, in contracts of this kind “do ut des.” when one of the parties has fulfilled his term, the other is bound to fulfilment according to the mutual understanding of both, at the time of making the contract. *St. Lig. Homo. Apost. tract. x. De. vii. Præc. Dec. p. vi. 93.* But if the woman could easily have detected the fraud, either from the man’s words, or other circumstances, or according to some theologians, from the fact of very great disparity in rank ; then she is considered as no unwilling partner in the transaction, and as such,

*Communiter putant A. A. non teneri sponsum ad adimplenda hujusmodi sponsalia *cum gravi parentum injuria*, etiamsi virginem defloraverit, *sed sufficere quod eam dotet.* Ratio, quia virtus justitiæ nequit obligare ad actum qui sine peccato impleri non potest.

† Si tanta esset disparitas ut ex tali matrimonio sequeretur dedecus familiæ viri, *merito propugnat S. Liguori irritam fore promissionem, utpote de re illicita* (loc. cit. Carrière De Just. et Jure.)

incapable of exacting marriage on the ground of justice.* Some theologians say also that she cannot, by the strict letter of the law, claim any compensation, because, says St. Liguori, she ought to look upon the injury she has received as a just punishment for her own carelessness and levity of conduct. Carrière says,† that if the seducer said at the time of making the contract that the woman was evidently deceived, then he is bound to give redress, because he took advantage of her simplicity: a decision which seems to us most just.

But, suppose once more that the woman was ignorant of the great difference of station between herself and the man at the time of making the contract; is the man then bound to a literal fulfilment? Many theologians say that he is—others say that he is only bound to compensation according to the understanding of the woman when she fulfilled her part in the contract, and she ex hypothesi did not contemplate a marriage much above her own station. In such a case, then, these latter theologians would only enforce the second method of redress. Perhaps these distinctions may appear to the reader nothing but miserable subterfuges, loopholes of escape for the aristocratical libertine, tortured out for him by the obsequious casuist of Rome; perhaps the whole way of treating the subject may seem cold and calculating; but let him remember that the confessor must practically so consider it, and as from the commencement we begged him to view the matter all through in that character, so we will take the liberty of again reseating him in the confessional, and request him, having first weighed well the sacred nature of marriage, how much it implies, how great its obligations, to what fearful sins they may be exposed who are ill-yoked, to tell

* Si verè decepta non fuerit nulla est difficultas, quia, *scienti et volenti non fit injuria*. Sed si vere decepta fuerit docet P. Antoine, c. iii. q. i. p. 316, reparandum esse damnum, quia vere injuriam passa est nec voluntariè consensum dedit. Negant tamen Billuart et S. Liguori, n° 643, dub. 3, quia damnum quod patitur debet imputare suæ imprudentiæ et levitati. Carr. De Just. et Jur. Pars. iii. sect. ii. 1363.

† Si seductor perspectum habuerit puellam non adverterè fictionem, (videtur) eum teneri ad reparationem, quia illius simplicitate abusus est, et vere eam decepit. Idem Auctor. loc. cit. 1363, ad fin.

us candidly whether he would like to take upon himself the responsibility of obliging a man to marry against his will a woman far below him in station, for whom he feels neither love nor esteem, unless such a marriage were rendered absolutely necessary by the strictest letter of the law.

What the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* affirms as to the right allowed in Catholic countries to the nobility, to seduce maidens, under promise of marriage, and then refuse to keep the promise, amounts to this. 1. That the nobility have no more right than other men to seduce maidens, and are equally bound to keep their promise whenever they can do so without sin. 2. A woman cannot claim redress from any man on the ground of having been deceived, if she can justly be considered as having lent herself to the deception, or allowed herself to be easily duped. 3. Some theologians maintain that the woman cannot claim a high marriage, if at the time of making the contract she only contemplated a low one..... "*Distinguendum*," we quite agree with the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*,* is certainly a *wand of power*, and one which his statements most urgently need. It *works wonders* upon them, almost to the extent of converting falsehood into truth.

Our space will not allow us to do more than give a very brief summary of the doctrine on oaths, as maintained by our theologians.

An oath,† they say, is a religious act whereby God is invoked to attest the truth of any matter, "*invocatio Divini nominis in testimonium alicujus rei.*" Its object is to add such weight and solemnity to the declarations men make, either with regard to the present or the future, as at once to dispel any doubt which might otherwise rest thereupon. Thus, an oath is said by St. Paul "to be the end of all controversy:" for, when men call God to witness the truth of any thing they do implicitly call upon Him who knows the secrets of all hearts, to judge them according to their intentional truthfulness. Since an oath is generically a moral act, and specifically one wherein God is called as

* P. 57.

† Conf. Billuart, vol. vii. Dis. v. art. i. Also Lay., lib. iv. tr. iii. c. i. &c.

a witness, it must essentially depend upon the real intention of the person taking the oath to make such invocation. Hence, according to the general opinion among theologians, the mere profession of taking an oath carries with it no obligation, by virtue of the oath as such *ex vi juramenti in foro interno*; but it may bind in *foro externo*, and the person so swearing may be forced to make good his words in order to prevent the scandal which the apparent breaking of an oath would cause. To take an oath lawfully three conditions are indispensable. The first is truth, and by truth here is meant formal* rather than material truth, nor must we swear to anything we do not deem at least morally certain, for it befits not the reverence we owe to God, to call Him to witness that which is doubtful, or which has not at the least a great probability. In a court of law we ought not to swear to that which has not come under our own experience and observation.

The second condition is judgment, which requires that an oath be not taken without discretion, prudence, consideration, and reverence; nor without necessity, or a weighty occasion. Defect in this latter generally does not amount to mortal sin. This, however, depends upon the degree of negligence in the person taking the oath. Certainly they are to be considered in a state of mortal sin who continue in a habit of swearing without adverting to the truth or falsehood of the matter to which they swear. The third condition is justice, which requires that the matter of the oath be lawful and honourable. It is certain that it is mortal sin † to call God to witness any highly sinful act, as for instance, should a person swear that he would kill his neighbour, or do him a grievous injury, he would, without doubt, be guilty of mortal sin; but it is a question whether it is also a mortal sin to swear to anything venially sinful, anything useless or frivolous. Bonacina and Lessius think not. St. Liguori, ‡ with Elbel, however says, that even that is mortal sin; for, to use the words of

* *Nec excusatur vel qui jurat verum si is putabat esse falsum, vel qui jurat pro certo de quo ipse dubitat etsi a parte rei verum sit. Non perjuravit qui juravit aliquid seipsa falsum quod ipse bona fide, et cum ratione putavit esse verum.* St. Lig. lib. iii. tr. ii. 147-9.

† St. Lig. 146.

‡ 146, 5.

the saint, "it is no slight, but grievous breach of reverence due to God, to call Him to witness an act, however slightly sinful."

How far does a promissory oath bind? That it binds under pain of mortal sin with respect to the future, if the matter be of importance, is admitted by all, as also to take an oath without the intention to fulfil the same, even in the least matter; but it is a point very much controverted, whether a person who has taken an oath to perform some trivial matter, is bound to fulfil his promise *under pain of mortal sin*. In a promissory oath there are two things which God may be conceived as called to witness. 1. The present intention on the part of the promiser to fulfil his oath. 2. The actual fulfilment so far as the swearer is concerned. Those who hold that a person is bound, under pain of mortal sin, to perform any matter he has sworn to, however trivial, say: 1st, it is allowed by all, that to call God to witness that which is false, even in the slightest matter, is mortal sin: now, in a promissory oath we call God to witness that, as far as we are concerned, a certain matter shall be done; if, then, we fail in the performance of it, what do we but make God witness to that which is false? This opinion is declared by St. Alphonsus to be very probable, and has the support of Cajet, Collet, Lessius, Bonacina, &c. Other theologians, however, as Antoninus, Sylvestri, Suarez, Soto, Sylvius, Navarrus, Azor, Laymann, deny the assumption that God is called to witness the actual performance of the promise, but rather the intention of the promiser to put himself under an obligation with respect to the future; just as witnesses in a contract are not called upon to testify to its actual fulfilment, but to the fact of an obligation being entered upon; so that, should the contract not be kept, the witnesses will not be thought to have been called upon to testify falsehood. The question is ably discussed by Billuart,* who inclines to this latter opinion. St. Alphonsus† says it is "non minus probabilis enim forte probabilior." The reader must not, however, suppose that no fresh obligation is incurred in consequence of the oath: there is, besides the obligation of good faith or justice arising out of the nature of the pro-

* Dis. v. a. vi.

† 173.

mise, the additional one of religious reverence due to God, by the invocation of whose presence the promise, already binding in itself, is further confirmed and strengthened. On the other hand, it must be remembered that an oath does not change the nature of the act it is concerned with, but fixes it as it is, with all its conditions expressed or implied, so that the obligation of an oath is to be interpreted by the obligation of the promise, and not vice versâ. In reference to feigned oaths, i. e., oaths taken without an intention of swearing, as we have already remarked, they cannot be taken without sin, and although *viewed in the abstract*, the sin is declared to be venial, yet, as Gury says, it is often mortal *in practice* on account of the mischievous results therefrom accruing either to the individual or the state. It is also a mortal sin to swear without intention in making a contract, or before a judge. Moreover, a person would sin mortally if he withheld his intention in order to escape the obligation of fulfilling the oath. Mark this latter limitation, for it seems to us most important. St. Alphonsus's words are: "Si quis jurat *sine animo jurandi peccat* quidem ut ex prop. 25. damn. ab Innoc. XI. quæ dicebat. *Cum causa licitum est jurare sine animo jurandi, sive res sit levis, sive sit gravis. Ratio, quia tunc illudit divino testimonio. An autem hic peccet graviter.*" *Resp. Affirmative si juret sine animo implendi promissionem; si vero cum animo implendi, peccat tantum venialiter, ut communissime dicunt Sanch. dec. lib. iii. c. vi. n. 10. Ronc. de Juram. c. iv. q. 1. r. 3. Tamb. de Jurament, lib. iii. c. iii. § 2. num. 4. Elbel de Jur. num. 129. Mazzot. cod. tit. c. 3. qu. 3. Recte vero excipiunt si juramentum fiat in contractibus, vel coram judice; quia tunc licet non sit perjurium, est tamen gravis deceptio contra justitiam, lib. iii. tract. iii. c. ii. dub. v.*

If a man swears without intention to fulfil his promise he is guilty of perjury and mortal sin, for he calls God to witness that he has an intention which he has not. We would say something upon our opponent's apostrophe beginning "Poor Regulus," p. 58, but we will do him the justice to suppose that by this time he wishes he had not written it.

"We have already seen," says the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*, "that there is nothing wrong in swearing with equivocation whenever we may use equivo-

cation without swearing." This proposition is scarcely accurate, for, according to St. Alphonsus, a greater reason is required for equivocating with an oath, than without it. Billuart also, after saying that it is not perjury, nor any way unlawful, upon a grave emergency to add an oath to equivocal statements, under the conditions and circumstances he had prescribed, remarks, "require ibi : cum hac differentia, quod propter reverentiam Divini nominis, major adhuc causa requiratur ad jurandum quam ad simpliciter asserendum seu negandum."—Vol. viii. dis. ix. art. iii. One of the conditions of taking an oath at all we have seen to be the union of discretion, prudence, consideration, and reverence, with either necessity or a weighty occasion. St. Lig. 144, lib. iii. Tract. ii. The question, then, is, whether, upon a weighty occasion, we may reverently and discreetly call upon God to testify to the truth of what we say, (under supposition, of course, that what we say is really true,) in order to conceal that which we have a perfect right to conceal.

It seems to us that the objections against swearing with equivocation, may be reduced pretty much to the following propositions.

1. To swear with equivocation necessarily deceives, for the oath takes away the equivocal nature of the statement, and causes our neighbour to think that we have spoken out our mind when we have not done so.

2. To swear with equivocation is a perversion of an oath from the end for which it was instituted, for the chief use of an oath is to the end of strife and controversy, and to give us as certain security in uncertain matters as human nature can afford, it being "*expediendarum litum maximum remedium.*" But that certainty which we seek in an oath is lost in equivocation, for what certainty can there be in an answer whose meaning is uncertainty, nor are controversies ended but exaggerated?

To which we reply, that the first objection assumes that the truth which an oath regards is always the object-matter of the affirmative precept relating to moral truthfulness; this ought to be proved, not taken for granted. We, on the other hand, maintain that an oath may be used so far as truth is concerned, whenever the obligations of moral truthfulness are complied with; if this latter require us to speak out our mind, then certainly we ought not to swear to less than a clear expression of the same; and when the

interrogator *has right on his side* he may justly complain that we are the cause of his being deceived if we fail to do so. But if we are *only* bound by the negative precept, and have great and urgent necessity for so doing, why should we not reverently and discreetly call God to witness that we have fulfilled that precept?

There is nothing in the nature of an oath which can possibly *add to* the duties we owe our neighbour in regard to the medium of mutual understanding; the scope of an oath is to add force and stability to the existing precepts with respect to moral truth, which do not of themselves bind under sufficiently heavy penalties to secure us against their violation in many cases. The precepts of themselves are suppose to provide for all the exigencies of moral truth, and would suffice if men kept to them. Hence our Saviour said, "Let your speech be yea, yea, and nay, nay, and more than this is of evil;" but because men are evil they don't keep to them, and therefore an oath is introduced to enforce their observance.

No doubt, as the second objection says, an oath is ordained to be the end of controversy, what we deny, and what Bishop Sanderson assumes is, that the point of the controversy is always the object-matter of the affirmative precept. This we have shown not to be the case, therefore we cannot be accused of abusing an oath if we use it to confirm the object-matter of the negative precept, which alone *ex hypothes* is the proper question at issue. From an equivocal statement, confirmed by an oath, we cannot be sure that we know the person's mind if we have no right to such knowledge, but we may be sure that every just claim we could have upon our friend by the virtue of moral truthfulness has been fully satisfied. The case we have already quoted, which Jeremy Taylor allows to be one wherein equivocation is justifiable, and the reader shall decide whether the addition of an oath renders it unjustifiable.

"Titius, the father of Caius, hid his father in a tub, and to the cut-throats that inquired for him to bloody purposes, he answered, *Patrem in doliolo latere*. Now that did not only signify a little tub, but on a hill near Rome, where the villains did suspect him to be, and so were diverted." But we will suppose them to have doubted the fact, and further to have required with threats, (or in order that the case may exemplify the legitimacy in certain cases of

swearing with equivocation without being asked,) let us suppose Caius to perceive that the villains did suspect him to be telling a lie, and in order to remove so unfair a suspicion he offered to swear, *patrem in doliolo latere*; could we say his answer, by equivocation, was true and just, and might lawfully be used on such an occasion, and not allow its confirmation by oath on the ground that it would become thereby a necessarily deceitful sign? Certainly the controversy might have ended in a very aggravating way for the father of Titius if his son had been of this opinion.

The article we have at length concluded our review of, may be considered either in relation to its author or in relation to its appearance in the *Christian Remembrancer*. In the former case it indicates a peculiar state of mind on the part of the individual, in the latter a peculiar state of being at which the High Anglican party remains. As to the author, we wish, especially at this season, to part with him on the best possible terms, and if he will take our word for it, we will say that we have no doubt he was perfectly sincere, and meant to do well in writing his article; at the same time we cannot but think, (of course it may be only the effect of our warped conscience,) that when a person has brought a most disparaging charge against his neighbour, and that charge is distinctly denied, and, moreover, when plain evidence is adduced telling the other way, then we say that person is bound either to prove his statements, or retract them. This is our deliberate opinion, and we should be glad to hear, in the next "Theory" which he brings out; (we are late for "The Theory on Theft;" let us say the "Theory on Calumny;")—when our opponent brings out "St. Alphonso's Theory on Calumny," he will oblige us much by an appendix, stating his views upon this point. Again, if he wishes for reasons*

* In reference to the subject of reasons which have *really* induced persons to join the Catholic Church, the reader of course knows, as well as we do, that Anglicans never even attempt to answer *them*. Should they happen to proceed from any one of sufficient importance to force attention to the fact, then our friends set to work to criticise the individual character of *the writer*; while what *he has written* is simply ignored; his intellectual and moral qualities are subjected to a severe analysis, until the finger is laid upon precisely the disease in each which has produced the alarming results; a

which had "such weight in inducing a certain class of minds to pass from the communion of the Church of England to that of Rome"—as a sort of peg whereon to hang his articles—we can recommend to his notice something much more substantial than a Donatist *vision of the late Mr. Pugin*, which may prevent in future his troubling the rest of that much lamented man.

We could suggest, for instance, that he should extend his reading of St. Augustine beyond the treatise *Contra Mendacium*. He will find that "the philosophic mind of the Saint" was full of dreams "about unity" and "what the Church must be." Yes, and not without very good reason; for this man had fallen asleep over prophet and apostle, and could not get out of his head the conviction that the promises of God were not equivocal, and that our Lord used no mental restriction when he said, "I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."

As to the article in relation to its appearance in the *Christian Remembrancer*, it shows that the Anglican party is in precisely the same inconsistent unprincipled condition they were in, when some years back, Dr. Newman* addressed them as follows:—"Now you are content to be negative and fragmentary in doctrine; you aim at nothing higher than smart articles in newspapers and magazines, at clever hits, spirited attacks, raillery, satire, skirmish-

disease, the symptoms of which, it may be, the reader is informed the keen vision of the reviewer could detect, even while the victim was flourishing in apparently full Anglican health. It is suggested that "he has always been too much given to systematising," (which means, of course, that the writer has been absurd enough to suppose that God Almighty would be consistent enough to do in the supernatural what he has done in the natural order, and *adapt means to ends*,) "that he has got into his head ideal views of unity," (which, we find, turns out to mean that the writer has a definite view of the Apostles' Creed.) "However, the reviewer does not wish to be hard upon the writer," so he and *his book* are dismissed in a patronising, good-natured sort of way, insomuch that one feels inclined to believe that, after all, perhaps, he has read *The Sermon on the Mount*; and if he has judged his neighbour, at least he has been merciful. Such conduct, viewed controversially, we consider so despicable and mean, that we will not trust ourselves to say more.

* Lectures on Anglican Difficulties. Lect. vii. p. 189.

ing on parts of your own selecting, fastening on weak points, or what you think so, in Dissenters or Catholics; inventing ingenious retorts, evading dangerous questions; parading this or that isolated doctrine as essential; and praising this or that Catholic practice, or Catholic saint, to make up for abuse; and taking all along a high, eclectic, patronizing, indifferent tone; this has been for some time past your line, and it will not suffice; it excites no respect, it creates no confidence, it inspires no hope."

No doubt this article has given both scandal and pain to many readers who have wished to look with kindly feelings upon the Catholic Church, and whose sympathies are little in harmony with its general tone. We have, however, no fear that its effect upon such persons will be at all permanent,—people in earnest are never detained by mere negative arguments, even of a far more powerful description. We fear, alas, there are some who have gladly welcomed it as a powerful support for their own position. They know well that their whole strength lies in blackening the Catholic Church. They feel that if she is not so bad that communion with her is impossible, their own state of schism is inexcusable; how can they, then, but receive with joy what they in their haste consider such irrefragable proofs of moral depravity? There are the quotations before them, anything like justification of which they think impossible; they never, therefore, even look for an answer. The whole question between Rome and England is for ever with them put into a nutshell. When asked why they are not Catholics, they first say they are, and in proof thereof demand in turn, "Whether you have read the article in the *Christian Remembrancer* upon *St. Alphonsus*."

What can we do with such persons but, in revenge, commend them to the prayers of that saint whose name they so much dislike, together with all those who, however well intentioned, yet not the less certainly "speak evil of the things they know not."

ART. IV.—*History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V.* By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's.—Vols. I.-III., 8vo. London: Murray, 1854.

THE "History of Latin Christianity" professes to be a continuation of the author's earlier "History of Christianity to the extinction of Paganism in the Roman Empire."

The title of the present work, however, will suggest that it is not a mere continuation of its predecessor, but that its design and arrangement are the result of a specific and distinct theory on the part of the author. The present publication is intended to present "Latin Christianity" as one individual subject; and, following it in its course as a thing apart from the general current of the history of the Church, to preserve its historic unity unbroken, by a distinct and systematic detail of its rise, its progress, its development, and, in a word, its various alternations of fortune.

It might appear, at first sight, that this breaking up of the general subject of Christian history, was but one of those peculiarities (it might seem invidious to call them affectations) in which modern, and especially German, scholarship delights,—the habit of systematizing every subject to which it applies itself. Those who are acquainted, even through the medium of translations, with any of those "Hand-books" in theology, philosophy, history, philology, natural science, and art, which have multiplied to an amount positively bewildering in modern German literature, will easily understand the process by which the history of the Christian Church comes to be divided into the separate heads of "Greek Christianity," "Latin Christianity," and "Teutonic Christianity." The designation, in this point of view, is nothing more than an application to the study of Church history of the same principle which distributes the history of philosophy according to its various systems and schools, or separates the history of literature into countries and periods.

Were we to consider it solely in this light, Dean Milman's plan would have but little of novelty beyond its

name. There is hardly a modern church historian, from Baronius to Rohrbacher, on the Catholic side, and from the Magdeburg Centuriators to Gieseler, on the Protestant, who has not, in substance, if not in form, adopted the very same arrangement. Indeed, it is almost a necessary result of the divisions of modern Christendom, that the character and constitution of the Church from the earliest times should be studied exclusively with partizan eyes; and that its fortunes should be seen solely through a sectarian medium, and that its history should be written in a polemical rather than a historical tone. And hence from the very earliest period, every event is considered, at either side, chiefly, if not entirely, in relation to some of the great controversies which are agitated between them. Among these controversies, there is none, of course, so vital, none so universal in its bearing upon the history of the Church, as that of the Papal claims; and as the relation which for many centuries has subsisted between the Latin and the Greek Church, is mainly affected by this all-important controversy, it has been the unvarying habit of the Church historians of both parties to trace back to the very earliest times, the history of each of these Churches, considered as distinct, if not as actually antagonistic, branches of Christianity.

And hence there is no distinction more familiar to the student of Church history from its very earliest periods, than that of the Latin and the Greek Churches. It is carried back, indeed, to times when, as a matter of fact, the distinction was utterly unknown; when the Latin Church had not even a name; when what afterwards became the Greek Church had no corporate, and hardly even an organized individual existence; when the bishop of Byzantium was an unpretending suffragan of the metropolis of Heraclea, and the future "Ecumenical Patriarch" was content to claim the obedience of a few fishermen of the Bosphorus. Every dealing of Rome with the East is watched with jealous scrutiny, even in periods when the distinctions of East and West were merged in the common struggle of both for existence. The terms of St. Clement's letter to the Church of Corinth—the tenor of Aurelian's decree, referring the case of Paul of Samosata to "bishops of Italy and Rome"—the accusation laid against Dionysius of Alexandria, before his namesake of Rome;—these, and all analogous incidents, however trivial,

are scrutinized as eagerly in reference to the great question of the Roman Primacy, as if the parties had already formally put forward the rival claims of East and West, and were not rather all alike trembling for their very standing-ground in the face of the common enemy.

So far, therefore, Dean Milman differs from most of those who have treated the subject before him, only in this; —that he has devoted a separate publication to a branch of the history which they have elaborated separately, but yet as part of one general work. It would not be difficult, for example, by stringing together all the separate “heads” in the *Magdeburg Centuries*, or the various paragraphs in *Baronius's Annals*, or the sections in the several books of *Tillemont* or *Fleury*, or the dissertations of *Natalis Alexander*, or the colloquies of *Graveson's History*, or the chapters in those of *Mosheim*, or *Schröck*, or *Neander*, or *Döllinger*, which are devoted by each of these authors to the Western Church in contradistinction to that of the East, to extract from each a complete and connected “*History of Latin Christianity*” as far as the division of East and West. And we need hardly add that, from this period downwards, the East is all but permitted to disappear, and the history, in all, becomes almost exclusively a “*History of Latin Christianity*,” rather than a general *History of the Church*.

Nevertheless, we cannot help recognizing in Dean Milman's *History*, a character quite distinct from that which is inseparable from the mere distinct treatment of the subject. Perhaps, indeed, it is almost a necessary result of this distinct treatment, that the work should assume the character of an essay rather than of a simple history. It is natural that a writer who has formed to himself a certain ideal of what he calls “*Latin Christianity*,” and who has strongly impressed upon his imagination the supposed characteristics of this ideal, should, in the progress of his labours, view each separate event and chain of events, each character and series of characters, in a word, the whole outline of the history, and what is more important, each separate detail of it, chiefly as bearing upon his own preconceived ideal, and should look to them all only under one single relation, viz.: as either, on the one hand, tending to confirm, or, on the other, tending to disprove, the view which he has proposed to illustrate.

And so it unquestionably has been in the case of the

author of the "History of Latin Christianity." It is plain from the whole tenor of his work—from his introduction to the last page of his third volume, that, throughout all its phases, he has a theory to illustrate; and that, with all the appearance of philosophic calmness which his essay wears, he is an earnest (although certainly not intemperate) partisan.

We cannot help fancying, too, (although some may regard the remark as hypercritical) that there is a theory in the very form which the title of the new work has assumed. Dean Milman's former work was called a "History of Christianity in the Roman Empire." The natural uniformity of plan would have suggested for the continuation some such title as "A History of Christianity in the Western Empire," or "in the Latin Church." And the adoption of the form which has been selected, seems to be intended for the purpose of presenting to the student the idea of "Latin Christianity" as a *distinct and separate system*—a thing, if not essentially different from the common Christianity of the earlier period, yet, at least, apart from it, governed by different laws, animated by other impulses, actuated by other moral and religious instincts, in a word, as an entirely distinct moral conception.

We cannot help fancying, too, that the selection of this peculiar form of designation, however differently it may have been intended, must be taken as a condescension to that rationalizing school which regards christian faith, not as a direct gift from on high, but as mainly the fruit of man's own intellect;—as one of the many modifications of human thought—a glorious and ennobling one, it is true, but yet the same in its origin, the same in its kind, and governed by the same laws as all the rest. It is the fashion of this school to ascribe to the influence of local or national opinions and institutions a large share in determining, or in modifying the character of the faith as received in each race or nation.

"Latin Christianity," according to this view, will be understood to mean; Christianity, as it was modified and developed under the influence of Latin traditions, Latin prejudices, and Latin peculiarities of race and country: in a word, Christianity such as it commended itself to the Latin mind. For it is plain that the very form of expression conveys more than the simple idea of locality. It attributes to the Latin element a vital share in the formation

or modification of the Christian system to which its name is given. Nor can we doubt that this will really be the impression produced on every philosophical mind by the use of this appellation. By the same law, in accordance with which the naturalists ascribe to the influence of Indian, and Egyptian, and Persian principles, purified and attempered by the action of the Alexandrian philosophy, the origin and development of almost the whole dogmatic scheme of Christianity;—by the same law, allowing for the more practical character of “Latin Christianity,” the mind is insensibly led to trace to the genius and character of the Latin Nations, the peculiarities which are supposed to present themselves in its practical system.

Without stopping, however, to criticize too exactly, what at the least, must be held to be a very questionable expression, we must proceed to give some account of the nature and plan of Dean Milman's work. It will be understood from what we have already said, that in the view now put forward by the author, Christianity, such as it existed throughout the period comprehended in his earlier work, although it had its origin among a Syrian people, and although its first disseminators were of Eastern blood, was nevertheless, “almost from the first, a Greek Religion.” Its sacred books were written in Greek; its most rapid conquests were in the Greek colonies; its most flourishing churches were in the Greek cities, or cities of Greek original. Even its Jewish converts, especially those of the Dispersion, had become Greek in language, in ideas, in social habits, and in notions of polity. And although he is obliged to admit that oriental influences, both Jewish and Gentile, found their way into its system, yet Dean Milman maintains that they flowed for the most part through Greek channels, and were, of course, materially modified in the transmission. Among the various external influences which were brought to bear on primitive Christianity, there was no one, he asserts, half so powerful, or half so comprehensive in its agency, as that of the Greek philosophy, and especially of the philosophy which had its seat in the schools of Alexandria. And this “partially orientalized” teaching of Alexandria, he holds, was the main source of the orientalism which found its way into Christianity.

Even in the West, according to the author's view—in

Rome itself, and in most of the Western Churches, throughout this earlier period, the Greek element is found to maintain its predominance. Most of these Churches were what he calls "Greek religious colonies." "Their language," he tells us, "was Greek, their organisation Greek, their writers Greek, their Scriptures Greek; and many vestiges and traditions show that their ritual and their Liturgy were Greek. Through Greek the communication of the churches of Rome and of the West was constantly kept up with the East; and through Greek every heresiarch, or his disciples, having found his way to Rome, propagated, with more or less success, his peculiar doctrines. Greek was the commercial language throughout the empire; by which the Jews, before the destruction of their city, already so widely disseminated through the world, and altogether engaged in commerce, carried on their affairs. The Greek Old Testament was read in the synagogues of the foreign Jews. The churches, formed sometimes on the foundation, to a certain extent on the model, of the synagogues, would adhere for some time, no doubt, to their language. The Gospels and the Apostolic writings, so soon as they became part of the public worship, would be read, as the Septuagint was, in their original tongue. All the Christian extant writings which appeared in Rome and in the West are Greek, or were originally Greek, the Epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies; the works of Justin Maytyr, down to Caius and Hippolytus the author of the Refutation of All Heresies. The Octavius of Minucius Felix, and the Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity, are the earliest known works of Latin Christian literature which came from Rome. So was it too in Gaul: there the first Christians were settled, chiefly in the Greek cities, which owned Marseilles as their parent, and which retained the use of Greek as their vernacular tongue. Irenæus wrote in Greek; the account of the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne is in Greek. Vestiges of the old Greek ritual long survived not only in Rome, but also in some of the Gallic churches. The Kyrie eleison still lingers in the Latin service."

Brilliant and striking as is this picture of the condition of the early Church of Rome, we cannot help thinking that Dean Milman has very much overdrawn it, and still more overstated the consequences to be deduced from it.

There can be no doubt that among the early Christian Community of Rome, there was a large admixture of foreigners, and that of these a considerable proportion were either Greeks, or natives of the Greek colonies of Asia. It is equally certain, too, that in the scanty remains of the Christian literature of Rome in the first century and a half which have been preserved, the Latin language can hardly be said to be represented. Most of the early Roman bishops bore Greek names. But not one of these facts, not, indeed, the aggregate of them all, appears to us to warrant the large inference which the author seeks to draw from them. If the list of bishops contains a large admixture of Greek names, there is also a not-inconsiderable proportion of undoubtedly Latin origin. The second on the list after St. Peter, Clemens, is an unmistakable Roman: so are Pius and Victor; Linus, though it is certainly a Greek appellation, was also in use among the Latins. Four of the earliest writers (although two of them wrote in Greek) Clement, Caius, Modestus, and Minucius Felix, are certainly Latin. So is Novatian, a few years later. The Martyrologies, too, a much less questionable source from which to estimate the relative proportions of races in the whole community, supply a far larger average of native names. Those of Pudens, Pudentiana, Flavius Clemens, and Flavia Domitilla, will occur to every reader.

Nor does it by any means follow that every name of a Greek form really designated a born Greek. Dean Milman could not possibly have forgotten that it was an ordinary practice with the Jews of the Dispersion to *Grecise* their Hebrew or Syriac names, and that this practice was followed especially on occasion of their conversion to Christianity. The same custom, we know, was followed by classical writers in reference to the names of other foreign nations, as those of the Persians and Egyptians, even where there is no question of converts to Christianity. It is highly probable, therefore, that many of the individuals whose names are thus palpably Greek, were in reality immigrants from every quarter of the East. Who, for example, would ever suppose that the heretic Menander was a Samaritan? The name is as genuine Greek as though its bearer had grown up beneath the shade of the Academy.

And that, in point of fact, the Hebrew, and not the

Greek, element predominated in the primitive Christian community of Rome, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which is directed exclusively against Jewish prejudices, will perhaps be the most satisfactory evidence. Let any one compare this epistle with any of those addressed to the native Greek churches, for instance, the First to the Corinthians, and he will easily understand how different in origin, in traditions, in feelings, in views, must have been the communities, even though they may have been accidentally united through the medium of a common language.

Misled by the same accidental appearance, Dean Milman seems to us to lay an equally undue stress on the circumstance of the preponderance of Greek among the literary remains of the Roman Church of the first two centuries. We need hardly say that the Roman remains of this period are too scanty to be safely made the foundation of any theory. The Dean has only enumerated the Epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, Justin Martyr, the Roman priest Caius, and Hipolytus. Now there are some among these cases which we cannot suppose him to have deliberately considered when he put them forward in this argument. He adduces the opinion of Neander and Gieseler, to prove the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions are of Roman origin. Now they by no means hold that the author of these works was a Roman, but merely that he was a resident at Rome; while others hold it much more probable that he was an Alexandrian Jew. But whatever may be said of the Clementines, surely it is most uncritical on the Dean's part to regard as Roman the Apology of Justin Martyr, (born of Greek parents at Sichem, in Samaria,) which has no possible connection with Rome beyond the accident of its having been written during the author's sojourn in that city.

For most of the other works referred to, there is a sufficient explanation of the use of the Greek language in the circumstances and the object for which they were composed. Was it to be expected, for example, that St. Clement, in addressing the exclusively Greek population of Corinth, and in a letter which was to be read in their churches, would have been written in Latin?*

* See Mosheim *De turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia*. § 34. See also Möhler's *Patrologie*, p. 70, and following.

Dr. Milman dwells (p. 31, note) on the fact, that as late as the

follow that, in addressing a Roman or Italian community, he would have used the same language?

The same observation applies to Caius. The only remains of his pen of which we have any certain record, are his Disputes with Cerinthus and the Millenarians, and his conference (not improbably an oral one,) with Proculus the Montanist. Now in these works he would naturally use a language with which his adversaries were familiar.* But it is by no means clear that this was the language in which he would ordinarily write; nor can it be affirmed with certainty that he may not have written other works in Latin of which no record is preserved. We know, for instance, from St. Jerome,† that both Victor and Apollonius wrote in Latin. Now, of the writings of the former no trace whatever has come down to us; and of the latter, the only remains now known were written in Greek; and, if it were not for this chance observation of St. Jerome, we should conclude of him, on the very same grounds on which it is concluded regarding Caius, that he wrote exclusively in the Greek language.

We should apologise to the reader, perhaps, for dwelling thus long on a point seemingly so trivial. It will be found, however, that in Dean Milman's mind, it involves much more than a mere question of curious criticism. His argument in evidence of the Greek origin of the Christianity of primitive Rome, and of the Greek character of the Roman Church during the first centuries, has a very important bearing upon the whole theory of his history. His object is to establish, through this medium, a substantial distinction between the Christian system of Rome under its earliest bishops, (men, he maintains, of foreign origin, and imbued with the common principles of their fellow Christians in the East,) and the system which begins to manifest itself under the purely Roman influences of the third century; the system which gradually developed

middle of the third century, after the Novatian Schism, Pope Cornelius wrote in Greek to *Fabian of Antioch*. Surely no inference as to the language prevalent in Rome can be fairly deduced from such facts as these. Would Queen Victoria address the Emperor of Austria, or the Sultan of Turkey, in English?

* This would be equally true of the work against Artemon, if (as seems now established) Caius be the author of it.

† De Viris Illust. cap. liii.

itself more and more in the antagonism which the removal of the seat of Empire to Constantinople, fostered, if it did not create; the system, in fine, which reached its culminating point in the thorough-going Roman Popes of a later day, Julius, Innocent, Leo, and Gregory.

It is upon the illustration of this point, in truth, that his whole history turns.

The argument in support of it which he seeks to found upon the fact that all the early literature of Christian Rome was Greek, is at first sight more plausible than anything which could be drawn from the mere accident of the prevalence of the Greek language. But after all it is only plausible. If it really appeared that all the religious and polemical activity lay in that section of the community which was Greek, it would not be unfair to infer with him that the general system of the Church would most probably have taken the impress of this religious tendency. But we fancy it will be found, on examination, that if Greek works preponderate over Latin in the Christian literature of Rome at this period, it is not because the *religious* activity of the Greeks was greater than that of the Romans, but because their *general intellectual* activity was greater. If we required any evidence of this, we find it in Dean Milman's own admission, that "from the time of the great peace which followed the victories of Trajan, *Greek, in letters, appears to have assumed a complete ascendancy.*" There is hardly a Latin writer worth naming after Tacitus, Pliny, and Quintilian; whereas the Greek literature of the same time boasts Dion, Plutarch, Lucian, Longinus, Pausanias, Arrian, and many others. Now should not the same rule hold for sacred, as for profane literature? Can we be surprised to find that the Greek element of the Christian community at Rome, supplied a larger proportion of writers than the Latin, *when we find precisely the same disposition in the pagan community?* And when it is remembered that, as we have seen, more than one of those who are claimed by Dean Milman, as Greek writers,—and these not the least eminent of the number—were Greeks only in language, and that they adopted the Greek language either for the convenience of those whom they addressed, or because of its peculiar fitness to express the nice shades of meaning, and the fine and subtle distinctions incidental to the mysterious subjects on which

they wrote;—when this additional circumstance is taken into consideration, it will be felt how very inconclusive and unsatisfactory must be the attempt to argue as to the character or constitution of the Christian community of early Rome, from circumstances so accidental, and so little affecting the “inner life” of its members.

Although we have already dwelt too long on what can only be regarded as a preliminary, we must add that whatever may be the interest of speculations like these considered as matter of historical enquiry, they are entirely without value for the object which Dean Milman proposes to himself. Even if it were proved beyond the possibility of question that the early Christian community of Rome was Greek in race, Greek in language, and Greek in literature, all this would be insufficient to establish the real point on which his theory turns;—namely, that any notable or substantial change came over that Church from the time, (if such a time ever occurred,) when the Latin element rose into the ascendant; or, (to put it into a more tangible form,) to show that whereas the Roman Church of the two first centuries had been identified in spirit, and in constitution with the Greek Church, it began to put on another, and a substantially different, character (which the Dean designates in Latin) from the third century downwards.

Analogies of name, of language, or of literature, are of comparatively little value in such an inquiry. The identity of doctrine being supposed, the question must really turn on analogies of organization, of worship, of constitution; and in all these, there are sufficient indications, from the earliest time, of marked peculiarities in the Roman church by which she is clearly distinguished from the early Greek communities. We need hardly allude to the organization of the clergy at Rome. It included, from the very earliest times, several classes entirely unknown to the Greeks. The well-known letter of Cornelius to Fabian of Antioch, in distinguishing the various orders of the Roman clergy, specifies “forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, and *forty-two acolythists, exorcists, readers, and janitors.*” This he speaks of, as the well-known, and therefore the long-established, constitution of the Church of Rome. Now it is notorious not only that the orders of acolythists, exorcists, and janitors, had no counterpart in the Greek system of those times, but that they remain without counterpart to the present

day. The order of sub-deacon, too, is clearly earlier at Rome than in the east.

The same peculiarity is apparent in the Liturgy of Rome. It can hardly be necessary to say that the accidental retention of the "Kyrie Eleison," on which the Dean lays such stress, is entirely beyond the question. It no more proves the Greek origin of the Roman Liturgy, than the use of the "Alleluia" will prove it to have been Hebrew. But no one knows better than Dean Milman that the comparison of all the really essential parts of the Roman Liturgy made by every writer, Catholic or Protestant, on the subject of Liturgies, with either the Greek or the Alexandrian, proves it, beyond all possibility of question, to have had an original different from both.

We do not dwell on the variety of ceremonial, or on the difference of practice as regards fasts; because, although the existence of these differences might be in itself an argument of the different original of the two churches, yet their history and that of their origin is so obscure and uncertain, that it is difficult to fix a time at which the practice of either church can be said to be clearly defined.

It is more difficult, from the meagreness and fragmentary character of the records of the early Roman Church—we should rather say the utter absence of any such records—to show by direct evidence that, even at what Dean Milman calls the Greek period of its history, the Roman Church actually recognized in its bishop that monarchical character which the Dean regards as the great and fundamental characteristic of its Latin development. But meagre as these records are, they furnish a series of coincident presumptions so remarkable, that it is impossible to look upon them as fortuitous. At the close of the first century we find Pope Clement interposing in the local government of the church of Corinth. We learn that this interference is the result of an appeal from the contending parties. About the same period we find the Bishop of Rome recognized* in the most general terms, as the organ of communication with foreign churches. Rome itself is addressed by the bishop of one of the greatest eastern

* In the "Shepherd" of Hermas, it is directed that a letter be written to Clement, which he is to send to the *foreign cities*—"Mittet autem Clemens ad exteras civitates: illi enim permissum est." Galland. Bib. Pat. I. p. 26. It belonged to his office.

sees, Ignatius of Antioch, as the *προκαθημένη της αγάπης*—the “president of charity.” The bishop of one of the earliest western sees—a see of Greek origin, too—Irenæus of Lyons, declares of Rome, that “it is necessary that all Churches should agree with her.” Heretics from every portion of the Church, like Valentinus, Noetius, and Praxeas, flock to Rome as the great centre of religious teaching. Outcasts from the most remote Churches, like Marcion of Pontus, repair to Rome, to seek, as from a superior authority, a reversal of the local excommunication. Long before the close of the roll of the Dean’s favourite Greco-Roman bishops, we meet in the Pontificate of Victor, pretensions and acts of universal primacy scarcely less extreme than those of the mediæval papacy. We find him take the initiative in a controversy which regarded the general discipline of the Church, command the summoning of councils in the most remote provinces, and threaten to cut off the recusants from Church communion; and, although more than one bishop remonstrates against the expediency of such a proceeding, yet not one expresses a doubt as to the validity of the authority on which the threat was founded.

Dr. Milman may attempt to save his Greco-Roman theory, by alleging that Victor was a Roman, and so far departed from the traditions of the Greek race; but what will he say to the still more extreme proceeding of the unmistakable Greek, Stephen, whom, in common with all the writers of his school, he regards as the very type and ideal of papal aggression in its embryo? And if, in Stephen’s case, he seek to shelter himself behind the resistance of Cyprian and Firmilian, what will he say to those acts of primatial authority on the part of Stephen, which this very Cyprian himself invited? to his deposition of Marcian, the bishop of Arles? to his nomination of another bishop in Marcian’s stead? What will he say to the appeals to Rome while a Greek still occupied its see? of the deposed Spanish bishops, Basilides of Astorga, and Martial of Merida? of that of the African bishop, Privatus of Lambesa? Still more, what will he say of the charge laid before Dionysius of Rome (still of the same Greek race) against the bishop of the great see of Alexandria, Dionysius?

If these, and similar cases which are recorded, not to speak of the unrecorded cases which we are fairly war-

ranted in presuming, do not establish the monarchical character of the Church of Rome to have existed in what Dean Milman calls the period of its Greek Christianity, we do not understand the force of facts in history.

If we have dwelt thus long upon the seemingly unimportant question of the appropriateness of the author's title, we can say with truth that we have not done so in a captious spirit. If, as we said at the outset, it had been a mere question as to the division of the subject, or the distribution of the topics, of the history, we should not have thought it necessary to offer a single observation. But the reader will have already seen that the assumed title involves much more. It opens up a series of practical and dogmatical, as well as historical, questions of the very last importance. In a polemical sense, indeed, it expresses, in a single phrase, the substance of the theory which the whole history is intended to support or illustrate. To borrow an expression which our recent military experience has made popular, it is the key of the author's whole position.

That we have not exaggerated its importance will be apparent from one or two passages of the Introduction, in which the author explains the plan of his work. It will be seen that, in his mind, there is a vital and essential difference between the system which he calls Greek, and that which he designates as Latin Christianity. It will be seen, too, that this difference which he assumes, involves one of the most important controversies of ancient or modern times, no less than that of the origin and the justice of the papal claim of supremacy.

We shall not trouble the reader with that portion of Dr. Milman's theory which regards the speculative or doctrinal differences of the two systems. We refer at present to his explanation of the polity or constitution of each, as he understands it in his history.

"In their polity the Grecian churches were a federation of republics, as were the settlements of the Jews. But they were founded on a religious, not on a national basis; external to, yet in their boundaries, mostly in their aggregative system, following the old commonwealths, which still continued to subsist under the supremacy of the Roman Prefect or Proconsul, and in later times the distribution of the Imperial dioceses. They were held together by common sympathies, common creeds, common sacred books, certain, as yet simple, but common rites, common usages of life, and an hierarchy everywhere, in the theory at least, of the same power and

influence. They admitted the Christians of other places by some established sign, or by recommendatory letters. They were often bound together by mutual charitable subventions. Still each was an absolutely independent community. The Roman East, including Greece, had no capital. The old kingdoms might respect the traditionary greatness of some city, which had been the abode of their kings, or which was the seat of a central provincial government: other cities, from their wealth and population, may have assumed a superior rank, Antioch in Syria, Alexandria in Egypt, Ephesus in Asia Minor. But though churches known or reputed to have been founded by Apostles might be looked on with peculiar respect, there was as yet no subordination, no supremacy; their federal union was a voluntary association. Whether the internal constitution had become more or less rapidly or completely monarchical; whether the Bishop had risen to a greater or less height above his co-Presbyters, the whole episcopal order, the representatives of each church, were on the same level. The Metropolitan and afterwards the Patriarchal dignity was of later growth. Jerusalem, which might naturally have aspired to the rank of the Christian capital, at least of the East, had been destroyed, and remained desolate for many years: it assumed only at a later period (at one time it was subject to Cæsarea) even the Patriarchal rank.”—Vol. I. p. 2.

This is, of course, the old scheme of the “federal union of Churches.” Such was the natural form into which a religious community might be expected to fall among a people whose institutions had been republican, and who were not prevented by any external influences from moulding their religious relations upon the same model with which their traditional, political, and social associations had familiarized them.

Such, then, was the polity of Greek Christianity. The natural inference is, that if the Christianity first known at Rome were Greek, such also would have been the primitive polity of the Roman Church. But we are not left to draw this inference for ourselves. Dr. Milman takes care to put it prominently forward a few pages later. He tells us that “the Roman Church was but one of the federation of Greek religious republics founded by Christianity.” (p. 30.) As such, the reader will infer, it possessed not, and was not entitled to claim, any supremacy whatever. “Though Churches known or imputed to have been founded by apostles might be looked on with similar respect, there was as yet no subordination, no supremacy.” (p. 3.) Whatever of pre-eminence Rome after-

wards acquired was all the result of human influences. No portion of it was due to its primal constitution.

Such, too, it would naturally be inferred, would Rome have remained had the Christianity of Rome remained Greek, as it was in its origin. But at some period during the first three centuries, (which the Dean wisely leaves undefined, p. 27.) the Latin element was infused, and began to affect the Christian system of the Roman Church. In order that the reader may understand the contrast, we shall also transcribe Dean Milman's theory as to the "polity" of this so-called Latin Christianity.

"The characteristic of Latin Christianity was that of the old Latin world—a firm and even obstinate adherence to legal form, whether of traditionary usage or written statute; the strong assertion of, and the severe subordination to authority. Its wildest and most eccentric fanaticism, for the most part, and for many centuries, respected external unity. It was the Roman empire, again extended over Europe by an universal code and a provincial government; by an hierarchy of religious prætors or proconsuls, and a host of inferior officers, each in strict subordination to those immediately above them, and gradually descending to the very lowest ranks of society: the whole with a certain degree of freedom of action, but a constrained and limited freedom, and with an appeal to the spiritual Cæsar in the last resort."—Vol. I. p. 8.

And in a later page, (18) he expressly says, that "Latin Christianity, from its commencement, in its character, and in all the circumstances of its development, had an irresistible tendency to monarchy."

It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental distinction between Latin Christianity and Greek Christianity, which it is the object of these volumes to trace out, is simply this: Latin Christianity is the system of the Papacy;—Greek Christianity is a federation of religious republics. Other differences, it is true, and those very important ones, Dean Milman professes to trace—on the subject of monasticism, on that of clerical celibacy, on that of asceticism, and of the whole practical character of this religious life; although, strangely enough, he has not thought it necessary to enter at all into the history of the doctrinal differences between Greek and Latin Christians. He hardly alludes to the contest about the Procession of the Holy Ghost. He overlooks altogether the disputes about the state of the just after death, about the nature of the purgatorial

expiation, and the important practical questions regarding marriage. And at all events it is evident that the alpha and omega of his history is the all-engrossing topic of the primatial pretensions of Rome.

It is with this question, indeed, as it presents itself at the end of the fourth century, that the History of Latin Christianity may be said to begin. A brief summary of the earlier annals of the Roman Church in the first four centuries is prefixed, (although this period had already been treated in the author's former work,) in order to present the whole subject in its historic unity. We owe it to the reader, as some relief from the tedium of the discussions on which we have so long detained him, to transcribe for him the brilliant and striking passage in which Dean Milman sketches the position of the Roman See at the opening of the fifth century, in its relation to all the other Churches of Christendom.

"The fifth century of Christianity has begun, and now arises a line of Roman prelates, some of them from their personal character, as well as from the circumstances of the time, admirably qualified to advance the supremacy of the See of Rome, at least over Western Christendom.

"Christianity, in its Latin form, which for centuries was to be its most powerful, enduring, prolific development, for her stability and unity of influence wanted a capital and a centre; and Rome might seem deserted by her emperors for the express purpose of allowing the spiritual monarchy to grow up without any dangerous collision against the civil government. The emperors had long withdrawn from Rome as the royal residence. Of those who bore the title, one ruled in Constantinople, and, more and more absorbed in the cares and calamities of the Eastern sovereignty, became gradually estranged from the affairs of the West. Nor was it till the time of Justinian that any attempt was made to revive his imperial pretensions to Rome. The Western Emperor lingered for a time in inglorious obscurity among the marshes of Ravenna, till at length the faint shadow of monarchy melted away, and a barbarian assumed the power and the appellation of Sovereignty of Italy. Still, of the barbarian kings, not one ventured to fix himself in the ancient capital, or to inhabit the mouldering palaces of the older Cæsars. Nor could Ravenna, Milan, or Pavia, though the seats of monarchs, obscure the greatness of Rome in general reverence: they were still provincial cities; nor could they divert the tide of commerce, of concourse, of legal, if not of administrative business, which, however more irregular and intermitting, still flowed towards Rome. The internal government of the city retained something of the old republican form which had been permitted to subsist under

the despotism of the emperors. Above the consuls or Senate, the shadows of former magistracies, the supreme authority was vested in a delegate, or representative of the Emperor, the prefect, or governor; but, with the empire, that authority became more and more powerless. The aristocracy, as we shall ere long see, were scattered abroad after the capture of the city by Alaric, and were never after reorganised into a powerful party. Some centuries elapsed before that feudal oligarchy grew up, which, at a later period, were such dangerous enemies to the Papacy, degrading it to the compulsory appointment of turbulent or immoral prelates, or by the personal insult, and even the murder, of popes. During the following period, therefore, the Bishop of Rome, respected by the barbarians, even by the fiercest pagans, none of whom were quite without awe of the high priesthood of the Roman religion, and, by that respect, commended still more strongly to the reverence of all Latin Christians; alone hallowed, as it were, and permitted to maintain his serene dignity amid scenes of violence, confusion, and bloodshed; grew rapidly up to be the most important person in the city; if not in form the supreme magistrate, dominant in influence and admitted authority, the all-venerated Head of the Church, and where the civil power thus lay prostrate, assuming, without awakening jealousy, and for the public advantage, many of its functions, and maintaining some show of order and of rule."—Vol. I. p. 81.

It is not exclusively to this accident of position, however, that Dean Milman ascribes the progress of pontifical pre-eminence in Rome. He recognizes, in a certain sense at least, the joint operation of other, and more directly religious, influences.

"It was not solely as a Christian bishop, and bishop of that city, which was still, according to the prevailing feeling, the capital of the world, but as the successor of St. Peter, of him who was now acknowledged to be the head of the apostolic body, that the Roman pontiff commanded the veneration of Rome and of Christendom. The primacy of St. Peter, and the primacy of Rome, had been long reacting upon each other in the minds of men, and took root in the general sentiment. The Church of Rome would own no founder less than the chief Apostle; and the distance between St. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, even St. Paul himself, was increased by his being acknowledged as the spiritual ancestor of the Bishop of Rome. At the commencement of the fifth century, the lineal descent of the Pope from St. Peter was an accredited tenet of Christianity. As yet his pretensions to supremacy were vague and unformed; but when authority is in the ascendant, it is the stronger for being indefinite. It is almost a certain sign that it is becoming precarious, or has been called in question, when it condescends to appeal to precedent, written statute, or regular jurisdiction.

“ Everything tended to confirm, nothing to impede or to weaken the gradual condensation of the supreme ecclesiastical power in the Supreme Bishop. The majesty of the notion of one all-powerful ruler, to which the world had been so long familiarised in the emperors, the discord and emulation among the other prelates, both of the East and West, and the manifest advantage of a supreme arbiter: the Unity of the visible Church, which was becoming—or had, indeed, become—the dominant idea of Christendom; all seemed to demand, or, at least, had a strong tendency to promote and to maintain the necessity of one Supreme Head. As the unity in Christ was too sublimely spiritual, so the supremacy of the collective episcopate, which endowed each bishop with an equal portion of apostolic dignity and of power, was a notion too speculative and metaphysical for the common mind. Councils were only occasional diets, or general conventions, not a standing representative Senate of Christendom. There was a simplicity and distinctness in the conception of one visible Head to one visible body, such as forcibly arrests and fully satisfies the less inquiring mind, which still seeks something firm and stable whereon to repose its faith. Cyprian, in whom the unity of the Church had taken its severest form, though practically he refused to submit the independence of the African churches to the dictation of Rome, did far more to advance her power by the primacy which he assigned to St. Peter, than he impaired it by his steady and disdainful repudiation of her authority, whenever it was brought to the test of submission.”—Vol. I. p. 82-84.

Another cause to which Dean Milman attributes the (as he supposes) rapid advance of Papal authority in the fourth and fifth centuries, was the comparative immunity from heresy which Rome enjoyed, at a time when the East was torn by doctrinal dissensions on all the great questions connected with the fundamental mysteries of Christianity. In her comparative tranquillity and seclusion, Rome was enabled to sit, an unimpassioned arbiter between the angry disputants, and the very prestige which arose from her own exemption from the all but universal imputation of heterodoxy to which the great Sees of the East had made themselves liable, became one of the most important elements of her claim to ascendancy.

Still, making every allowance for these and other ancillary influences, Dean Milman has no hesitation in ascribing the first, and by far the largest share, to the traditionary majesty, and indeed, to the very name of the old imperial city.

“ The great talisman of the Papal influence was the yet majestic name of Rome. The bishops gave laws to the city, which had so

long given, and still to so great an extent gave laws to the world. In the sentiment of mankind at least in the West, Rome had never been dethroned from her supremacy. There were still Roman armies, Roman laws, Roman municipalities, Roman literature, in name at least a Roman Empire. Constantinople boasted rather than disdained the appellation of New Rome. But while the Bishops of Rome retained much of the awe and reverence which adhered to the name, they stood aloof from all which desecrated and degraded it. It was the idolatrous and pagan Rome which fell before the barbarians, or rather was visited for its vices and crimes, its persecutions, and its still obstinate infidelity, by those terrible instruments of the divine vengeance. As our history will show, the discomfiture of the heathen Rhadagaisus, and the tutelary, though partial, protection which Christianity spread over the city during the capture by Alaric (to which Augustine triumphantly appealed), were not obliterated by the unawed and remorseless devastation of Genseric. The retreat of Attila, the most terrible of all the Northern conquerors, before the imposing sanctity, as it was universally believed, of Pope Leo, blended again in indissoluble alliance the sacred security of Rome with the authority of her bishop. Leo himself, as will be hereafter seen, exalts St. Peter and St. Paul into the Romulus and Remus of the new universal Roman dominion."—Vol. I. p. 86.

This is unquestionably a very brilliant and powerful summary of the remarkable combination of influences, political as well as religious, which united in support of the spiritual supremacy of Rome. And considered in this point of view, no Catholic need hesitate to accept it.

And it is at this point that the Catholic and the Protestant historian of the Papacy come directly to issue. And here Dean Milman has taken his final stand. The theory of the purely human origin of that supremacy must of course rest here. It is to these causes, and to these alone, that it traces the complete and final development of the Papal supremacy. Every notion, as well of a "divine commission," as of a "providential arrangement," it ignores altogether. All the later privileges and prerogatives, as well as more substantial powers, which grouped around this venerable centre, it traces to servile superstition on the one hand, and daring, yet profoundly politic ambition on the other, aided upon both sides by a train of circumstances so favourable as almost spontaneously to invite to the result.

To disentangle the threads of truth and falsehood in this specious theory, is the great problem of the history

of the Papacy. That the spiritual authority of Rome did receive support and even development, from purely human influences, no reasonable historian can for a moment doubt. That the political dignity of Rome reacted upon its religious pre-eminence—that the traditionary greatness of the City lent majesty to the See; that the authority of the Prince came gradually to intertwine itself with the more sacred functions of the Prelate; that these results (however the contrary might at first sight be expected,) were accelerated and secured by the transfer of the Empire to Constantinople, and still more, by the separation of East and West; that the very isolation of the Pontiff in Rome, and his removal from the dangerous rivalry of the imperial presence, had the double effect of securing his independence, and of heightening, or at least defining, his authority—all this is undoubtedly true. But it is here that the real difficulty begins. Dean Milman regards these as the *only* sources of papal supremacy. The Catholic historian looks deeper. He distinguishes between the source of the power and the means employed to establish and confirm it. Providence, he says, in all its ordinary and permanent operations in moral affairs, acts through human means and human influences. He believes it to be the same in its supernatural dealings with men. The constitution of the Church was not designed by God to be a perpetual miracle. When our Lord invested Peter with that authority of which the Catholic believes the authority of Rome to be but the perpetuation, and when Peter selected Rome as his own peculiar See, it was with the full knowledge of the moral influence of the antecedents of that great city, and assuredly, also, with a foreknowledge of the inevitable results of its after fortunes in consolidating and establishing, through human means, the authority with which he was divinely accredited. Had he invested that authority in the representative of an obscure see, it would have required a standing miracle to have insured its perpetuation. It is in their respective views of the great fact of the Roman Papacy, therefore, the Protestant and the Catholic historians come, as we have said, directly to issue. Alike recognizing as undoubted the existence and the extent of the authority with which it was invested, the one sees it as a purely human institution, human in its origin, human in its ends, human in the means by which those ends

were achieved. The other, while he admits, to the fullest extent, the human influences, in part too, even the human ends, yet looks to these but as the means—means too, providentially arranged and contrived, for the consolidation of a divinely imparted commission. Rome, with all the prestige, he owns, of the imperial name,—Rome, with its hereditary greatness,—Rome, with its world-wide associations,—Rome, with the political independence which her later isolation secured,—Rome, in a word, endowed with every auxiliary human influence, was selected as the earthly frame in which the divine authority of Peter was to be enshrined—the human arm by which his heavenly sword was to be wielded. But the authority was not the less divine, that this frame in which it was set was earthly; the sword was not less from heaven because it was entrusted to an arm of flesh.

Such are the two great antagonistic views of the Papal history. It can hardly be necessary to say that Dean Milman falls, with all the brilliancy of his eloquence, and all the resources of his learning, into the former of these views. He, of course, represents the ascendancy of Rome as of purely human origin. He puts this very view distinctly forward at a later period of the narrative, and, indeed, it pervades and gives colour to all that he has written, even of the popes of the fourth century.

“A question had arisen, which involved the Bishops of Rome, not merely as dignified arbiters on a high and profound metaphysical question of the faith, but, vital to their power and dignity, plunged them into the strife as ardent and implacable combatants. The Roman Pontiffs had already, at least from the time of Innocent I., asserted their inalienable supremacy on purely religious grounds, as successors of St. Peter. If, as in the recent act of Hilarius, they had appealed to the laws of the empire, as confirmatory of that supremacy, it was to enforce more ready and implicit obedience. But with the world at large the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome rested solely on her civil supremacy. The Pope was head of Christendom as Bishop of the first city in the world. Already Constantinople had put forth claims to co-equal ecclesiastical, as being now of co-equal temporal dignity. This claim had been ratified by the great Œcumenic Council of Chalcedon,—that Council which had established the inflexible line of orthodoxy between the divergent heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. This was but the supplementary act, it was asserted, of a small and factious minority, who had lingered behind the rest; but, it appeared upon the records, it boasted the authority of the

unanimous Council. The ambition of Acacius, now, under Zeno, sole and undisputed Bishop of Constantinople, was equal to his ability. He seemed watching the gradual fall of the Western Empire, the degradation of Rome from the capital of the world, which would leave Constantinople no longer the new, the second, rather the only Rome upon earth. The West, in the person of Anthemius, had received an emperor appointed by Constantinople; the Western Empire at one moment seemed disposed to become a province of the East. Acacius had already obtained from the Emperor (we must reascend in the course of our history to connect the East with the West), Leo the Thracian, who had ruled between Marcian and Zeno, a decree confirming to the utmost all the privileges of a Patriarchate claimed by Constantinople. In that edict Constantinople assumed the significant and threatening title of 'Mother of all Christians and of the orthodox Religion.' The Pope Simplicius had protested against this usurpation, but his protest is lost."—Vol. I. p. 233.

Unfortunately for this specious theory, however, there is scarcely a single act of the exercise of the papal authority, or a single appeal for its interposition, recorded in the history of the fourth and fifth centuries, which does not negative the hypothesis on which it rests. Let any unprejudiced man examine the pontifical correspondence of that period; let him read the language of the popes themselves, of Julius, of Damasus, of Innocent, of Zosimus, of Boniface, of Celestine, of Leo;* let him consider the terms in which their interposition is solicited, and we are perfectly content to rest the issue on their decision. Is it to the earthly Rome that the anxious or suffering members of the Church turn in those pages for counsel and for succour? Is it as bishops of the imperial city, and in the conscious pride of its earthly grandeur that the answer is accorded? Unluckily for the Dean's theory, the earthly element would rather appear to be ignored altogether. He himself is compelled to admit, that "at the commencement of the fifth century, the lineal descent of the Pope from St. Peter

* As we are not writing a treatise, we can but refer to what we regard as the most irresistible historical evidence of the divine origin of the Primacy—the actual collected correspondence of the popes of this interesting period—in Coustant's *Epistolæ Romanorum Pontificum*, especially col. 386, 1037,—8,816, 838, 1019, 790, 896, 888, 869. These, however, are but a few specimens of what may truly be described "the whole tone and colour of the correspondence."

was an accredited tenet of Christianity." (I. 85.) When the Fathers of the Council of Sardica established the law of appeal, which even the Dean describes as "a legal recognition of a supremacy," (I. 87.) it was done expressly "in honour of the memory of Peter the apostle." Πέτρος τῆς Ἀποστόλου τὴν μνήμην τιμῶμεν; "Let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter," says the fourth canon of that council.* When the council of Chalcedon with one voice adopted the dogmatic decree of Pope Leo, it was because "Peter had spoken through Leo." When Innocent is consulted in reference to the proceedings of the council of the Milevis, he declares that "all must be referred to Peter, that is, to the author of his name and honour."† When Leo requires that all greater causes should be referred to himself, it is only in obedience to the tradition of the ancient institute, and the rightful reverence of the Apostolic See.‡ When he contrasts the authority of Rome with that of Antioch, he declares that had Peter remained bishop of Antioch, and not transferred his see to Rome, *the primacy of the entire Church would have been vested in the former See*; and Rome, with all its civil pre-eminence, would have been subordinate in spiritual honour, and in ecclesiastical authority. When the same Pontiff "declares void, and, by a general definition altogether annuls" a canon of the general council of Chalcedon, it is "by authority of the blessed Apostle Peter."§ When Pope Hormisdas, at the close of the long and angry schism of Constantinople, known under the name of its originator, Acacius, received back that see, and its dependencies, into communion, and enforced upon them the profession of the same faith as that held by the Apostolic See, it is (not by virtue of the civil pre-eminence of Rome, although he actually contrasts the two Churches in this particular, but) "because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot, by any means, be contravened: '*Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build my Church.*'"

* Harduini Conciliorum Collect. I. 639.

† Coustant. Epp. Rom. Pontiff. col. 869.

‡ Ib. 750. note.

§ See these and many other illustrative passages at length, in Le Quiou's *Oriens Christianus*, pp. 34-50.

What else, too, is the meaning, and what the import, of the title, "Apostolic," which, though it has been the fashion of all anti-papal writers, from Barrow to Palmer, to claim as having originally been applied to all sees, without distinction, nevertheless, is shown by a thousand instances, many of them drawn from the general councils themselves, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, to have been peculiarly applied to Rome, and even to Rome *in contradiction to those great eastern sees, Antioch and Alexandria*, which are reputed to have had a special claim to the appellation? * In truth, it may be said with perfect confidence, that in almost every instance in which authority is either claimed by Rome, or recognized as existing in Rome, it is made to rest in some way, direct or indirect, on the divine commission through Peter.

There is only one notable exception to this all but universal statement—that to which, in a passage already cited, Dean Milman refers, as embodied in the canon of Chalcedon which seeks to justify the intended aggrandizement of the "New Rome," Constantinople, by ascribing the ecclesiastical pre-eminence of the ancient Rome to its civil or political supremacy as the old empire. † But there is no impartial historian who does not admit that neither this ambitious attempt, nor the principle on which it was sought to justify it, found any echo in the public mind of Christendom. The decree in which it was embodied was not passed till fully two-thirds ‡ of the bishops had left the council. Dean Milman himself admits, that it claimed the subscription but of one hundred-and-fifty prelates, and these chiefly of the diocese of Constantinople (I. 211.); and he should have added another fact still more important, (though it would have told inconveniently against his favourite theory,) that the letter which Anatolius, the patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to Pope Leo, soliciting his confirmation of this very canon on which Dean Milman would rest his case against Rome, is actually admitted one of the most convincing evidences of Rome's supremacy. In this very letter he does not scruple to avow to Leo, that "the

* See an extremely learned and interesting essay, *De Tituli Sedis Apostolicæ Vi et Usu antiquo*. By Dr. Eberhard, Trier. 1846.

† Διὰ τὸ βασιλεῦεν τὴν πόλιν ἐκέλευν. Can. xxviii.

‡ The council had one time numbered nearly six hundred.

validity of all that had taken place entirely depended upon his (Leo's) confirmation." "The entire validity and confirmation of what has been done," he says, "is reserved for the judgment of your (Leo's) blessedness."

It will easily be understood that, sharpened by this pre-conceived theory of the nature of the supremacy, to which the Roman See gradually attained, and the causes which favoured its development, Dean Milman has eyes only for those events in its history which seem to confirm or illustrate that hypothesis. It is in this spirit that he reads the history of the appeal of St. John Chrysostom to Pope Innocent. (I. 91-3.) Palladius, in his (contemporary) Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom, devotes no less than twenty pages to this most important contest. He details all the successive stages of the discussion; the missions and counter-missions from Constantinople to Rome, the citations and replies, the reports and delegations; he specifies no less than twelve different letters and other documents addressed from either party, in succession, to Pope Innocent, without reckoning the documents which emanated from the Pope himself. Yet all that Dean Milman can see in these eager and active negotiations, this life-and-death anxiety on all sides, to secure the judgment of Rome, is simply, that "Constantinople, Alexandria, and even Antioch, were driven by their own bitter feuds and hostilities to court the alliance of Rome; *it could hardly be without some compromise of their independence!*"

He goes a little further in the case of another Constantinopolitan patriarch, Nestorius, somewhat analogous in its circumstances, but far more important in the doctrinal consequences which it involved.

"Both parties, Nestorius and Cyril, themselves could not but look with earnest solicitude to Rome. She held the balance of power. If the Bishop of Rome had been the most unambitious of mankind, he could hardly have declined the arbitration, which was almost an acknowledgment of his supremacy. Nothing tended more to his elevation in the mind of Christendom than these successive Eastern controversies, if considered only as affecting his dignity in the eyes of the world. The deeper the East was sunk in anarchy and confusion, the more commanding the stately superiority of Rome. While the episcopal throne of Constantinople had been held in succession by the persecuted Chrysostom, by the heretic Nestorius, as it was afterwards by Flavianus, who, if not murdered, died of ill usage in a council of bishops; that of Alexandria by

Theophilus, and his nephew Cyril, whose violence disgraced their orthodoxy; a succession of able, at least blameless, Pontiffs of Rome was now about to close with Leo the Great.

"Each, too, of these Eastern antagonists for ascendancy was disposed to admit one part of the claims on which rested the supremacy of Rome. Alexandria, that of the descent from St. Peter. Ancient and apostolic origin was so clearly wanting to Constantinople, that on this point the Roman superiority was undeniable. On her side, Constantinople was content to recognise the title of Rome to superiority, as the city of the Cæsars, from whence followed her own secondary, if not co-equal dignity, as New Rome."—Vol. I. p. 151.

But in this case, too, he does not fail to impart to the narrative the colouring of his own peculiar views. He admits, indeed, that both parties "looked with earnest solicitude to Rome;" but it was not, he thinks, to Rome as an acknowledged superior; it was only as an arbiter to decide between them. She possessed no supremacy; he maintains, but she held, at least, "the balance of power," and in a contest where the parties were both so confident of their respective strength, her accession to either would be infallibly decisive.

Even where the appeal to Rome, *as an admitted superior*, is so clear as to render denial or concealment hopeless, Dean Milman is ready with an ingenious explanation of the fact. Still he finds it is traceable to human, and, we regret to say, far from creditable motives. It is in this way he explains the canons of Sardica already referred to.

"It is not difficult to trace the motives which influenced the Bishops of Sardica. Great principles are often established by measures which grow out of temporary interests. The Western orthodox Bishops of Sardica hardly escaped being out-numbered by their heretical adversaries; there were ninety-four on one side, seventy-six on the other. Had not the turbulent, but irresolute, minority withdrawn to Philippopolis, and there set up a rival synod, the issue might have been almost doubtful; at all events, where parties were so evenly balanced, intrigue, accident, activity on one part, supineness on the other, or the favour of the Emperor, might summon an assembly, in which the preponderance would be in favour of Arianism (it was so a few years after at Rimini); and thus might heresy gain the sanction of a Council of Christendom. But Rome had, up to this time, before the fall of Liberius, so firmly, so repeatedly, so solemnly, embraced the cause of Athanasius, that it might seem to be irrevocably committed to orthodoxy; an

appeal to Rome, therefore, would always give an opportunity to an orthodox minority, to annul or to suspend the decrees of an heretical Church. In all causes, therefore, of bishops (and not merely were the bishops in general the chief members of the Councils, but the first proceeding of all the Councils, at this period, was to depose the prelates of the opposite party) an appeal to Rome would both secure a second hearing, by more favourable judges, of the subject under controversy, and might maintain, notwithstanding adverse decrees, all the orthodox bishops upon their thrones. The Council of Sardica, therefore, in its canons, established the law, that on an appeal to the Bishop of Rome, he might decide whether the judgment was to be reconsidered, and appoint judges for the second hearing of the cause; he might even, if he thought fit, take the initiative; and delegate an ecclesiastic 'from his side,' to institute a commission of inquiry."—Vol. I. p. 87.

That is to say, the bishops of Sardica were ready to sacrifice for ever their personal independence, and that of their sees, to Roman ambition, for the transient advantage which the favourable dispositions of the actual occupant of the See of Rome happened for the moment to hold out to them, in their contest with their Arian antagonists! Here, however, there is only question of supremacy in discipline and Church government. But he is ready to explain away the submission of the Church to the *doctrinal* authority of Rome by the very same hypothesis.

"When the African Churches, in their councils at Carthage, and at Milevis in Numidia, addressed the Pontiff on this momentous subject, the character, as well as the station of Innocent, might command more than respectful deference. Had they felt any jealousy as to their own independence, under the absorbing passion, the hatred of Pelagianism, they would have made any sacrifice to obtain the concurrence of the Bishop of Rome. The letters inform Innocent that the Africans had renewed the unregarded anathema pronounced against this wicked error, especially of Celestius, which had been issued five years before. They assert the power of Innocent to summon Pelagius to Rome to answer for his guilt, and to exclude him from the communion of the faithful. They implore the dignity of the Apostolic throne, of the successor of St. Peter, to complete and ratify that which is wanting to their more moderate power. Pelagius himself, even if he did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the tribunal, endeavoured to propitiate the favour of the judge: he addressed an explanatory letter, and a profession of faith, to the Bishop of Rome."—Vol. I. p. 119.

And thus, he alleges, it was, by carefully watching her opportunities; by dexterously interposing in every exciting

controversy ; by turning to account “ the feuds and hostilities ” of her great rivals in the East ; by using with consummate skill each “ absorbing passion ” that agitated the theological world ; by holding with cold and calculating selfishness “ the balance of power ; ” by exacting, as the price of her interposition, the sacrifice of the independence of all those who chose to desire it ; in a word, by that marvellous instinct of ambition—now pliant, now unbending, now lax, now indulgent, now timid, now daring even to temerity,—which it is the pleasure of all the anti-papal writers to ascribe to Rome in all her dealings with the Christian world ;—that she succeeded, after a long series of toilsome years and struggles, in building up that towering fabric of ascendancy, which at last found no antagonist but its own excessive magnitude.

It is, of course, impossible, in a paper like the present, to enter into the details of the several cases which Dean Milman thus ingeniously explains away. Many of them, as that of the Nestorian Controversy, and still more, the Council of Chalcedon, would require that an entire article should be devoted to themselves. But we cannot pass over one case to which the Dean appears to attach special importance, inasmuch as he alludes to it more than once in different parts of his history. We refer to the course taken by Pope Zosimus, in the Pelagian controversy.

He has been assigning as one of the most powerful means by which the Popes succeeded in advancing towards their coveted supremacy, the skill or the good fortune with which they had contrived to maintain through all the dogmatical conflicts of these turbulent times, an unbroken sympathy with what was in all cases the general mind of Christendom.

“ So far the Bishop of Rome had floated onwards towards supremacy on the full tide of dominant opinion ; his decrees were so acceptable to the general ear, that the tone of authority in which they began to be couched, jarred not on any quivering chord of jealousy or suspicion. The secret of that power lay in Rome’s complete impregnation with the spirit of the age ; and this lasted, almost unbroken, till the Reformation. It were neither just nor true to call this worldly policy, or to suppose that the Bishops of Rome dishonestly conformed, or bent their opinions to their age for the sake of aggrandising their power. Their sympathy with the general mind of Christianity constituted their strength ; from their conscious strength grew up, no doubt, their bolder spirit of domina-

tion; but they became masters of the Western Church by being the representative, the centre, of its feelings and opinions. It was not till a much later period that the claim to personal infallibility, to the sole dictatorship over the Christianity of the world, was either advanced or thought necessary; the present infallibility was but the expression of the universal, or at least predominant sentiment of mankind."—Vol. I. p. 121.

He proceeds, however, to advert to our notable departure from this happy policy.

"Once at this period, and but for a short time, the Bishop of Rome threw himself directly across the stream of religious opinion. Zosimus, the successor of Innocent, was by birth a Greek, and seemed disposed to treat the momentous questions agitated by the Pelagian controversy with the contemptuous indifference of a Greek. Whether from this uncongeniality of the Eastern mind with these debates; whether from the pride of the man, which was flattered by the submission of both these dangerous heresiarchs to his authority; whether from the earnest and well-intentioned, but mistaken hope, of suppressing what appeared to him a needless dispute, Zosimus annulled at one blow all the judgment of his predecessor, Innocent; and absolved the men, whom Innocent, if he had not branded with a direct anathema, had declared deserving to be cut off from the communion of the faithful."—Vol. I. p. 121.

Nor is it, as we have already observed, hastily or unadvisedly that Dean Milman affirms this fall of Zosimus. He had spoken in a former page* of Zosimus's "rash concession to Pelagianism;" and in the above extract he describes him as "annulling at one blow all the judgments of his predecessor, Innocent."

Now, if he had but taken the trouble to examine the facts of the case on which he pronounces thus definitively, he would have seen that Zosimus neither "lapsed into Pelagianism," nor "annulled any single judgment of his predecessor."

It is perfectly true that Innocent had authoritatively condemned the errors of Pelagius, and had pronounced worthy of excommunication both him and his follower, Celestius;—asserting in the act of condemnation, as Dean Milman himself acknowledges, "the dignity of the Apostolic See, the source of all episcopacy, and the advantage of an appeal to a tribunal which might legislate for all Christendom." (p. 120.) On the other hand, it is also equally true

* p. 85.

that Zosimus "absolved" the heretics whom Innocent had declared deserving to be cut off from the communion of the faithful." But it is, nevertheless, most disingenuous to assert that, in so doing, Zosimus either lapsed into the error of these condemned heretics, or that he annulled the judgment of his predecessor.

Two things are perfectly plain from the correspondence of the African bishops with the Popes Innocent and Zosimus, and from the narrative of St. Augustine, reiterated in more than one of his treatises;—first, that although Innocent's *condemnation of the doctrine* taught by Pelagius and Celestius was complete and final, yet his *personal sentence* on themselves was made dependent on their contumacious maintenance of these doctrines; and secondly, that Zosimus's "absolution" not only *contained no approval of the doctrines* condemned by his predecessor, but on the contrary, was even *preceded by a full retraction of these doctrines* on the part of both, conveyed in writing by Pelagius, and explained in his own person by Celestius, who repaired to Rome for this express purpose.

Innocent's letter to the Council of Carthage* is expressly conditional, and implies a hope, that "corrected from the stain, they may submit themselves to be healed by true counsels. And if they do so," he adds, "it will be in the power of the bishops to render them relief to a certain extent, and to apply to their wounds that tender care which the Church is not wont to refuse to the lapsed when they repent."† It is clear, therefore, that, had Pelagius and Celestius presented themselves to Innocent, and retracted their errors, he was prepared to remit the sentence; nor would his doing so have implied any "annulling" of his earlier judgment.

It chanced, however, that before Pelagius's letter, which was brought personally by Celestius, had reached Rome, Innocent had died, and the Papal Chair was occupied by Zosimus. Now, the part which he took in the matter was simply to do what Innocent himself was ready to do. He received Celestius: accepted at his hands a profession of faith, which had been drawn by Pelagius, and which certainly, as far as words went, was perfectly

* The 29th in the Series. Coustant. col. 894.

† See Ep. 29, c. 8, p. 894.

orthodox on the two heads on which his soundness had been impeached, "that infants receive remission of sins in baptism," and that "the human will is aided in every good work by the divine assistance."*

It is true that the former of these two propositions seems to have been but an ingenious subtlety by which to evade the real question at issue on this head, namely, the real existence of original sin. But, even if matters had rested here, it would have been far from ingenuous on Dean Milman's part to represent Zosimus as conceding to Pelagianism. St. Augustine himself confesses, † that no one would have suspected this evasion; and Celestius had further disarmed the severity of the Pontifical judgment by professing his readiness, "if perchance any error of ignorance, as must befall men, should have crept in," to accept and abide by "the correction of his (the Pope's) sentence." ‡ How much more disingenuous will this representation of the Dean's appear, when it is known that Zosimus had actually driven Celestius even from the evasion! St. Augustine taunts the party over and over again in his letter to Pope Boniface, with the notorious fact, that "by the interrogatories of his (Boniface's) predecessor, Zosimus, and the answers of Celestius, in which he professed to *agree with the letters of Innocent*, Celestius had been so tied up (*colligatus*), as not to dare further to defend that original sin is not remitted in the baptism of infants." § So that it appears that Zosimus, so far from annulling the judgment of Innocent, had actually taken the letters of this pope as the text and standard of orthodoxy; and that, if he absolved Pelagius and Celestius, it was not only not in opposition to that judgment, but absolutely after he had taken special care to enforce that judgment upon their acceptance!

The same readiness to fix upon every appearance unfavourable to the memory of Roman Pontiffs, and especially on every event which seems to reflect upon their orthodoxy, is observable throughout the whole of the History of Latin Christianity. The reader will hardly need to be

* See St. Aug. De Peccato Orig. cap. v. vol. x. p. 338.

† Ibid.

‡ Coustant, p. 939.

§ See the work *Contra Duas Epist. L. ii. c. 4.* vol. x. p. 575.

informed that the well-known case of Pope Liberius is not permitted to pass unnoticed. But he will hardly be prepared to find it disposed of in a single flippant and superficial sentence, "that he consented to sign the semi-Arian creed of Sirmium, and to renounce the communion of Athanasius." (i. 64.) There is not a word from which it could be inferred that the fact had ever been questioned. The Dean does not think it necessary to express or record a single doubt, either on his own part or on that of any of those who have written upon this much debated history. He does not even refer to the important controversy as to which of the three creeds of Sirmium it was, (in the hypothesis of his having subscribed any of them,) that Pope Liberius consented to accept. In a word, if one were to judge from the tone of Dean Milman's narrative, the fall of Liberius would seem as certain and as unquestioned, as clear in all its details, as the orthodoxy of Athanasius!

His treatment of Pope Honorius, (ii. 125,) though it is not sparing in inuendo, is not so openly hostile. But his history of Pope Vigilius, in the affair of the Three Chapters, (i. 339-44,) is full of (to use the mildest and most charitable phrase,) the grossest inaccuracies. Following the same line which he had taken in his account of the pretended conflict between the Popes Innocent and Zosimus, in the Pelagian controversy, he unhesitatingly represents Vigilius as in direct conflict with himself in two of the several decrees which he issued at various stages of this very obscure and embarrassing controversy. "Scarcely had many months passed," he writes, (p. 342,) "before the Pope at the head of a council of seventy bishops issued his infallible anathema *against the Three Chapters.*" And in the next page he adds, "Vigilius with difficulty collected sixteen western bishops, and issued a protest against the decree (of the council,) and a constitution *solemnly acquitting the Three Chapters of heresy.*" (p. 343.) Now in each of these two statements there is the same amount of *literal* truth which is also found in the statements regarding Popes Innocent and Zosimus, already referred to. But there is also the same disingenuous suppression of the true spirit and purport of each of the two seemingly conflicting proceedings. We do not mean, of course, to enter upon the history of these celebrated Chapters or Articles, which so long disturbed the peace of the Church. A very slight explanation will

suffice to point out the disingenuousness of which we complain. It is, of course, well-known that by the so-called "Three Chapters," was meant, (1) the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, (2) the works of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, (the celebrated Church historian,) against Cyril of Alexandria, and (3,) the Letter of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, to the Persian Maris. It is hardly necessary to add, that *the doctrine* of each and all among the three was indisputably Nestorian.

But, as has been explained in the case of Pelagius and Celestius, two very distinct questions arise for consideration regarding them. One is the *objective* orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the doctrine contained in the works themselves. The other is the *personal* orthodoxy or heterodoxy of their authors. Unhappily in the unlearned and popular estimate of the controversy, especially in the Western Church, these two questions, distinct as they evidently are, were confounded; and from this confusion arose much of the difficulty which stood in the way of its adjustment, and almost all the embarrassment in which the Pope was placed regarding it.

One of the most perplexing aspects of the question was its bearing upon the authority of the Council of Chalcedon; and it was on this that the real interest of the controversy turned, in the minds both of the friends and of the enemies of that council. The Fathers of Chalcedon had admitted to a seat in their deliberations two of the authors of the obnoxious chapters, Theodoret and Ibas, and they had not branded with any censure the personal memory of the third, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

To a superficial observer of such a proceeding on the part of the council, it would present the appearance of a solemn recognition of their orthodoxy, and of the soundness of their writings. Hence, in the popular mind of Christendom, the authority of the Council of Chalcedon was identified with the fate of the Three Articles. If the enemies of the council agitated for the condemnation of the Articles, it was with the ulterior (and eventually undisguised) object of ruining the authority of Chalcedon; if the friends and supporters of the Chalcedonian decrees resisted this artful proceeding of their antagonists, it was because they shrank with horror from any movement which could weaken or disturb its hold upon the public mind.

Now the truth was, that, in the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, the distinction between the personal and objective orthodoxy of the Three Chapters, between the orthodoxy of the writers and the orthodoxy of their works, had been accurately attended to. On the latter—the orthodoxy of the works—no judgment had been pronounced, simply for this reason, that this question did not in any way come under the consideration of the council. The personal orthodoxy of two of the authors, Ibas and Theodoret, (Theodore of Mopsuestia had long been dead,) did come before them, as involved in the question of their admission to seats in the deliberations of the Council. But it was decided solely on personal grounds;—solely by applying to them the best test of actual personal orthodoxy—their acceptance or refusal of the Dogmatical Epistle of Pope Leo. The memory of Theodore of Mopsuestia was not brought into question at all. His writings were in no way before the council, except in so far as they were referred to in Ibas's letter; nor had the council, of course, passed upon them, still less than on that letter, any judgment of approval whatever.

Such was the state of the question on which Pope Vigilius issued the two judgments, over whose seeming conflict Dean Milman indulges his sarcastic humour. But if he had taken pains to look at the judgments which he thus freely criticizes,* or, indeed, at either of them, he would have seen how unjust is his representation of the conduct of Vigilius. Between these two judgments there is not even a shadow of conflict. The first exclusively regards the objective orthodoxy of the Three Chapters; the second has reference solely to the personal orthodoxy of these authors. The first, while it condemns as heterodox, a series of propositions extracted from the writings of Ibas and Theodoret, yet contains a clear and distinct reservation for the authority of the council of Chalcedon, which on this point had pronounced no opinion whatever. The second, while it maintains the condemnation of the writing, yet, looking to the retractation made by the authors in the council of Chalcedon, and their formal adoption of the test of orthodoxy proposed by that council, absolves

* They are both given in the proceedings of the fifth general council in the third volume of Harduin's Councils.

the authors from the stain of personal heterodoxy, and refuses to stigmatize their memory by affixing an anathema.

The two pronouncements of Vigilius, therefore, require only to be explained, in order that their perfect compatibility may be at once understood. The case is precisely the same as that of Innocent and Zosimus. Vigilius, by the second judgment, declared the authors of the Three Chapters free from the blame of heresy, simply because they had retracted in the council of Chalcedon those errors which by his first judgment he had condemned in the Three Chapters themselves.

We have dwelt so long, however, upon the purely polemical aspect of Dean Milman's work, that we cannot help introducing a specimen of the general style and manner of the narrative. With a few exceptions it is sufficiently plain and inartificial; but there are some occasional episodes on which special pains appear to have been bestowed, and which display no ordinary powers of historical description. Among these we may particularize the sketches of Leo the Great, of the two Gregories, the First and the Seventh, of St. Benedict, of Pope Sylvester II., and of Abelard; all tinged of course with the author's peculiar colouring, but nevertheless, brilliant, graphic, striking, and harmonizing upon the whole into an intelligible and consistent picture, which, however we may dissent from its conception, we cannot refuse to admire.

The most careful, perhaps, of all those studies, is St. Gregory the Great. There is more of novelty, too, in the delineation of his character, and the narrative of his times. We shall make an apology, therefore, for extracting at some length from the interesting chapter (Book III, chapter vii.) devoted to his pontificate.

“Times of emergency call forth great men—men at least, if not great in relation to the true intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity of man, great in relation to the state and to the necessities of their age; engrossed by the powerful and dominant principles of their time, and bringing to the advancement of those principles surpassing energies of character, inflexible resolution, the full conviction of the wisdom, justice and holiness of their cause in religious affairs, of the direct and undeniable sanction of God. Such was Gregory I., to whom his own age and posterity have assigned the appellation of the Great.

“Now was the crisis in which the Papacy, the only power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times—which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty—the power which was most imperatively required to preserve that which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilization, must reawaken its obscured and suspended life. To Western Christianity was absolutely necessary a centre, standing alone, strong in traditionary reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organization of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict: it might have degenerated into a half secular feudal caste, with hereditary benefices, more and more entirely subservient to the civil power, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, and gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. On the rise of a power both controlling and conservative, hung, humanly speaking, the life and death of Christianity—of Christianity as a permanent, aggressive, expansive, and, to a certain extent, uniform system. There must be a counterbalance to barbaric force, to the unavoidable anarchy of Teutonism, with its tribal, or at the utmost national independence, forming a host of small, conflicting, antagonistic kingdoms. All Europe had been what England was under the Octarchy, what Germany was when her emperors were weak; and even her emperors she owed to Rome, to the Church, to Christianity. Providence might have otherwise ordained it, but it is impossible for man to imagine by what other organising or consolidating force the commonwealth of the Western nations could have grown up to a discordant, indeed, and conflicting league, but still to a league, with that unity and conformity of manners, usages, laws, religion, which have made their rivalries, oppugnancies, and even their long ceaseless wars, on the whole to issue in the noblest, highest, most intellectual form of civilisation known to man. It is inconceivable that Teutonic Europe, or Europe so deeply interpenetrated with Teutonism, could have been condensed or compelled into a vast Asiatic despotism, or succession of despotisms. Immense and interminable as have been the evils and miseries of the conflict between the southern and northern, the Teutonic and Roman, the hierarchical and civil elements of our social system, out of these conflicts has at length arisen the balance and harmony of the great states which constitute European Christendom, and are now peopling other continents with kindred and derivative institutions. It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the middle ages, without the mediæval Papacy; and of the mediæval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great. In all his predecessors there was much of the uncertainty and indefiniteness of a new dominion. Christianity had converted the Western world—it had by this time transmuted it: in all except the Roman law, it was one with it.

Even Leo the Great had something of the Roman dictator. Gregory is the Roman altogether merged in the Christian bishop. It is a Christian dominion, of which he lays the foundations in the Eternal City, not the old Rome associating Christian influence to her ancient title of sovereignty."—Vol. i. p. 429—431.

We pass over his early youth, his monastic life, and the episode of his project for the conversion of England, in order to come to his public life, and especially his connection with public affairs in Rome.

"So far Gregory had kept his lofty way in every situation, not only fulfilling, but surpassing, the highest demands of his age. In his personal character austerely blameless; as an abbot (he resumed on his return to Rome the abbacy in his monastery of St. Andrew), mercilessly severe, the model of a strict disciplinarian; as an ambassador, displaying consummate ability; as a controversialist, defeating in the opinion of the West the subtleties of the rival Bishop of Constantinople; as a theologian, already taking that place which was assigned him by the homage of posterity, that of the fourth great father of the Latin Church. Soon after his return to Rome the city became a scene of misery and desolation, so that all eyes could not but be turned on a man so highly favoured of God. The Lombard invasion continued to waste Italy; the feeble Exarch acknowledged that he had no power to protect Rome; the supplications for effectual aid from Constantinople had been unavailing. More dire and pressing calamities darkened around. The Tiber overflowed its banks, and swept away the granaries of corn. A dreadful pestilence ensued, of which the Pope Pelagius was among the first victims. With one voice, the clergy, the senate, and the people summoned Gregory to the pontifical throne. His modest remonstrances were in vain. His letter entreating the Emperor Maurice to relieve him from the perilous burthen, by refusing the imperial consent to his elevation, was intercepted by the loving vigilance of his admirers. Among these was the prefect of the city, who substituted for Gregory's letter the general petition for his advancement. But, until the answer of the Emperor could arrive, Gregory assumed the religious direction of the people. He addressed them with deep solemnity on the plague, and persuaded them to acts of humiliation. On an appointed day the whole city joined in the religious ceremony. Several litanies, or processions with prayers and hymns, and the greatest pomp, traversed the streets. That of the clergy set out from the Church of St. John the Baptist; that of the men from St. Marcellus; the monks from that of the martyrs John and Paul; the holy virgins from SS. Cosmos and Damianus; the married women from St. Stephen; the widows from St. Vitalis; that of the poor and the children from St. Cæcilia. But the plague was not stayed; eighty victims fell dead

during the procession ; but Gregory still urged the people to persist in their pious supplications.

“To the end Gregory endeavoured to elude the compulsory honour of the Papacy. It was said that, knowing the gates to be jealously watched, he persuaded some merchants to convey him to a solitary forest in disguise ; but a light, like a pillar of fire, hovered over his head, and betrayed his flight. He was seized, hurried to the Church of St. Peter, and forcibly consecrated as Supreme Pontiff.”—Vol. i. p. 436.

It is only in his administration of the affairs of the Papacy, that the energy of Gregory's mind, as well as the vastness of his powers, is fully displayed.

“He threw off at once and altogether the dreaming indolence of the contemplative life, and plunged into affairs with the hurried restlessness of the most ambitious statesmen. His letters offer a singular picture of the incessant activity of his mind, the variety and multiplicity of his occupations. Nothing seems too great, nothing too insignificant for his earnest personal solicitude ; from the most minute point in the ritual, or regulations about the papal farms in Sicily, he passed to the conversion of Britain, the extirpation of simony among the clergy of Gaul, negotiations with the armed conquerors of Italy, the revolutions of the Eastern empire, the title of Universal Bishop usurped by John of Constantinople.”—Vol. i. p. 439.

The Ritual was one of his earliest cares. But of his labours in connection with it Dean Milman's account gives hardly any detail.

“Under Gregory the ritual of the Church assumed more perfect form and magnificence. The Roman ordinal, though it may have received additions from later pontiffs, in its groundwork and distribution belonged to Gregory. The organization of the Roman clergy had probably been long complete ; it comprehended the whole city and suburbs. The fourteen regions were divided into seven ecclesiastical districts. Thirty titles (corresponding with parishes) were superintended by sixty-six priests ; the chief in each title was the cardinal priest. Each ecclesiastical region had its hospital or office for alms, over which a deacon presided ; one of the seven was the archdeacon. Besides these, each hospital had an administrator, often a layman, to keep the accounts. The clergy of the seven regions officiated on ordinary occasions, each on one day of the week. Gregory appointed the *stations*, the churches in which were to be celebrated the more solemn service during Lent and at the four great festivals. On these high days the Pope proceeded in state, usually on horseback escorted by the deacons and other

officers, from his palace in the Lateran to St. Peter's, S. Maria Maggiore, or some other of the great churches. He was received with obsequious ceremony, robed by the archdeacons, conducted to the choir with the incense, and the seven candlesticks borne before him. Psalms were sung as he proceeded to his throne behind the altar. The more solemn portions of the service were of course reserved for the Supreme Pontiff. But Gregory did not stand aloof in his haughty sanctity, or decline to exercise more immediate influence over the minds of the people. He constantly ascended the pulpit himself, and in those days of fear and disaster was ever preaching in language no doubt admirably adapted to their state of mind, tracing to their sins the visible judgments of God, exhorting them to profound humiliation, and impressing them with what appears to have been his own conviction—that these multiplying calamities were the harbingers of the Last day.

The music, the animating soul of the whole ritual, was under the especial care of Gregory. He introduced a new mode of chanting, which still bears his name, somewhat richer than that of Ambrose at Milan, but still not departing from solemn simplicity. He formed schools of singers, which he condescended himself to instruct; and from Rome the science was propagated throughout the West: it was employed even to soothe and awe the barbarians of Britain. Augustine, the missionary, was accompanied by a school of choristers, educated in their art at Rome."—Vol. i. p. 439.

On Gregory's temporal administration of the See the Dean is more at home.

“As administrator of the Papal patrimony Gregory was active and vigilant, unimpeachably just and humane. The Churches, especially that of Rome, now possessed very large estates, chiefly in Calabria, in Sicily; in the neighbourhood of Rome, Apulia, Campania, Liguria; in Sardinia and Corsica; in the Cozian Alps; in Dalmatia and Illyricum; in Gaul; and even in Africa, and the East. There are letters addressed to the administrators of the Papal estates in all these territories; and in some cities, as Otranto, Gallipoli, perhaps Norcia, Nepi, Cuma, Capua, Corsealano; even in Naples, Palermo, Syracuse. Gregory prescribes minute regulations for these lands, throughout which prevails a solicitude lest the peasants should be exposed to the oppressions of the farmer or of the Papal officer. He enters into all the small vexatious exactions to which they were liable, fixes the precise amount of their payments, orders all unfair weights and measures to be broken, and new ones provided; he directs that his regulations be read to the peasants themselves; and, lest the old abuses should be revived after his death, they were to be furnished with legal forms of security against such suppressed grievances. Gregory lowered the seignorial fees on the marriages of peasants not free.

Nor, in the protection of the poor peasant, did he neglect the rights and interests of the farmer ; he secured to their relatives the succession to their contracts, and guarded the interests of their families by several just regulations. His maxim was, that the revenue of the Church must not be defiled by sordid gains.

“The revenue thus obtained with the least possible intentional oppression of the peasant and the farmer was distributed with the utmost publicity, and with rigid regard for the interests of the diocese. Rome, which had long ceased to receive the tributary harvests of Africa and of Egypt, depended greatly on the bounty of the Pope. Sicily had alone escaped the ravages of war, and from her corn-fields, chiefly from the Papal estates, came the regular supplies which fed the diminishing, yet still vast, poor population. In a synod at Rome it was enacted that the Pope should only be attended by ecclesiastics, who ought to enjoy the advantage of the example of his life, to the privacy of which the profane laity should not be admitted.

“The shares of the clergy and of the papal officers, the churches and monasteries, the hospitals, deaconries or ecclesiastical boards for the poor, were calculated in money, and distributed at four seasons of the year, at Easter, on St. Peter's day, St. Andrew's day, and that of the consecration of Gregory. The first day in every month he distributed to the poor in kind, corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, bacon, meat, fish, and oil. The sick and infirm were superintended by persons appointed to inspect every street. Before the Pope sat down to his own meal a portion was separated and sent out to the hungry at his door. A great volume, containing the names, the ages, and the dwellings of the objects of papal bounty, was long preserved in the Lateran with reverential gratitude. What noble names may have lurked in that obscure list ! The descendants of Consuls and Dictators, the Flamens and the Augurs of elder Rome, may have received the alms of the Christian prelate, and partaken in the dole which their ancestors distributed to their thousand clients. So severe was the charity of Gregory that one day, on account of the death of an unrelieved beggar, he condemned himself to a hard penance for the guilt of neglect as steward of the Divine bounty.”—Vol. i. p. 441.

It would carry us beyond the space which remains at our disposal, to enter upon the still more comprehensive subject of Pope Gregory's political relations, both with Italy and with the Eastern Empire. Dean Milman, indeed, has not thrown much new light upon this portion of the subject. Nor shall we enter into his sketch of the literary character of St. Gregory. It was not to be expected that the general tone of Gregory's mind should have met much sympathy from a critic of Dean Milman's school.

The genius, the tenderness, the homely eloquence, the lively imagination, the occasional brilliancy which Gregory's writings display, are all lost to the Dean, in what he deems the "puerility," the "amiable weakness," the "imaginative superstition" by which they are overlaid. It would be idle for us, therefore, where there are so few principles in common between them, and especially where the conflict is one of principle rather than of details, to do more than protest against the estimate which the Dean has formed of this great Father. If in one point he has done literal justice to his memory, by absolving him (p. 465) from the obsolete charge of having burnt the Palatine Library, it is only on the ground that, "probably, if the Palatine Library existed, it would have been so neglected that Gregory would hardly have condescended to fear its influence." And he stoops to urge in confirmation, the hackneyed passage from Gregory's letter to a Gaulish bishop, which has been on the lips of every assailant of the Fathers, from Barbeyrac to Bayle and Gibbon. But surely no dispassionate historian would have inferred, that, because Gregory condemns a bishop for (perhaps to the neglect of his episcopal duties,) "occupying himself in teaching grammar," and "*singing what would not be becoming even in a religious layman*," he is, therefore, to be set down as an "enemy of profane letters," or a man whose "aversion to such studies was not of dread or hatred, but of religious contempt." Surely there is a wide distinction between profane literature in general, and the odious and disgusting Latin literature, against which it is plain that the Pope's censure is pointed. The sneer at the "puerile weakness" of the pious pontiff, who could think the study of almost any of the Latin poets, from Horace to Ausonius—of Juvenal, of Catullus, of Tibullus, of Propertius, above all of Martial—not to speak of the host of more corrupt, but now forgotten imitators of the worst among these loathsome panderers to the grovelling tastes of their time,—may have sat well upon the lip of Gibbon or of Bayle; but we think that Dean Milman might have for a moment forgotten the poet, and that, at least in his character as a Christian clergyman, he might have looked with a more compassionate eye even upon what he may deem a weakness with which he cannot altogether sympathize.

He takes occasion, at the pontificate of Gregory, to pause

in the history, in order to lay before the reader a summary sketch of the doctrinal condition of Latin Christianity at this period. In this sketch a prominent place is given to what he calls the "Christian Mythology" of the period, to which, indeed, no small space had also been given in his *Western Monasticism* in a previous chapter. The tone of this summary is coldly philosophical, with an admixture of half pitying, half sneering indulgence for the intellectual weakness incidental to the state of society in which the system had grown up. We do not mean to enter into any polemical discussion of these views. We will only observe that he records as established doctrines and practices of Christendom, the worship of the Blessed Virgin—now "an integral portion of Christianity," (p. 446) an "unbounded admiration of virginity," (468) a belief and expectation of the permanence and frequent interposition of miraculous manifestations in the Church (p. 469)—the saving action of angelic influences, and the hostile interposition of diabolical, in the affairs of men's salvation, (p. 470) universal and excessive confidence in the miraculous efficacy of relics—the universality of the practice of praying for the dead, (p. 473.) a special trust in the efficacy of oblation after death, (*ibid.*)—the frequency and repetition of such oblations for unabsolved souls, (433)—and the facility with which miraculous legends were received and accredited. All this he readily avows;—in a tone it is true, which must be painful to every catholic mind, but, nevertheless, in a way which places beyond question the fact of the universal and undoubting acceptance of this doctrinal system at that period, as an integral part of Latin Christianity.

If, however, we refer to the matter at all, it is not that we attach any controversial value to such an admission upon his part. The fact itself is too notorious to need any additional testimony. But we think it right to call attention to his chapter upon the subject, because we cannot help feeling that the effect of it would be to create in the reader's mind an impression that these doctrines and practices, and the habit of mind which they suppose on the part of the believer, were something peculiar to "Latin Christianity," as contradistinguished from the other forms of Christian belief, or even to this particular period of Latin Christianity, as contradistinguished from its earlier phases. Against this impression we most earnestly protest, as utterly false and unhistorical. Evidences of the existence, at an indefi-

nately earlier period, of all these practices and of the universal belief of the doctrines which would seem here to be represented as peculiar to Latin Christianity, (and that too the Latin Christianity of the sixth century,) may be found in every Catholic controversialist and theologian; and as regards the general question of the credibility of what have been called ecclesiastical miracles, and the ready belief of miraculous manifestations, it would be most disingenuous to represent it as a peculiarity of the age of St. Gregory, or that immediately preceding. There is a subtle spirit of rationalism in the method of attack employed by almost every writer upon the subject. The same spirit which rejects the idea of the continuance of miraculous powers in the Church might be turned against all miracles, even many of those which are recorded in the New Testament. If Dean Milman were to meet in St. Gregory's Dialogues such a narrative as that of the casting out of a dumb spirit;* still more that of the casting the devils into the flock of swine;† of St. Peter's release from prison by the angel, or any of the other miracles of a similar character recorded in the New Testament, it is plain that he would discard them, as simply incredible, without hesitation, and even with a deep feeling of compassion for the credulity which could stoop to record them. Yet their being recorded in Scripture does not in any way affect their intrinsic credibility. And we will undertake to produce a catena of Christian writers from the very earliest time of the Fathers of the Church, from St. Clement to Gregory, and of her historians from Hegesippus to Theodoret, filled with miraculous narratives of a similar character, and equally testifying to the lively belief of every age of the Church in the reality of these miraculous interpositions. It would be easy to extract from St. Irenæus, from Tertullian, from St. Cyprian, even from Hippolytus, narratives, side by side with which what the Dean considers the most incredible of St. Gregory's legends will not appear out of their place. The celebrated twenty-second book of St. Augustine's *City of God*, abounds in similar miracles; Sulpicius Severus's life of St. Martin of Tours; St. Paulinus of Nola's Letters and Poems; Prudentius's

* Mark x. 16.

† Matt. viii. 28.

Hymns—all without exception are even more fertile in what he is pleased to call Christian Mythology. And, if it be said that some of these are Latin authorities, surely if there be any of the Fathers, who, more than the rest, are to be taken as representations of what he calls "Greek Christianity," surely we are warranted in naming St. Athanasius, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and Theodoret of Cyrus, the celebrated Church historian, as possessing the very first claim to that character. Nor need we remind a scholar like the Dean, that St. Athanasius's life of St. Anthony, Gregory of Nyssa's life of his namesake of Neocæsaria and, most of all, Theodoret's well-known *Religious History*, have furnished from time immemorial to the enemies of "ecclesiastical miracles" a more fertile theme for ridicule than almost any work in the Latin literature, hardly even excepting St. Gregory's memorable Dialogues.

The narratives of these and all other ecclesiastical writers, however eminent, are always, we need hardly say, perfectly free subjects of criticism. They must each stand and fall by their own merits. But they form in the aggregate a testimony to the belief of each successive generation of Christians, that the supernatural dealings of God with His Church are not limited by the apostolic times, but that the outpourings of the Spirit upon His chosen servants are continued at every fitting season, as living and enduring sources of glory to Himself, and of spiritual strength and edification to the Church and her members.

There still remain many topics of deep interest to which we have not been able even to allude, and among them the great questions of clerical celibacy, monasticism, and the entire system of asceticism. It is too late, however, to enter upon them now. Our remarks, indeed, have been confined almost exclusively to the first volume. The matter of the second and third, especially the latter, is much less interesting. It might be supposed that the Iconoclast question, which forms the subject of a large proportion of the second volume, would have supplied a subject peculiarly suited to the powers of such a writer as Dean Milman; but we must confess to considerable disappointment with the manner of its treatment, both doctrinal and historical; and we are sorry to add the same as regards the history of the Greek schism. The personal history of the mediæval popes, too, is dry, and unrelieved by that

lighter learning which gives a certain charm to the earlier narrative. The dreary annals of the ninth and tenth centuries read almost as dreary in Dean Milman's ordinarily brilliant page as in that of the most plodding chronicler. He does not seem, in most cases, to have gone much beyond the ordinary sources of information; and he has left all the real difficulties of the history—as, for example, the dark and unintelligible period of Pope Formosus—as dark as they have hitherto been.

There is one omission, indeed, which we cannot help pointing to as strange and significant. In the "History of Latin Christianity" no place has been found even for the name of the once celebrated Pope Joan!* There is but one passing allusion to this once all-important controversy regarding her—a single line in a note.†

It is time, however, to take our leave, reserving to ourselves the privilege of returning to some of the topics adverted to above on the occasion which will arise on the publication of the supplementary volume of the History.

* The Dean seems not to be aware that this once famous controversy has been actually renewed within the last few years in Holland. Herr van Kist, Professor in the University of Leiden, was bold enough to revive the antiquated story. His startling statement had the effect of calling out a learned and distinguished Catholic writer, who has exhausted the whole subject in a very elaborate 8vo. volume—a most important contribution to the history of an obscure period. It is in Dutch, and is entitled "De Verhandeling van Kist, Hoogleeraar te Leiden, over de Pausin Joanna, nagelesen en getoetst door J. H. Wensing, Hoogleeraar in het R. K. Seminarie te Warmond. 'S Gravenhage." (The Hague.) 1846.

† Vol. ii. p. 357.

ART. V.—*An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority ; or, Reasons for Recalling my Subscription to the Royal Supremacy.* By the Rev. R. I. WILBERFORCE, M. A. London, Longman, 1854.

FEW public men have bequeathed to their children so pure a fame, so unclouded a reputation, as William Wilberforce. In spite of stubborn prejudice and bitter reviling he dared to widen the circle of humanity, so as to embrace within its circumference all the children of Adam, whether savage or civilized, the African as well as the European, the black man as well as the white. Though, having many tongues and many languages, yet did he regard the whole human race as one family; and from 1787, in which year he made his first motion in Parliament for the abolition of the brutal traffic in negro slaves, until the day of his death, which was the 29th July, 1833, he devoted himself with unfailing energy, and unwearied zeal, to make his countrymen comprehend and assist him in carrying out his noble idea of universal brotherhood. The cause was holy, but it was opposed to such great and influential interests, that no advocate in its behalf would have been listened to, unless the integrity and disinterestedness of his public pleadings had been attested by the purity and self-sacrifice of his private life. These virtues, which gave weight and lustre to his philanthropic efforts, he preserved unsullied amid the smiles and frowns of fortune, and when he died in a good old age, he bequeathed them to his children. They have proved how well they understood, and how fully they appreciated this legacy, by preserving his sincerity in religious belief, and his unflinching attachment to truth, not only in word, but—and this is far more difficult—in action also. For there are many men who would not tell a lie, and yet are content to act one in the most momentous of all concerns, because it involves their happiness or misery for all eternity. They know the truth without having the courage to embrace it. They have an old and comfortable home which, perhaps, they should abandon; they have a loving wife and affectionate children whom they would be obliged to reduce, from respectability and affluence, almost to

destitution; their social cast would be lost, their family ties rudely broken. The sacrifice exceeds their strength; they will not give up those who are "dear to them as their own souls," for they are unmindful of the warning of our dear Lord, who gave His life for us, that he who loveth father or mother more than Him, is unworthy of Him, and cannot be His disciple.

The ties which bind us to the world are very strong, and it is only by the aid of powerful grace that we can free ourselves from them. We should certainly be far more edified by the heroic example of those, whose burning zeal for God's glory has enabled them to triumph over so many difficulties, than scandalized by the wavering and weakness of those who still lag behind. When we consider the number and character of those who have within the last few years embraced Catholicity in England,—when we endeavour to picture to ourselves the affectionate private remonstrances of those, who, like Festus in regard to Paul—thought that much learning had made them mad, and remember the violent public clamour, in the face of which they abandoned the Church, of which most of them were the ordained ministers, and that, in spite of all this, like the apostle of the Gentiles, they were not incredulous to the "Heavenly vision of the Spouse of the Lamb," which they beheld in the Word of God, and in the language of Christian antiquity, but threw themselves into the arms of the very religion which they had formerly reviled; we cannot help exclaiming, "the finger of God is here."

Amongst these miracles of "God's grace," it is consoling to us to be able to count two sons of William Wilberforce. We have lost some members of our Church, but what kind of men were they? Poor ignorant wretches who have been starved into the outward profession of a faith which they neither believe nor understand,—degraded priests, who, having lost all hopes of being employed in the ministry of their own Church, wish to try their chance in some other; men, at the very best, who have not given entire satisfaction to the superiors of the Church which they have deserted,—who were not distinguished by superior piety or learning, and whose worldly comforts and indulgences have been certainly increased by their change of religion. It would be profanation to contrast with such a worthless rabble those eminently gifted men, who, in the full maturity of their intellects, after the most patient and

prayerful study of the Word of God, and of the monuments of Christian antiquity, have sought rest and refuge in the bosom of the Catholic Church. It is only necessary to mention the names of Newman, Manning, Faber, and Wilberforce, to prove what we have stated. Holding important positions in the great Protestant Universities of England, or conspicuous dignitaries of the Church, without a single stain upon their spotless reputation, universally admired for their learning, and loved for their virtues, they were, to use the language of Scripture, with regard to a holy priest,* as cedars planted in Mount Libanus, around whom their brethren stood as branches of palm trees; and when they went up to the holy altar they honoured the vesture of holiness.

We do not make these observations in the spirit of boastful triumph. This would be to degrade divine things to the level of human passions. The Church of God is not like a human institution, whose existence may depend upon victory. To fear for the stability of the Church of God would be to doubt His fidelity to His promises. We are as certain that she will be preserved in the day of her sorrow as in the day of her triumph, because she is defended by the right arm of the Most High. She is the house of God, which He hath "built upon a rock, and the rain may fall, and the floods may come, and the winds may blow, and they may beat upon that house, but it cannot fall, for it is founded on a rock." We do not, therefore, regard the accession of those illustrious men as a party triumph, but as a signal instance of God's mercy, both to the individuals themselves, to whom He hath manifested the truth, and to whom He hath given the spirit of fortitude and self-denial which has enabled them to embrace it; and to their great nation before which He hath set them up as burning and shining lights, to guide it back to the Catholic Church, from which it was unhappily severed by human passions, and to which human motives—the pride and prejudices of the world—still render it a stranger. The people of England have been trained up in the sophism which confounds spiritual with temporal independence. They will not allow themselves to be enrolled as a portion of Christ's Universal Church. He must make a Church for themselves or they will not belong to Him.

* Onias. Ecclesiasticus, chap. 50.

They will not be Catholics, but Anglicans. They treat every attempt to unite them in communion with the rest of Christendom as an attack on their national independence, and regard the purest and most self-sacrificing of those who, through many trials, have felt themselves compelled to return to the faith of their fathers, as little better than traitors to their country. Mr. Wilberforce points out, by his own actions, the duty of a Christian who discovers that he is not within the pale of the true Church, and at the same time modestly and feelingly alludes to the sacrifices which he made by declaring himself a Catholic.

“Those” he says, in the preface to the work which we have placed at the head of this article, “who know what it is to break through the associations of nearly half a century, will not wonder at my experiencing that which Cicero speaks of in a less arduous case: ‘*Quam difficile est sensum in republica deponere.*’ I had previously felt that the Royal supremacy, ‘in all spiritual things and causes,’ as modified by recent Acts of Parliament, was open to great objection; but I did not at that time discern how completely it was the introduction of this novel principle, which had originally separated England from the communion of the rest of Christendom; and therefore that every subsequent generation, (and I myself in particular,) by subscribing ‘readily and willingly,’ as the terms run, had, in effect, given an individual sanction to the events of the sixteenth century. So soon as my conscience was satisfied that the declaration to which I had pledged myself was unlawful, I felt that it was a duty to recal my assent as solemnly as it had been given..... Whether I was right in considering that I ought not to carry the present volume through the press without first relieving myself from the obligations of subscription, I leave to the reader’s judgment. I can only say that my resolution was not taken without counting the cost. For if these pages should find their way into any fair parsonage, where everything within and without speaks of comfort, where sympathizing neighbours present an object to the affections, and the bell from an adjoining ancient tower invites the inmates, morning and evening, to consecrate each successive day to God’s service; and if the reader’s thoughts suggest to him that it is impossible to unloose ties so binding, or to transplant himself from his ancient seat, when he is too old to take root in a new soil, let him be assured that such also have been the feelings of the writer. And more painful still is the consciousness that such a step must rend the hearts, and cloud the prospects of those who are as dear to men as their own souls. It is at such times that the promises of Scripture come home to the heart with a freshness which eighteen centuries have not diminished. ‘There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or chil-

dren, or lands, for My sake, and the Gospel's, but he shall receive a hundredfold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life.' ”

This is surely the language of a sincere and upright man speaking from the depths of a tender and affectionate heart. The analysis of his book, which we are now about to submit to the reader, will, we trust, prove that Mr. Wilberforce's learning is equal to his sincerity, and that he has been led to the Catholic Church by deeply studying the inspired volume, aided by an intimate acquaintance with the earliest monuments of the Christian Church. Undoubtedly, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, the Christian Apologist, Tertullian, until he became a Montanist, Irenæus, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, &c., were members of the true Church. With the exception of the members of sects which have disappeared more than a thousand years ago, they were regarded by all the Christians of their own age as the brightest ornaments of the Christian Church, and the clearest expounders of her doctrines. They could not have been ignorant of the doctrines of the Church of which they were the champions and defenders. As well might the most distinguished Catholic and Protestant writers of the present day be charged with ignorance of the doctrines of the Churches to which they respectively belong. Now if Christ had any true Church upon earth it was undoubtedly that Church to which the early Christian Fathers belonged, and whose creed they defended. We do not speak of the opinions of the Fathers, or of the degree of authority to which they may be entitled. We consider them simply as historians and witnesses of the practices which prevailed, and of the doctrines which were professed in the Church in their own times. On one subject, at least, we can go back almost to the time of the Apostles, and this is the all-important one of the constitution and authority of the Christian Church. That this historical evidence is needed no reflective man can deny, because the popular Protestant principle, which rejects all authority, and says that it is the duty of every Christian to derive his religion from the Scriptures alone, aided by his own private judgment, is so utterly untenable, that it has been practically denied by every sect which requires subscription to any creed or

formula of faith. No matter how few or fundamental the creed might be,—did it but prescribe a definite belief regarding the Godhead, the Atonement, or the inspiration of Scripture, it would be denied by professing Christians, on the express ground, that by the free and rightful exercise of their private judgment they found that it was not contained in the Sacred Volume, and the sect which excludes these professing Christians for such denial, necessarily subverts the principle of private judgment, and acts upon that of authority, as clearly as any general council that ever assembled to extinguish a heresy, or to define a doctrine of the Church. The question in reality is, not whether every Christian society which has any creed at all must admit a paramount external authority, to which all who belong to its communion must yield, but in whom that authority resides. Those who theoretically adopted the principles of the Reformation practically only exchanged one authority for another. They rejected an authority venerable on account of its antiquity, because those who exercised it could trace their commission through the successors of Peter back to the Apostles, from whom it has been transmitted to the present times by a long and unbroken chain of bishops; an authority illustrious on account of the piety, the learning, the dignity, and the numbers of those who exercised it, because no matter what may have been the number of bishops actually assembled in any general council, every decision regarding faith, by receiving the deliberate approval of the Pope, with whom all the bishops in the Catholic Church must correspond and communicate, was thereby stamped with the approval and authority of the whole body; to subject themselves submissively to the teaching of an obscure synod of ministers and elders, which had severed itself from the whole Christian world, and which was sure soon to be subdivided into adverse sects, which are no longer even called Christian or Catholic, the name and surname by which the genuine followers of our Lord were distinguished from heretics of old,* but by appellations as

* “*Catholicum istud, nec Marcionem, nec Apellem, nec Montanum sonat, nec hæreticos sumit auctores... Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus vero cognomen. Illud me nuncupat, istud ostendit. Hoc probor inde significor.*”—S. Pacianus Epist. i. ad Sempron. quæ est de Catholico nomine.

new and almost as strange as their creeds; or to the inconsistent whims and varying political interests of lay rulers, "who had not even the merit of professing to know the subject in dispute." The words marked by inverted commas are taken from the second volume of Sir James Mackintosh's *History of England*, pp. 253, 254. The whole passage deserves to be transcribed, because it was written by a man of acknowledged ability, who spared no pains to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the religious controversies of the sixteenth century. Lord John Russell says that he knew more on this subject than any man he ever met, and that it formed his favourite topic of conversation.

"The Protestant portion of Europe," Mackintosh says, "did not, like the Catholic world, compose one religious community; strictly speaking, it was divided into as many churches as it contained states.....Both (Lutherans and Calvinists) unanimately received the Scripture as the only infallible authority; they agreed in great reverence for the decrees of the first four General Councils, if not as a standard of orthodoxy, yet as a guide of high authority in the interpretation of the New Testament. None of them could explicitly deny the weight of general tradition, and of very ancient usage. By the constant discussion of the opinions and practice of former ages, they implicitly allowed their value as evidence worthy of consideration, though varying, according to their distance, from the sacred source; they unanimately rejected the infallibility of the See of Rome, which some zealots began to represent as Antichrist, while a few individuals among the more learned and moderate were privately less unwilling than they could venture to avow, to submit to a limited supremacy in that ancient patriarchate as a preservation of ecclesiastical order and peace. Each of the reformed churches left undetermined the momentous question, which their separation from Rome had brought into discussion, respecting the competent judge in cases of a disputed interpretation of Holy Writ. Wherever the Church was reformed by the government, as in all Lutheran, and in most Calvinistic countries, as well as in England, the received opinion was, that this authority belonged to the civil lawgivers of each country; a doctrine which, if understood of the belief, the feelings, and the worship of religion, entirely overthrows its nature; but, if limited to its legal endorsements and privileges, is no more than an identical proposition. All these Churches agreed in the grosser departure from their own principles, which led them to punish, even with death, a dissent from the creeds which they, by their dissent from human authority, had built on the ruins of a system adopted by all nations for many ages; they acted as if they were infallible, though

they waged war against that proud word. In order to escape the visible necessity of granting that liberty of private judgment to all mankind, which could alone justify their own assaults on popes and councils, they, in effect, vested a despotic power over the utterance of religious doctrines in lay sovereigns, who had not even the recommendation of professing to know the subject in dispute."

The Jewish Church was indeed founded on a written code. But this was not at all the case with regard to the Christian Church. It existed before one word of the Scriptures was written. No part of the New Testament had been written when St. Peter preached on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem, and converted three thousand souls, who were all baptized on that day. There is a beautiful picture of the manner of life of these early Christians, in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where we are also told that "the Lord increased daily together such as should be saved." The Church, therefore, existed before the Scriptures, and it was by the Church that the true Scriptures, as they are now received, were approved, and the Apocrypha rejected. This fundamental principle can be proved to demonstration from the silence of Scripture, and from the history of the doubts as to the authorship and inspiration of certain books, which all parties now regard as canonical.

"In the New Testament itself," says Mr. Wilberforce, (p. 10.) "we have no statement either of its contents or inspiration. The Scripture which is spoken to Timothy is the Old Testament, in which he had been instructed; of the inspiration of the New we have no assertion in Holy Writ. Neither can it be shown, respecting all its books, that they were either written or sanctioned by individuals who possessed miraculous power. And were this otherwise, it would require to be shown that these particular books, and every part of them, partook of the inspiration of their authors. For the claim to inspiration cannot extend to every word which was ever spoken or written by an apostle. It must surely be limited to those things which concerned religion, or in which doctrine was expressed."

That, to be inspired, and to have been written by an Apostle, are not convertible terms is clear from the fact, that two out of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, which contains the wonderful story of the first preaching of the Apostles, and of the persecutions and triumphs of the infant Church for the space of thirty years,

were not written by the Apostles, nor does the Sacred Volume anywhere record that Mark or Luke were inspired, or that either of them ever wrought a single miracle. The Gospel of St. Mark is little more than a compendium of that which was written by St. Matthew, and, if we were to rest the fact on internal evidence, nothing would appear more improbable than that a mere abbreviation should be inspired. The Book of the Acts of the Apostles is so far from supplying any internal evidence of its inspiration, that Bolingbroke, and other infidels, have endeavoured to deduce from the manner in which it commences, an argument, not only against its own inspiration, but also against that of St. Luke's Gospel. Certainly no testimony of Scripture can be adduced to prove the inspiration of the Acts of the Apostles. How, then, do we know this book to be inspired? Undoubtedly on the testimony of the Church. The authenticity and inspiration of the Epistle to the Hebrews was denied by a very large portion of the Christian world, until the end of the fourth century. Most of the ancient authors who admitted its inspiration, as Clement of Alexandria, Euthalius, Theodoret Theophylact, St. Jerome, &c., held that it was composed in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by St. Luke, or St. Barnabas. How, in spite of all the doubts that surrounded it in the Early Ages, and which were revived at the Reformation, do we now *know for certain*, that it is the inspired word of God? Undoubtedly, by the authority of the Church, and not from anything that is contained in the Epistle itself, or that is said regarding it in any other portion of the Scriptures.

Moreover, it by no means follows, because a man was an Apostle, and wrought miracles, that any portion of his writings was, therefore, inspired. It was by preaching far more than by writing, revealed truth, that the Gospel was to be propagated in the world. Our Lord gave His blessed Apostles no command to write, but the very last words which He uttered on earth, before He ascended to the right hand of the Father, contained the divine commission "to preach the Gospel to every creature. You shall." He tells His Apostles, "receive the power of the Holy Ghost, coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost parts of the earth. And when He had said these things, while they looked on

He was raised up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight.”* All the Apostles gloriously fulfilled this commission, but of those who were there present, only five have left any inspired writings behind them. The great Apostle of the Gentiles cries out: “We *preach* Christ crucified.....and *my speech*, and *my preaching*, was not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in showing of the spirit and power; that your *faith* might not stand on the wisdom of men. We *speak* the wisdom of God in a mystery which none of the princes of this world knew, but to us God hath *revealed these mysteries by His Spirit*, that we may know the things that are given us from God, which things also we speak.....For if I preach the Gospel, it is no glory to me; for a necessity lieth upon me; for woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel.”† This was the commandment which he had received—to preach. He had no command to write, and he only does this when he cannot communicate orally with any Church on account of his absence from it. He never communicated any doctrines or instructions in writing, when he could do it orally. St. John intimates (Ep. iii. v. 9.) that he might perhaps have written to the Church were it not that a person who held a high position did not receive him, and he concludes both his second and third Epistles almost in the same words,—“Having more things to write unto you, I would not by paper and ink; for I hope that I shall be with you, and speak face to face.” St. Paul, indeed, praises Timothy for his knowledge of the Scriptures. “And, because,” he says, “from thy infancy thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which can instruct thee to salvation by the faith, which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice.”‡ Surely if faith should necessarily be derived from the Scriptures, or if the Written Word were the tribunal established by our Lord to decide controversies regarding faith, St. Paul would have said so in this place. But in fact, he says neither the one nor the other. He merely affirms that, as St. Timothy knew the Holy Scriptures, they could—*δυνάμενά*—in-

* Marc. last chap. Acts. 1.

† 1 Cor. chap. i., ii., ix.

‡ 2 Tim. cap. iii. 15, 16.

struct him to salvation, because the Old Testament, of which the Apostle speaks, (for Timothy could not have known the New from his youth,) bears testimony, as our Lord had once told the Jews, to Jesus Christ,* and proves the necessity of believing in Him. He elsewhere praises the Bereans also, for searching the Scriptures daily, † to find out if Christ were the Messias. But the very next verse informs us that all those who searched the Scriptures did not believe. The Scriptures here quoted were manifestly those of the Old Testament, because (v. 10.) Paul had preached in the Jewish synagogue at Berea, and (v. 11.) afterwards the people eagerly sought the Scriptures, to see if these things were so. We do not, in fact, in the entire Acts of the Apostles, nor in the Epistles of St. Paul, nor in the Canonical Epistles, (with the exception of a casual mention of St. Paul's Epistles by St. Peter, which shall be explained hereafter,) find in a single instance, the Scriptures of the New Testament, quoted as an authority, or even referred to at all, except when the sacred writers allude to their own former books. This search of the Scriptures of the Old Testament was confined entirely to the Jews. It was useful, but by no means necessary, nor even common amongst the great body of the early Christians. "All Scripture inspired of God is," as the Apostle says, and as all Catholics must believe, "profitable to teach;" but he nowhere affirms that it is either necessary or sufficient. He clearly lays down the contrary doctrine in these very Epistles to Timothy. He admonishes Timothy himself, thus: "Hold the *form of words* which thou hast *heard* from me" ... "And the things which thou hast *heard* of me by many witnesses, the same commend to *faithful men*, who shall be fit to teach others also." ‡ Thus, the faith which he had learned from the lips of Paul, he was to transmit, not by circulating the Scriptures, but by faithful men, who would be fit to teach others also. These faithful men were evidently the ministers of the Gospel, about whose selection and qualifications the Apostle gives Timothy such particular instructions. And with regard to the tribunal by

* John v. 39.

† Acts xvii. 11, 12.

‡ 1 Tim. i. 13, and ii. 2.

which the truth was to be preserved, he refers his disciple, not to the Scriptures, but to the Church. For after describing the qualifications which he should require in those who aspire to the dignity of bishops, or deacons, he says, "These things I write to thee, hoping that I shall come to thee shortly. But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and the ground of truth."* The Church, therefore, is the very pillar which supports the edifice of truth, it is the very ground on which it is built, and of course, if the pillar or the ground were to fail, the superstructure must fall to ruin. It is, consequently, a matter of the greatest importance, that Timothy should be careful in the selection of those by whom that living edifice is to be continually built up and preserved. In the verse after that in which he speaks in such magnificent terms of the Church, St. Paul mentions the preaching of the Incarnation, the great fundamental doctrine of Christianity, and then immediately proceeds to warn his disciple against "some who shall depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of devils." Against these there is one impregnable bulwark, and that is the Church. They cannot prevail against her, because she is the pillar and the ground of truth.

It is this same tribunal of the pastors and teachers of the Church, which the blessed apostle tells the Ephesians was established by our Lord to preserve the unity of faith, and to save them from being "carried about by every wind of doctrine, by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive." For these great purposes our Lord gave, He tells us, not the Scriptures, but apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors. Some of these were to pass away, but others were to remain and to constitute a permanent body for "the work of the ministry, and the building up of the body of Christ, which is the Church, until we all meet in the unity of faith." †

As, therefore, the Christian revelation was propagated far more by the actions and preaching of the Apostles than by their writings, as it was spread through the nations by

* 1 Tim. iii. 15.

† Ephes. iv.

all the Apostles, though the majority of them have left no inspired writings behind them, it is quite manifest that their words must have been inspired as well as their actions. Will any one say that St. James, the Greater, whom our Lord called a son of thunder, was not inspired, although no writing of his remains, or that St. Peter was not inspired on the day of Pentecost, though not one word of the New Testament was then written? And yet it is absurd to suppose that the Apostles could not utter a word which was not inspired, and if they could speak uninspired words they could also commit them to writing. There is certainly no reason to suppose that they could not do so, and undoubtedly such was the impression in earlier times, for the Apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas was attributed to an apostle, and yet its inspiration was denied. "How little the ancient Church supposed that it was necessary to have the authority of an apostle in order to prove a book worthy of reception, may be seen from the judgment of Dionysius the Great, of Alexandria, respecting the Revelations. He says he does not venture to 'reject the book,' nor does he deny its author the possession of 'knowledge [and prophecy,' but affirms that he could not be the apostle St. John.'" Euseb. vii. 25.* Moreover, as we have already stated, a large and important portion of the Sacred Volume was not written by any of the Apostles. It is quite manifest, therefore, that the inspiration of the New Testament cannot be established by a mere reference to the authors by whom its various books were composed.

It remains, then, that the inspiration of Scripture must be proved by some statement contained in the Scriptures themselves, or by some catalogue drawn up by the Apostles, or by the authority of the Church.

1. If the Scriptures themselves—or, at all events, that portion of them which can be proved to have been written by Apostles—contained a distinct declaration of their inspiration, it would undoubtedly be decisive, because we know that their authors would not deceive us. But, in truth, there is no such statement with regard to all the books which compose the New Testament, either individually or collectively. The texts usually quoted from St. Paul

* Wilberforce, p. 21.

refer to the Old Testament, as we have already shown, and they do not even speak of any portion of it by name. The Apostle merely says, that all Scripture divinely inspired is useful, and that the Bereans searched the Scriptures daily, to see if Christ were the Messiah, but he does not tell us of what books those Scriptures were composed.

Two passages are, strangely enough, quoted from St. Peter, to prove the inspiration and sufficiency of the Written Word, which were expressly written by the holy Apostle, to warn us of the danger of private interpretation of Scripture. "Understanding this first," he says,* "that no prophecy of Scripture is made by private interpretation. For prophecy came not by the will of man at any time, but the holy men of God spoke, inspired by the Holy Ghost.....As also our most dear brother Paul, according to the wisdom given him, hath written to you; as also in all *his* epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction." But the first of these passages merely proves the general fact of inspiration, and mentions by name only the Epistles of St. Paul, and of these it gives no catalogue, nor is there the slightest reason to believe that they were collected together at this time. As St. Peter was addressing the converted Jews, to whom he says St. Paul had also written, the specific reference would appear to be to the Epistle to the Hebrews, but as he neither mentions the names nor the numbers of St. Paul's writings, this passage would form a very unsatisfactory foundation on which to rest our belief of their inspiration. At all events it would be rather inconvenient to expunge from the New Testament the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the canonical epistles which are not named by St. Peter. It must be manifest to every one who reads the passage, that it was not written with any intention of giving a catalogue of the inspired writings. Indeed, a complete catalogue would most probably have been impossible at this time, for the Epistle of St. Peter must have been written about the year 65, whilst, according to the general opinion, St. John's

* 2 Pet. i. 20, 21, iii. 15, 16.

Gospel was not composed until about 98. Finally, if the Holy Ghost had intended that this Epistle of St. Peter should have been the means of establishing the inspiration of the whole, or of any part of the New Testament, he would surely have removed, from the beginning, all doubt about its own character. Now this is so far from being the case, that its genuineness was doubted by Origen and Eusebius,* and that St. Jerome declares in the fourth century, that "it was rejected by the greater number of critics."† So far, therefore, was this epistle from settling the Canon, that it was itself one of the very last of the inspired writings which was universally acknowledged.

There is another passage of Scripture which is usually adduced to prove the inspiration, as well as the sufficiency of the Written Word, and which is often repeated with a solemnity which Thurlow himself might have envied. It derives a good deal of its importance from the place which it occupies, at the very end of the sacred volume. Nearly the last words in the Bible are these: "For I testify to every one that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book: if any man shall add to these things, God shall add unto him the plagues written in this book. And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from these things that are written in this book."‡ In these words the Holy Ghost is supposed to have wound up, and set His final seal upon the entire volume of inspiration, or, at all events, upon that portion of it called the New Testament.

But, in the first place, it is quite a gratuitous assumption to suppose that the Apocalypse was the last inspired book which was written. We know that the book was written by St. John, whilst he was in banishment in the island of Patmos, but whether this took place in the reign of Claudius, about the year 50, as St. Epiphanius, who is followed by Grotius, Hammond, Lightfoot, Rosenmüller, &c., think, or, as Newton and others believe, under Nero, about the year 67, or, as Irenæus and many ancient authors teach, under Domitian, about the year 96, is a

* Origen apud Euseb. Hist. L. vi. c. xxv. et L. iii. c. iii. 25.

† In Catalog. vox Petrus.

‡ Apoc. c. xxii. 18, 19.

matter regarding which commentators and critics are still divided. And although we were to consider the last opinion as the most probable, it would by no means follow that the Apocalypse was written after all the other books of Scripture. The most generally received opinion regarding the Gospel of St. John is, that it was composed at Ephesus about the year 98, and after the Apostle had returned from exile. It would, therefore, be great weakness to rest our faith in such a fundamental doctrine as that of the inspiration of Holy Scripture on a mere opinion, which is so far from being certain, that it is not even the most probable.

Moreover, not a single book of the New Testament is mentioned by name in the texts we are discussing, except the Apocalypse itself. The various writings which compose the New Testament, most certainly were not, during the lifetime of St. John, collected into one book, or volume. Had this been done by the authority of St. John, and had the Holy Ghost solemnly set the seal of inspiration on this collected volume by the hand of St. John, the authority of seven of the books which are now universally admitted to form a portion of the New Testament, could not have been widely disputed, and even rejected, by large portions of the Church for three hundred years afterwards.* Indeed, the language of the Apostle clearly shows that St. John is speaking of the book of Revelations alone, because he calls it "The prophecy of this book," and "The book of this prophecy,"—names which were never applied either to the Gospels, or the Acts, or to any of the inspired writings of the New Testament, with the exception of the Apocalypse.

It is a singular coincidence that the authority of the Apocalypse, as well as that of the second epistle of St. Peter, should have been long disputed in the Church. The four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of St. Paul, the first of Peter, and the first of John,

* The disputed, or Deutero-canonical books, as they are called, are, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St. James, and of St. Jude, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the Apocalypse. Their canonicity was not universally acknowledged by the Church until the end of the fourth, or the commencement of the fifth century.

were universally received three hundred years before the inspiration of the Apocalypse was indisputably established. They were not, therefore, placed upon the Canon on account of any statement which it contained. Nor had it any weight in settling the question about the other books, not only because it makes no mention of them, but also because it would be absurd to prove the inspiration of one doubtful book by the authority of another.

II. In discussing the first point fully, we have been obliged to anticipate the second; for we have proved that no list of the canonical books was drawn up by the Apostles, and that St. John died without having settled this momentous question. At first each particular Church possessed such inspired writings as were addressed to itself, to which it is probable that a copy of some one of the Gospels was generally added; some Churches had more, some fewer, of the twenty-seven distinct compositions which now make up the New Testament. St. Paul writes to some particular Church about matters which immediately concerned itself at the time; but he does not send it the inspired writings which he had addressed to other Churches, nor does he desire it to procure them. Even at the end of the second century, as we learn from St. Irenæus, there were Christian nations which, like the Church herself in the beginning, and when she was, as she still is, the true spouse of the Lamb, had no part of the Scriptures. "When there are such proofs," says St. Irenæus, after referring to the authority of Polycarp, and of his master, St. John, "we ought not to seek from others for that truth which it is easy to obtain from the Church, inasmuch as the Apostles have deposited in it, as in a rich storehouse, everything which pertains to the truth; so that every one who will can take from it the draught of life. For this is the entrance to life, but all others are thieves and robbers. Wherefore they ought to be avoided, while that which belongs to the Church we should love with all diligence, and lay hold of the tradition of the truth. For what is it? Even if there were a dispute regarding any important question, ought we not to recur to the most ancient Churches, which were wont to enjoy the converse of the Apostles, and to receive from them what was certain and practically clear concerning the matter in dispute? For what, if the Apostles had left us no Scriptures, ought we not to follow the course of tradition which they delivered to those to whom they

entrusted the Churches? This arrangement is followed by many barbarous nations, who, being without ink and parchment, have their salvation written by the Spirit in their hearts, and guard diligently the old tradition.*

It is contrary to all history to suppose that the Christian Church was built upon the Scriptures, and not upon the preaching of the Apostles. St. Matthew did not write his gospel until the sixth or eighth † year after the Ascension, during which period the Church had already been widely diffused. It was moreover written in Hebrew, and was composed for the use of the Jews alone. There was no gospel for the converted Gentiles until the year 43, or 44, when, according to the authorities just cited, Mark, being asked by the Christians in Rome, made a compendium of the Gospel of Matthew, about the year 43 or 44, inserting in it some particulars of our Lord's life which he had heard from St. Peter and St. Paul. St. Luke, who learned his Gospel from the same Apostles, wrote still later. He evidently insinuates, in the beginning of his book, that he was induced to write an account of apocryphal gospels which were already in existence. "Forasmuch," he says, "as *many* have taken in hand to set forth, in order, a narrative of the things that have been accomplished among us," it seemed good to me also, most excellent Theophilus, to write to thee, in order, according as *they* have delivered them unto us, who, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word. Now *many* inspired writers had not taken in hand to set forth, before this time, the facts of our Lord's life, and he, therefore, must allude to other writers who were not inspired. And certainly St. Luke himself neither claims inspiration, nor was he himself an eye-witness of the facts of our Lord's life, nor does he tell us from whom he had learned them. But, granting that he heard them from Apostles, does it, therefore, follow that he was inspired? Were the writings of all those who heard the Apostles relate the facts of our Lord's life inspired? How, therefore, do we know that

* Apud Wilberforce, p. 22, 23.

† Papias apud Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 4. Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. 1. Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 24. Hieron. Præfat. in Evangelia. Chryst. Hom. in Mat., &c.

these two gospels were inspired? From the authority of the Church.

Some Christian Churches had no part of the Scriptures even in the end of the second century; others had a few of the inspired books bound up, in many instances, with apocryphal epistles and Gospels. If Christ had intended that His Church should be built on the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, He would not have so emphatically taught us the contrary, by the mode which, in accordance with the wish and designs of Divine Providence, the sacred books were composed and preserved. Errors as to what books were inspired—the true being sometimes rejected and the apocryphal admitted in their place—though the latter was by no means so common as the former, prevailed for more than three hundred years in the Church. If the Written Word had been essential, the Holy Ghost would not have allowed this to occur. When we know the Scriptures, it is necessary to believe them to be the inspired Word of God. They are a most precious legacy bequeathed by Him to His church. But if we knew not the Scriptures we could be saved without them, through loving faith in the Redemption, which has been wrought by the Son of God. So is many a poor savage saved in whose language there is no Written Word, to whom our devoted missionaries preach the blessings of redemption. It was, however, very necessary, in order to preserve the deposit of the faith, to define what books were really inspired, and to exclude the spurious books, especially those which contained doctrinal errors, such as the gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, and those productions in which were embodied the wild and blasphemous dreams of the Gnostics. This work could only be accomplished by the Church, and in order that she should have been able to effect it three things were absolutely necessary. First, that there should be divine truths preserved in the Church, which are not contained in the Written Word. Second, that the Church should be able unerringly to distinguish this divine revelation from prevailing errors and mere human opinions. Thirdly, that her teaching should be binding with regard to the whole Christian society.

I. She could not have drawn up a list of the Inspired Books of the New Testament unless it be admitted that in the Christian dispensation there are revealed truths of the utmost importance, which are not contained in the

written word. We have already proved that the inspiration of the twenty-seven different compositions which make up the New Testament, cannot be proved from scripture. And yet, the fact that a written composition has been inspired by the Holy Ghost, cannot be known except by a revelation of the Holy Ghost. An Apostle would not have written anything which he knew to be false; he could not, therefore, have declared a composition to have been inspired unless this fact had been revealed to him, but it can never be proved that he could not speak a word, or write a sentence which was not inspired. And if he might have written without inspirations, how do we know that those writings are inspired, in which he lays no claim to inspiration? This argument can be urged with still greater force with regard to those important portions of the sacred volume which were not written by Apostles. It must be remembered that the truth and the inspiration of a composition are very different things. We may write a perfectly true history of a transaction, but it will not therefore be inspired. We are often able to prove the truth of the principal facts contained in a book, from the time and circumstances in which they have occurred, but without divine revelation we cannot know that the book was written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Take, for example, the Acts of the Apostles, and the truth of this proposition, "The Acts of the Apostles is an inspired book," must depend on its revelation. We may be able to demonstrate the truth of the principal facts which it contains, but without revelation we cannot know that it is inspired. No part of the written word contains any such revelation, and therefore, before the Acts of the Apostles could have been placed on the canon, it was absolutely necessary to admit that there are revealed truths of the utmost importance in the Christian dispensation, which are not contained in the Sacred Volume.

It will be said that the inspiration of the Books of the New Testament can be proved by the testimony of ancient writers, and by their acceptance by the Church. This argument rests on what is called the human testimony of the Church, without taking into account the divine attributes with which Catholics believe her to have been endowed by Jesus Christ. We shall examine this matter presently; but it is sufficient for our present purpose to observe, that unless the Holy Ghost had revealed that the

twenty-seven books of the New Testament are divinely inspired, the testimony of writers, and the acceptance of the Church, would have been utterly worthless, because, they could have known nothing about the matter. The argument, with respect to many, but not with regard to all the Books of the New Testament, is perfectly decisive, because, it is repugnant to suppose that the Christian society should have unanimously received books as inspired, if that fact had not been revealed. This may be established by all the arguments which prove the religion itself to be divine. There does not appear to have been any separate revelation made regarding the whole of the Books of the New Testament taken collectively. The wide diversity of opinion as to what books were inspired which prevailed in the Church for the first four centuries proves this. The revelation was made with regard to each of the books separately. These separate revelations were communicated to the faithful at different times, and in different countries. As the Gospel of St. Matthew was written nearly half a century before that of St. John, a like period must have intervened between the revelations with regard to their respective inspirations. The revelation with respect to the inspiration of each particular book was doubtless communicated to the faithful, for whose instruction it was written, or to those into whose hands it was delivered by the sacred writer. Sometimes this revelation spread gradually, but without opposition through the whole Church,—sometimes it met with very extensive opposition, and was rejected by a large portion of the Church. But still, the revelation which regarded the inspiration of each book, was transmitted from those to whom it had been originally made through a succession of “faithful men,” and when the persecutions of the Church, at length ceased for a season, and her pastors were enabled to communicate freely, and to examine these traditions, to reject under the guidance of the Holy Ghost what was spurious, and to separate the divine from the human, the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, and these alone, were received as inspired throughout the entire Church.

II. The Church most certainly could not have settled the disputes regarding the canonical books, if she had not been able unerringly to distinguish divine revelations from prevailing errors and mere human opinions, because the

controversies regarding the inspiration of many of the books of the New Testament were very widely spread through the Christian community; they had continued for more than three hundred years after the death of the last of the Apostles, and the party which rejected a large portion of them supported its views by very plausible arguments. This statement may be illustrated by a brief reference to the controversies regarding any one of the disputed books. Take, for instance, the Epistle of St. Jude. The writer does not call himself an Apostle, but the servant of Jesus Christ, and the brother of James. He does not even say who James was. Nay, those who rejected it argued that the writer of this epistle speaks of the Apostles as if he were not one of them. "Be mindful," he says, "of the words which have been *spoken before* by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, who told you that in the last time there should come mockers." (v. 17, 18). This passage was adduced to prove that the writer could not even have been a contemporary of the Apostles, for he quotes them as having "spoken before." Hence many moderns, as Grotius, Bolten, Welker, Dahl, Berger, have refused an apostolic origin to this epistle. Grotius attributes it to Judas, fifteenth bishop of Jerusalem, Welker to Judas Barsabas, and Dahl to a priest called Judas, whilst De Wette* maintains its apostolic origin. If these learned critics could not agree amongst themselves as to the author of this epistle, or the time when it was written, will any one believe that the contending parties would, at the end of the fourth century, have surrendered their conflicting opinions, unless they had believed the controversy to have been decided by an unerring tribunal? Nor did the decision in favour of its inspiration involve merely a settlement of the dispute regarding its authorship, for it was alleged that it supplied sufficient internal evidence to exclude it from the Sacred Volume. Thus the dispute between St. Michael and the Devil, about the body of Moses, was supposed to have been derived from the apocryphal book called the Assumption of Moses, and the equally apocryphal book of Henoch was said to have been cited at ver. 14. Before placing this epistle on the canon, it was, therefore, necessary to decide that its author had not either designedly, or, through

* Einleitung, § 182, 184, apud Glaire, *Introduct.* tom. vi. p. 343.

ignorance, quoted as Scripture, apocryphal books which contained false and dangerous doctrines. It was necessary to examine the contents of the book itself, and to pronounce unerringly that it contained nothing contrary to the doctrines which had been taught by the Apostles,* because if the Church could be deceived in this matter, she might pronounce in favour of falsehood, reject the truth, and receive, as inspired by the Holy Spirit, the writings of some designing heretic, who wished to corrupt her faith.

III. The Church could never have settled the disputes regarding the inspired books, unless her teaching had been such as to oblige all Christians to submit to it. For if each person had felt himself as much at liberty after her decision as before it to follow his own judgment, will any one believe that a wide-spread controversy of three hundred and fifty years standing, would have suddenly ceased to agitate the Church? This controversy did not die out because it was forgotten, or because it ceased to be interesting. Its subject still continues to be of the deepest importance to every Christian, and its decision imposed upon a large number of particular Churches the necessity of receiving as inspired Scripture, writings which they had hitherto regarded as spurious impositions. The history of the proceedings consequent upon the rejection of the divine authority of the Church in the sixteenth century, furnishes a practical demonstration of this argument. One of the very first of its effects was to unsettle the canon of Scripture. Some rejected one book, some another, some fewer, some a greater number, and yet at this very time, when no man could tell to-day what books might be called Scripture to-morrow, when the inspiration of Scripture was made to depend on critical and philological arguments, which required a perfect knowledge of at least three dead languages, and a familiar acquaintance with the

* St. Augustine expressly asserts that the Church, in deciding the question as to their inspiration, was guided by the doctrine contained in the books which she admitted on the canon. For after stating that the Gospels of Mark and Luke were accepted, he adds, that the writings of others were rejected "not only because the authors were not such as to command confidence, but also because their writings contained some fallacious statements, which the Catholic and Apostolic rule of faith and sound doctrine condemns." *De Con. Evan.* i. 2. Wilberforce, p. 21.

voluminous writings of the Fathers, the poor and illiterate people who could not even read were exhorted to reject all authority in spiritual matters, and to make their own creed out of the Bible. When Luther called the writings of the blessed Apostle St. James, an epistle of old rags, the people roared "old rags" also, and when Calvin condescended to readmit the Epistle to the Hebrews into the canon, because it afforded him some plausible objections against the Mass, that was admitted to be a very clear proof of its inspiration. By the same argument Calvin might have proved the inspiration of his own productions. As the second Epistle of St. Peter did not supply the same proof of inspiration, he did not restore it to the canon. Other critics, as Grotius, Scaliger, Saumaise, Semler, &c., imitated the Early Reformers in unsettling the received catalogue of inspired books. But these critics could not prove the *inspiration* even of the books which they condescended to retain, except by admitting divine tradition and the authority of the Church, because their dissensions and their uncertainty regarding the number of books which should be retained in the New Testament, proves that they could find no text in which a catalogue of them was given, or in which their inspiration was declared. By denying all divine revelation which is not contained in the Scriptures, they deprived themselves of the only solid and intelligible argument on which they could rest the inspiration of the Written Word. This was soon perceived by their successors in the work of reformation. They were men well skilled in human science—erudite critics and patient philologists, who, following out the arguments of their predecessors to their legitimate consequences, rejected the inspirations of Scripture altogether. "We have been told," they said, "that if the Scriptures be inspired, we must find this great truth in the Written Word, it is nowhere to be discovered in it, and consequently, this volume is not inspired, but it is a very good book withal."

The result of the Reformation of the Canon of Scripture has been a signal triumph to the Church. Almost every sect which admits any inspired scripture at all, now receives exactly those twenty-seven books which they found the Catholic Church in possession of at the Reformation, and which she had placed on the Canon more than a thousand years before. Let them cry out No Popery never

so lustily, they must be content to receive the Scriptures from the Catholic Church, and to believe them to be inspired on her authority. It is only necessary to open their own Bible to prove that those critics and reformers who excluded from the Canon any of the twenty-seven books on which she had stamped the seal of inspiration, were guilty of the impiety of rejecting as spurious and false the Word of God who cannot lie. The Catholic Church continues to be still, after the lapse of more than eighteen centuries the sun of the Christian firmament, from which even those bodies which have separated from her, derive all the light which they still possess.

Mr. Wilberforce powerfully refutes the Low-Church-Protestant idea, that the "Church of Christ" is a mere congeries of individuals, gathered together, indeed, according to God's will, but not possessing any collective character, except what was derived from conglomeration of its parts. "On the contrary, it is a living body, which derives its organic life from its union with its living Head, our Lord Jesus Christ." This he proves, because the Church is frequently called the body of Christ in Scripture, as Coloss. i. 18, 24, Ephes. i. 23, iv. 12, v. 23, &c., and because Christians are affirmed to be members of "Christ's Body from His flesh, and from His Bones." Now the Greek word, *σωμα*, does not, like our word, body, signify a mere combination of men, but a living organized body.* However, after all, this is rather an illustration than an argument, because, although the Incarnation may be said to be perpetuated in the indissoluble union which exists between Christ and His Church which "He loved and delivered Himself up to sanctify," yet we can scarcely expect that those who entertain very low ideas of the properties of the Church will admit that she must combine a divine and human nature in herself, the divine governing and directing the human, because Christ incarnate had two such natures, that she must be visible as to the body, and invisible as to the soul or heavenly part, because such He was on earth; that she must be One because He united the two natures in One Person, that she must be Holy

* Wilberforce explains this idea in the first chapter "On the Nature of the Church." It is most lucidly developed in Moehler's *Symbolique*, Tom. ii. chap. v.

because He was Holy, and Infallible because He was Infallible.

It is quite sufficient for a Catholic to prove that Christ instituted a society on earth which He called His church. That this society, like all other societies of men, must be visible; that is, not only that those who compose the society are visible beings, but that the society itself is visible and can be distinguished from all other societies, just as Catholics, Protestants, Greeks, Mohammedans, &c., are visible societies. When our Lord (Matt. xviii.) commands the sinner, when private admonitions have failed, to be denounced to the Church, and declares that if he will not hear the Church, he is to be regarded as the heathen and the publican, He must speak of a visible society. When St. Paul orders the Church of God at Corinth to excommunicate the incestuous man, he must speak of a visible Church, for, from an invisible society no man can be excluded. The very power of admitting men into the Christian Church and of excluding them from it, a power which was exercised by the Apostles and by the Church in every age, a power which must be exercised by every Christian community which retains any positive creed, because it must exclude those who openly reject what it looks upon as essential, necessarily supposes the Church to be a visible society. The bonds by which the various members of this society are held together, and by which, being a distinct society it must be distinguished from all others, we call the notes or marks of the Church. The first of these marks is Unity in faith, in communion in government, because Christ founded only one Church, which He loved and for which He delivered Himself up, and in this Church there must be only one faith (Eph. iv.). The Church founded and sanctified by the one God of all holiness, and propagated through the world by the Apostles who were inspired by the one Spirit of undivided Truth, was not composed of a collection of conflicting sects, each one professing a creed of its own, each having a different form of government, each refusing to communicate with the others as a portion of the One Church of Christ. St. Paul did not preach a different doctrine in Athens from that which Peter preached in Jerusalem; a member of the Church of Corinth would not have been counted a heretic or a schismatic at Rome, for he would have found there the same faith and the same communion as in his own

country. The Kingdom of Christ according to the prophets was to be a universal Kingdom, filling the whole world, extending from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth; but it was not to lose its unity in its catholicity. It was still to continue one undivided (Matt. xii.) Kingdom, it was still to continue one Church, having one faith, it was still to constitute the one body of Christ which was to be built up at all times and in all countries by "Doing the truth in charity, that we may in all things grow up in Him who is the head *even* Christ: from whom the whole body being compacted and fitly joined together, by what every joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in charity." (Eph. iv.) And so it is in the Catholic Church. Diffused through the whole world, yet all her members form one body united in faith, in communion, and in government. When her children wander into distant lands, the inhabitants of which differ from them, in language, in manners, and in the very colour of their body, they find the Catholic Church still the same, they can still join in professing the same faith, in receiving the same sacraments, in adoring the same unbloody sacrifice of the Lamb, and can kneel as familiarly at her altars as in the land of their nativity.

She is Apostolic, for she can trace her commission back to those whom her divine founder sent to teach all nations, and who, receiving the power of the Holy Ghost, became witnesses unto Him in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and even to the uttermost ends of the earth. And, certainly, Christ's mystical body, of which He is the Head, must be Holy. The Church which He loved, and for which He delivered Himself up, that He might sanctify it, cannot be defiled. Christ's earthly kingdom must, therefore, be ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, and APOSTOLIC. With the pastors of His Church, extending her dominion by preaching to all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Christ promised to be always. They, therefore, cannot as a body, teach error. He made Her the pillar and the ground of truth, and sent the Paraclete to preside over Her pastors, teaching all truth. To this Church he bequeathed the deposit of faith,—to Her He left the preaching of the Gospel of truth through the whole world,—to Her He left the building up of His mystical body,—to Her He gave

the inspired Scriptures, to draw up the Sacred Canon, to retain the genuine and reject the spurious, and to interpret them under the guidance of the Spirit of Truth. She is not a human, but a divinely constituted society, whose rulers speak in the name, and by the authority of their divine Head. "He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me." "The episcopacy," to use the language of St. Cyprian, "is held in common" by all the princes of the Church. Each bishop has, indeed, a particular district assigned to him, he is bound to take care that the faith of the Catholic Church be taught and her sacraments administered to the people of his diocese, but he judges of faith as a bishop of the Catholic Church. The moment he ceases to communicate with the entire body he loses his right to teach. It is the Church that is the pillar and ground of truth, it is against her the gates of hell, the powers of darkness, can never prevail, it is with the whole body of her pastors our Lord has promised to remain, always guiding and directing them in their teaching, it is this body which is to preserve the faithful from being carried away by every wind of doctrine. Thus each individual bishop is bound to teach the faith of the whole body, and the faithful are bound only to listen to his teaching, so long as he communicates through the centre of unity with the whole Catholic world, and unites with all his brethren in professing the "one faith" of the Catholic Church. Each bishop is, therefore, in his own diocese, the organ through which the Catholic Church communicates her faith to the people of that particular district. So long as he does so, his words have the sanction of that collective body, which is guided by the Spirit of Truth.

We cannot attempt to give even a summary of Mr. Wilberforce's masterly exposition of the paltering with truth which takes place in the subscription of the clergy to the Thirty-nine Articles. After some preliminary arguments he proceeds thus:—

"The difficulty (of subscription) becomes greater when it is considered that the Clergy are divided into various parties, who are widely opposed to each other in almost every particular. It may be allowable, perhaps, to employ the phraseology of a recent reviewer, who has distributed them into three classes, which he designates as High, Low, and Broad. The last may be expected to be comparatively inattentive to matters of doctrine regarding the Church chiefly as a social institution, designed merely to raise the

standard of morals and ameliorate the manners of men. But the High and Low agree in one point, if in nothing else, that to contend for the truth is the first duty of Christians. They differ, however, respecting almost every point of doctrine. One believes the Church to be the body of Christ, inhabited by His Spirit; the other supposes it to be little more than a religious Club. One believes in Baptismal Regeneration, and in the Real Presence; the other speaks of the sacraments as if they were only acted sermons. One affirms Christ to speak by the voice of His Priests, and that deadly sin requires absolution; the other affirms that the Priest's words are no more effective than those of his parish clerk. Yet both parties, as well as the Broad, who lie between them, subscribe to the same formularies, which they interpret avowedly in contradictory senses, and from which they deduce the most opposite results. If all this does not arise from the laxity of those who subscribe, but from the ingenuity of those who devised our formularies, they must certainly have been the greatest masters of equivocal expression whom the world has known.*

But in truth no Church could be so absurd as to require subscription to Formularies, which she permitted the subscribers to interpret in contradictory senses. Those very Formularies of the Anglican Church which declare that, in consequence of the general infirmity of human nature, the chief Churches of Christendom have erred, require each person who takes orders to subscribe a vast number of propositions touching the most deep and mysterious questions; and he is excommunicated if he declares them to be "in any part erroneous." Those who declared that the whole Church had been in damnable idolatry for eight hundred years and more, felt no scruple in admitting that the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. was "drawn up by the aid of the Holy Ghost."† Queen Elizabeth made very considerable changes in the thirty-nine Articles after they had been agreed upon in Convocation. These Articles of Faith, which were defined by infallible Parliaments and Convocations, or by inspired maiden ladies, were enforced upon all the subjects of the state, under heavy pains and penalties. By the 5th of Elizabeth, 23, "matter of heresy," "or error in matters of religion, or doctrine, now received and allowed," as well as refusal "to come to Divine Service," or "to receive the Holy Com-

* P. 214.

† For this we have the authority of Parliament, A. D. 1543.

munion, as it is now commonly used to be received in the Church of England," were made grounds for excommunication, and, therefore, for imprisonment without bail. As late as the reign of James I. two men were burnt alive for denying the Trinity. Although, therefore, the English nation denied that Christ had made His whole Church infallible, yet it did not hesitate to submit to the teaching of a Parliament, a Convocation, or even of a woman, as if each of these were infallible.

Mr. Wilberforce makes some very powerful and feeling reflections on the separation of England from the rest of Christendom. Since that period, he says, "The Throne has been occupied successively by the Tudor, Stuart, and Hanoverian Families. The first asserted absolute authority for themselves; the second recognized the Church as a Divine Institution, yet on the condition that it must receive its commission through the Sovereign, whose right was also of divine origin; the third has allowed the principles of pure private judgment to predominate. These, therefore, have been the systems, which have severally prevailed in the Church of England, which, on the whole, has always reflected the principles of the reigning power; and the last of them has the ascendancy at the present moment... Absolute authority over the Church was secured to Elizabeth by express statute (1 Eliz. c. 2, s. 26). Parliament acknowledged the Queen's right to make such reforms as she pleased by her supreme power and authority over the Church of England."* She, in fact, exercised in her own person, all the power which had been believed of old to belong exclusively to the universal Church. During Elizabeth's reign, the Church was merely the creature of the Sovereign.

This absolute control of the Sovereign over the Church was somewhat modified under the Stuarts. The declaration of Charles I. respecting the Articles, A. D. 1628, recognized the Church as a Divine Body, which, though incomplete without the Sovereign, yet, by his concurrence, gained the powers of a substantive whole. This was the period at which the Anglican theory of Church-authority was developed and defended by her most learned divines, amongst whom Andrewes, Laud, Bramhall, and Mason

* Wilberforce, p. 273 4.

are deserving of especial mention. The theory by which the bishops of a single province set themselves up to legislate independently in matters of faith, had been refuted in the case of the Donatis in Africa, by the learning and abilities of the great St. Augustine more than eleven centuries before it was introduced into England.

It was however discovered in the days of James II. that the supremacy, as it had been interpreted by the Crown lawyers, was wholly different from any authority which the Crown had anciently possessed. "Stillingfleet proved the High-Commission Court when restored by James II. to be illegal, and showed the erroneousness of Lord Coke's assertion that the Crown had exercised the power of excommunication before the Reformation. This was virtually to overthrow the whole system of Anglican Church-Discipline; for it has never had any real effect upon the nation at large, except when backed by that strong-handed associate." This overthrow was completed by 1 William and Mary, 8, by which the clause which asserted that "the final authority in spiritual causes belonged exclusively to the crown" was expunged from the oath of supremacy. Thus the Tudors had been as despotic in spiritual as in temporal affairs, the Stuarts were Anglo-Catholic, and the new dynasty cared little what men believed, provided they differed from the Pope. Every man was henceforth to be his own guide in matters spiritual, he was no longer obliged to "hear the Church," in fact, obedience to Church-Authority was regarded as sinful. Each individual was told that it was a sacred duty to take up the Bible and make his creed out of it, the result of which sacred duty has been not merely to overturn every idea of Christianity as it existed for more than a thousand years in the East as well as in the West, as the most unquestionable historical evidence clearly proves;* but even to deny the Redemption altogether, to rob the eternal Father of His only Son, to strip the Man-God of His glory, and to reduce Him to the level of created and even of erring mortals.

Mr. Wilberforce's book may be called a most learned historical argument. He has evidently studied the Fathers, and the authentic monuments of the early Church, with

* *Eccles jurist.* ii. and *Gibson's Codex*, i. p. 44. *Wilberforce* p. 277.

great care. His references to these ancient evidences of the nature, constitution, and authority of the Church, are very numerous, and always faithful. This part of his work it would be impossible to compress within the limits of our article. For the powerful argument which it conveys we must refer the reader to the book itself, which we are sure will be extensively read, and which will undoubtedly produce a deep, and may it be a saving, impression upon the minds of those who still remain outside the pale of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

We cannot conclude this notice more appropriately than by quoting the final paragraph of Mr. Wilberforce's book.

“ But now comes a change. There arises a powerful monarch in a remote land, who resolves to separate the Church of his nation from the unity of Christendom. He effects his purpose by force or fraud, and bids it recognize a new principle in himself. He passes to his account, and his children rule after him. But this new principle of unity is found, in time, to be insufficient. No sooner is the grasp of the civil ruler relaxed, than a host of parties divide the land. The very hope of unity, and thought of concord, is gradually lost. The national Church is surrounded by sects, and torn by dissensions. *Intra muros peccatur et extra.* And can it be doubted what advice would be given to its children by that great saint, who looked forth upon a somewhat similar spectacle in his native land, and whose life was spent in winning back his brethren, one by one, to the unity of Christendom? He did not think that the national unity of Africa was any pledge of safety to the Donatists; or that the number and succession of their Bishops entitled them to respect. ‘Come, brethren, if you wish to be inserted in the vine; for we grieve when we see you lie thus cut off from it. Number the Bishops from the very seat of Peter, and in that list of Fathers see what has been the succession; this is the rock against which the proud gates of Hell do not prevail.’ ”*

* Psalm, c. Don. S. Aug. x. 7.

- ART. VI.—1. *Fabiola; or, the Church of the Catacombs.* (Popular Library.) London, Burns and Lambert, 1854.
2. *The Life of St. Frances of Rome.* By Lady G. FULLERTON. (Popular Library.) 1854.
3. *Catholic Legends.* (Popular Library.) 1854.
4. *Heroines of Charity,* with a Preface by AUBREY DE VERE, Esq. (Popular Library.) 1854.

AMONG the various phases of history, the most interesting, and yet the least understood, is the social one. With the literature, the religion, the laws, the constitution, the arts, the military science, and other miscellaneous characteristics of the ancient world, every intelligent school boy of the upper forms is sufficiently familiar. But how few, even among professed antiquarians, have ever formed to themselves a precise and connected notion of the private life, even of those ancient nations whose antiquities have been the study of their lives! How many among those who could sketch with the utmost precision every detail in the plan of a Roman house from the vestibule to the *posticum*, have ever taken the trouble to picture to their minds a Roman matron in the midst of her children and slaves, or to imagine how a party of Roman ladies and gentlemen would comport themselves during a morning visit? How many of those who could describe any system of ancient philosophy from Heraclitus to Ammonius Saccas, and number every god from Jupiter down to Terminus, could yet form an estimate of the habitual religion of the ancient world, of its control over men's actions, its influence upon their motives, its hold upon them, in a word, as a moral agent in relation to personal conduct or personal responsibility? Even among those who had made what are called social antiquities a special study, we have known scholars who were masters of every detail of the Greek and Roman toilet—who could discourse profoundly of the fashion of Alcibiades's boots, or Clodius's *fibula*, could tell how Phryne contrived to darken the shade of her eyelashes, and Poppæa to brighten the tints of her complexion; and yet had not a single idea of what lay below the surface—

of the moral tone of the society with which they thought themselves so familiar,—of the moral or intellectual bent of men's minds, of their notions of right and wrong—of honour and of shame—in a word, of what was truly the inner life of Greece and Rome.

Perhaps, indeed, these are things which it is impossible for the ordinary student to learn from mere didactic treatises. There are a thousand minute and delicate, but yet most characteristic, traits, which no description can embody. There are other things which, even if described with the most literal accuracy, few minds can succeed in realizing. There are things, again, which are specially unsuited for description—which must be presented to the eye or to the fancy, and not to the understanding. We could point to many single scenes in the plays of Plautus or Aristophanes, which will supply a more instructive lecture on Greek or Roman manners than could be gathered from whole chapters, and even books, in the learned folios of Grævius and Gronovius.

The more imaginative antiquarians of the modern school have felt this difficulty. The success of the Historical Novel in depicting the social characteristics of the middle ages, has suggested the propriety of a similar experiment for the classic times. The most popular of our modern novelists have ventured to take for their theme subjects from the history of Greece and Rome, and some of our most profound scholars have condescended to embody their learning in the once despised guise of classical fiction. We can hardly say, however, that either experiment has been perfectly successful. The best modern classical novels, Lockhart's "Valerius," and Bulwer's still more elaborate "Last Days of Pompeii," however charming and effective as mere works of art, yet want that genuine air of reality which gives life to fiction, and carries the mind back to the times, the scenes, and the characters which it reproduces. On the other hand, Becker's singularly learned tales, "Gallus" and "Charicles," with all their minute and curious scholarship, are but a series of dissertations, strung together without living interest, in which the thread of story is just enough to give the various scenes a sort of literal unity;—but a unity scarcely more interesting to the imagination than that which the same scenes would have possessed had they been published together as a course of antiquarian lectures.

What we have said of the social characteristics of classical antiquity applies with still more force to the antiquities of the Christian Church. The remains of primitive Christian literature are so immeasurably more meagre and fragmentary, and our various means of acquaintance with the life and habits of Christians during the first three ages, are so much less complete, than those which we possess for the corresponding period of pagan history, that the imagination is still more completely destitute of assistance in the attempt to realize to itself the manners and pursuits of our Christian forefathers. Indeed, the subject has all the difficulties in which the study of classical antiquities is involved, with a large super-addition of peculiar difficulties of its own. A picture of the Christian life of Greece and Rome can be, of course, nothing more or less than a picture of the classical life of either as modified by the Christian usages, the Christian ideas, and the Christian principles which were ingrafted upon it.

If this be true of Christian archæology generally, it is especially true of that most important subject, considered in its social aspect. We have no early dramatists—no Christian Plautus or Terence—to draw upon for a knowledge of the “men and manners” of the early Christian times. We have no minute biographers, like Plutarch or Suetonius, no graphic satirists like Horace or Juvenal, no caricaturist like Lucian, no anecdotist like Aulus Gellius; above all, we have no such light as that which is thrown upon Roman life by the long series of inimitable letter-writers, from Cicero and Pliny down to Fronto and Marcus Aurelius. The only substitute for all these varied and instructive sources of knowledge which could at all be compared with them in value—the preachers and moralists of the early Church—address themselves, as is clear, only to one branch of the subject, its direct connection with morality. The thousand most interesting minutiae which attract a lively profane writer, are entirely without interest for them, and escape all notice in their compositions. And even were it otherwise, the Christian literature of the first three centuries is, with two remarkable exceptions, for this branch, almost a complete blank. The earliest preachers, strictly so called, who throw any light on contemporary manners, are St. John Chrysostom, the two Gregories, and St. Basil, in the Greek Church, and St. Augustine and St. Leo, in the Latin.

It is a curious circumstance that the exceptions to which we refer are both African authors. The two most instructive writers, beyond all comparison, upon what we may call the social archæology of the primitive Church, are Tertullian and St. Cyprian. Were it not for what they have written, eked out by incidental and indirect hints and allusions in the early apologists, and still more, in the genuine acts of the martyrs, the monumental inscriptions, and the pictorial remains of the catacombs, our knowledge of the manners and usages of the Christians during the days of persecution, would indeed be deplorably imperfect. If, on all the subjects pertaining to the particular class to which we are alluding, the reader will take the trouble to refer to any of the great archæologists, to Martene, Thomassin, Pelliccia, Bingham, or Selvagi, he will be surprised to find how large a proportion of the foot-notes consist of references to the two authors whom we have named. We may say the same of Fleury's well-known "Manners of the Christians."

To embody in a work of fiction, therefore, an exact and life-like picture of primitive Christian society, may well be regarded as one of the most delicate experiments of modern scholarship. To all the difficulties which belong to classical fiction, it superadds many still more formidable ones of its own; and not the least of these is the great difficulty which so few have succeeded in overcoming, and which is common to all the branches of religious fiction, the difficulty of clothing a sacred theme for ordinary readers in the interest which attaches to every-day life.

It was with no inconsiderable amount of apprehension, therefore, that we saw announced as the first volume of the Popular Catholic Library, a book which it appeared to us so exceedingly difficult to render popular—a tale of the Church of the Catacombs. And in proportion to the interest with which we regarded this most meritorious project,* was our

* In order that we may not interrupt the continuity of our account of "Fabiola," we take this opportunity of expressing the warm and anxious interest which we feel in the success of the series which it ushers in; and from the sample which we find in the volumes recited at the head of these pages, we cannot but anticipate the same feeling on the part of every one who is concerned for the character of our Catholic Literature. They are all just what we should desire,

anxiety lest an infelicitous opening should give an unpopular character to the entire undertaking.

We are bound to say, however, that, before we had read two pages of "Fabiola," every doubt and apprehension had disappeared for ever. It is eminently popular and attractive in its character, and is, in many respects, one of the most remarkable works in the whole range of modern fiction.

"Fabiola" is published anonymously. But it is clear that the authorship cannot long remain a secret. No habitual reader of this journal, especially, can fail to discover it without an effort. He will recognize at once the ease and brilliancy of style, the lively fancy, the singular faculty of illustration, the quiet but racy humour, the graphic skill, as well as the more solid qualities, the curious scholarship, unobtrusive from its very richness, the profound philosophy, the elevation of thought, the lofty piety, the exquisite tenderness, the vast and various erudition,—in a word, the mastery over all the manifold sources of human knowledge, and all the graceful arts by which knowledge is made useful and attractive, which he has been accustomed to admire in each successive number of our Review, and which have ever sufficed to identify at a glance every emanation of one illustrious pen, however careful the disguise under which it had sought at times to conceal itself. All the best and most striking characteristics of this brilliant pen, are distinctly traceable in every chapter of "Fabiola"—poured out in its pages with a prodigality which fills us with wonder, and yet with an ease, a simplicity, an absence of every kind of effort, which reconciles the reader to his own intellectual inferiority, and makes him almost feel a sharer in the wealth which is thus prodigally spread out before his eyes.

This consideration for his readers, indeed, would seem to have been the author's leading object throughout the composition of every part of his work. In the words of his

clever and attractive, yet thoroughly religious in their tone; but instinct with that spirit which makes religion an object of love and of consolation rather than of awe.

We gladly take the same opportunity of directing our readers' attention to an excellent and carefully selected list of light reading for Catholics, recently issued by Messrs. Burns and Lambert, the publishers of the "Popular Library."

own modest preface: "His desire was rather to make his reader familiar with the usages, habits, condition, ideas, feeling, and spirit of the early ages of Christianity. This required a certain acquaintance with places and objects connected with the period, and some familiarity, more habitual than learned, with the records of the time. For instance, such writing as the Acts of primitive Martyrs should have been frequently read, so as to leave impressions on the author's mind, rather than have been examined scientifically and critically for mere antiquarian purposes. And so, such places or monuments as have to be explained should seem to stand before the eye of the describer, from frequently and almost casually seeing them, rather than to have been drawn from books."

Nothing could have been more judicious than this resolution; and, difficult as it proverbially is to resist the temptation to the display of scholarship, the author has carried it out honestly to the end. It is impossible not to feel that the vast and various learning which pervades the entire story, and which, in truth, forms both its framework and its details, is not erudition acquired for a purpose, or "read up" for an occasion, but is the natural and spontaneous outpourings of a mind habitually conversant with the subject of which it treats, and impregnated with the very spirit of the times and the scenes which it describes.

The theme which he undertakes to illustrate is the story—as far as it can be embodied in the history of an individual—of the long struggle between Christianity and paganism for the mastery of the human understanding. It is intended to trace out the course by which a gifted and cultivated mind, rich in all the resources of the popular learning of paganism, was brought to the obedience of the cross.

The story of "Fabiola" has some peculiarities of treatment, however, which give it an especial interest.

It would have been easy, for example, to make a tale like this the vehicle for a mere dissertation on the evidence of Christianity. A still more tempting view of the subject might have been an elaborate historical review and refutation of the various systems of philosophy which were popular in Rome during the third and fourth centuries. "Fabiola," however, is nothing of this kind. Such a scheme would have assorted ill with the selection of a young and fashionable Roman lady, as the heroine of the

tale ; and what is perhaps equally important, it would have conveyed a false idea of the ordinary course of God's providence in bringing souls to the knowledge of Himself. Conversion to God is far more the work of the will than of the understanding: its impulses are drawn far more from the affections, from the heart, from the conscience, in a word, from the moral instincts and the moral sense, than from the reasoning faculty. The choice of a heroine, therefore, rather than a hero, is not the result of accident or of caprice. All these qualities which we have described, may be developed, we need hardly say, far more pleasingly, as well as far more naturally, in the workings of an educated female mind, than in the mental conflicts of a rugged philosopher ; and where that mind is represented as cultivated to the highest degree of intellectual refinement—as an adept, not only in all the polite learning of the day, but also in all the refinements of that later Roman philosophy, which had divested paganism of its grossness, and presented it in its most spiritualized forms as the antagonist of Christianity—the rights of the intellect, too, are sufficiently recognized, and the twofold character of the moral struggle is presented in all its historical fulness and truth.

The reader will infer from this, that "Fabiola" is entirely free from the polemical character. At times, it is true, philosophical and even profound ; always dealing frankly and boldly with all the great questions of natural religion ; occasionally probing to the very depths those mysterious and painful longings of the human heart whose realization is the great problem of all philosophical and theological science ; the theology of this charming book is always, nevertheless, perfectly simple and popular in its tone. "Fabiola's" theological speculations never partake of the nature of controversy. They are all either communings with her own mind, or simple and unquestioning discussions with some of her Christian friends. We may say, indeed, in illustration of this, that her principal instructress is a female slave. Her heart is touched, and her reason is moved, more by the beautiful example, than by the learned discussions, of this instructress: her devotion to philosophy is shaken, her aspirations after a higher and more satisfying creed are awakened, rather by the consciousness of her own moral inferiority, and still more of the defectiveness of the moral standard which she has

hitherto acknowledged, than by any subtle reasonings on the incongruities of paganism, or on the divine character of the Christian revelation. In a word, no one need shrink from "Fabiola," as from that most repulsive of all classes of literature—an essay on Natural Theology.

In like manner, although we know few books which we should more gladly place in the hands of any inquirer after Catholic truth, as a guide to the doctrine and discipline of the Church during the primitive times, and as an evidence of the primitive character of almost all the distinctive doctrines and practices of Catholicity, yet the controversial spirit which commonly marks all such allusions is so cautiously and so gracefully avoided, that the popular character of the narrative is never once forgotten or interrupted. The associations of modern controversy are merged in the historical unity of the scene. We are not reminded at every turn, with an air of conscious triumph, that such doctrines were held, or such practices were observed in the primitive times. But we are made to see and to feel it, as a part of the very soul and essence of the Christian life as it then existed in the Church. These doctrines and practices appear a part of one great and luminous picture; prominent and striking, yet not offensively or inartistically thrust forward, supported and relieved by the general action of the piece—at once illustrating and giving effect to the other details of the subject, and themselves in turn borrowing truth and vitality from the details which they illustrate.

When we spoke of this book, however, as the narrative of the conversion of the lady, Fabiola, to Christianity, we described its contents very imperfectly. It should rather be called a picture of the condition of the Church in Rome during the early part of the third century, and especially during the first stage of the persecution under Dioclesian, and the few months immediately preceding the publication of his edict. Nor, indeed, is the picture confined to the Church itself; for there is hardly an imaginable character which does not find a place in it: and, however light the touch which some of them receive, there is not a single sketch among them all which we may not recognize as exact and truthful. The story leads in its progress into every class both of Pagan and of Christian society, and into contact with every variety of both. It shows us the views entertained regarding Christianity by every class of

“those who were without;” from the emperor, who regarded it as irreconcilable with the political greatness of the empire, and who looked on the Roman Pontiff as a dangerous rival of his throne, to the philosopher, who scoffed at it as the creed of simpletons or knaves, and the more vulgar bigots, who believed that the Christians “met by night to sing detestable songs, to commit all manner of crimes, and especially to cook and eat the flesh of a child whom they murdered for the purpose.” In the Christian community the range of characters is still more varied and more extensive. There is not a grade in the clerical body, from the Pope to the Fossor; not a class among the laity, from the patrician to the beggar-girl, which will not be found represented.

And thus, without effort and without pretension, this charming tale is made a vehicle for the illustration of almost every topic of Christian archæology, and (what we prize infinitely more,) a natural and pleasing medium, for the development of the inner Christian life, in its highest and most ennobling, as well as its most commonplace and unpretending forms—the generous ardour of Pancratius, the lofty spirituality of the holy priest Dionysius, the earnest but regulated zeal of Sebastian, the sturdy, solid, business-like piety of the old Fossor, Diogenes, and his son; and in the gentler sex, the patient and sorrow-trying resignation of Lucina, the rapt enthusiasm of Agnes, the calm and self-forgetting but practical devotedness of Syra, and the cheerful humility of Cecilia. Not that all these are formally described in the characteristics of the various actors in the story, but that they are silently and insensibly exhibited in their conduct. We are not told in so many words that such were their motives, such their impulses, such their feelings. There is none of that elaborate analysis of character in which philosophical novelists delight to indulge—no antithesis of qualities—no balancing of motives; but the easy and natural course of the narrative places before our eyes not alone the actions of the various individuals, but the impulses under which they act; reminding us forcibly of the beautiful simile by which Goethe illustrates the peculiar dramatic excellence of Shakspeare—those old-fashioned glass-cased timepieces, in which we see not alone the movements of the index, but all the secret springs of action in

which these movements originate, and by which they are modified and controlled.

We shall not, by any analysis of the story, forestall the pleasure which will repay its perusal. The veriest outline will suffice for our purpose; which is merely to render intelligible the few extracts which our brief limits will permit.

We may premise that the story commences at the close of that long peace of the Church, which intervened between the death of Valerian, in 268, and the publication of Dioclesian's edict in the beginning of 302; and that (except an incident of many years later, which is introduced in the closing chapters,) it is confined within the first few months of the sanguinary persecution under that emperor.

The heroine, Fabiola, is the daughter and sole heiress of Fabius, a wealthy Roman of the equestrian order, who, without any of the darker vices, is a type of the luxurious, self-indulgent, sensual paganism of the age. Fabiola, on the contrary, is the type of its highest and most cultivated intellectual forms. Deprived in infancy of a mother's care, her education has been entrusted by her doating and careless father to the charge of the most accomplished slaves and the most gifted masters that money could command. As a natural consequence, she has grown up universally admired—beautiful, brilliant, clever, learned beyond her years and her sex; a proficient in all the dangerous philosophy and all the enervating literature of the age; full of all the noblest instincts of our nature, but with full knowledge of her gifts and her acquirements; proud; self-willed; virtuous from her very pride, but unconscious of any moral or natural responsibility; with no motive of action beyond the cold stoicism of self-respect; and exacting homage and service from all around, as a right the nature of which it had never occurred to her to question or analyse.

The Christian contrast to Fabiola may be said to be divided between two charming characters—her young kinswoman, Agnes, a mere child in years, but one of those on whom heaven sets its seal from infancy; and her slave, Miriam, (called simply Syra, (the Syrian girl) by the contemptuous Roman usage,)—an impersonation of all the most beautiful elements of Christian virtue. To the simple beauty of the character of this slave,

Fabiola is first awakened by a very painful, and to herself humiliating, scene, in which, under a sudden impulse of wilful passion, she inflicts a painful wound on Syra, and in which all the noble qualities of the despised slave are placed in prominent contrast to the shortcomings of her own selfish philosophy. In the gradual development of this contrast with herself, and in the enquiries and self-questionings to which it leads, lies the great moral of the story;—a moral which, in order that its full beauty may be appreciated, must be followed through all its charming details, and of which no mere analysis could convey an adequate idea.

It should be observed that most of the prominent personages of the story are historical, and that, in all, the historical character is strictly observed. Indeed, one of the most striking peculiarities of the author is the singular felicity with which he contrives to seize upon the most minute characteristics of the several individuals, as they are conveyed, (perhaps by the merest allusion,) in the historical or legendary narrative with which they are associated, and the skill with which he develops them into a complete and consistent sketch. We would instance as examples of this happy art, the exquisite and strictly historical portraitures of Agnes, of Cecilia, of Pancratius, of Sebastian, of the priest-physician Dionysius, and of the simple peasant-martyr, Emerentiana. For most of these sketches we can only refer to the work itself. But we cannot resist the temptation of introducing two of the principal male characters, Sebastian and Fulvius, as they are presented by the author himself, in his description of a banquet at the house of Fabius, the father of the heroine. The amusing blunders of the shallow but self-satisfied sophist are most characteristic of his class as it then existed in Rome.

“While Agnes was defending her, Fabiola had turned away from her father, and had been attending to the other guests. One was a heavy, thick-necked Roman sophist, or dealer in universal knowledge, named Calpurnius; another, Proculus, a mere lover of good fare, often at the house. Two more remain, deserving further notice. The first of them, evidently a favourite both with Fabiola and Agnes, was a tribune, a high officer of the imperial or prætorian guard. Though not above thirty years of age, he had already distinguished himself by his valour, and enjoyed the highest favour with the emperors Dioclesian in the East, and Maximian Herculius in Rome. He was free from all affectation in manner or dress,

though handsome in person ; and though most engaging in conversation, he manifestly scorned the foolish topics which generally occupied society. In short, he was a perfect specimen of a noble-hearted youth, full of honour and generous thoughts ; strong and brave, without a particle of pride or display in him.

“ Quite a contrast to him was the last guest, already alluded to by Fabiola, the new star of society, Fulvius. Young, and almost effeminate in look, dressed with most elaborate elegance, with brilliant rings on every finger, and jewels on his dress, affected in his speech, which had a slightly foreign accent, overstrained in his courtesy of manners, but apparently good-natured and obliging, he had in a short time quietly pushed his way into the highest society of Rome. This was, indeed, owing partly to his having been seen at the imperial court, and partly to the fascination of his manner. He had arrived in Rome accompanied by a single elderly attendant, evidently deeply attached to him ; whether slave, freedman, or friend, nobody well knew. They spoke together always in a strange tongue, and the swarthy features, keen fiery eye, and unamiable expression of the domestic, inspired a certain degree of fear in his dependants ; for Fulvius had taken an apartment in what is called an *insula*, or house let out in parts, had furnished it luxuriously, and had peopled it with a sufficient bachelor’s establishment of slaves. Profusion rather than abundance distinguished all his domestic arrangements ; and, in the corrupted and degraded circle of pagan Rome, the obscurity of his history, and the suddenness of his apparition, were soon forgotten in the evidencè of his riches, and the charm of his loose conversation. A shrewd observer of character, however, would soon notice a wandering restlessness of eye, and an eagerness of listening attention for all sights and sounds around him, which betrayed an insatiable curiosity ; and, in moments of forgetfulness, a dark scowl, under his knit brows, from his flashing eyes, and a curling of the upper lip, which inspired a feeling of mistrust, and gave an idea that his exterior softness only clothed a character of feline malignity.

“ The guests were soon at table ; and as ladies sat, while men reclined on couches during the repast, Fabiola and Agnes were together on one side, the two younger guests last described were opposite, and the master, with his two elder friends in the middle— if these terms can be used to describe their position about three parts of a round table ; one side being left unencumbered by the *sigma*, or semicircular couch, for the convenience of serving. And we may observe, in passing, that a table-cloth, a luxury unknown in the times of Horace, was now in ordinary use.

“ When the first claims of hunger, or the palate, had been satisfied, conversation grew more general.

“ ‘ What news to-day at the baths ? ’ asked Calpurnius ; ‘ I have no leisure myself to look after such trifles.’

“ ‘ Very interesting news indeed,’ answered Proculus. ‘ It seems

quite certain that orders have been received from the divine Dioclesian, to finish his *Thermæ* in three years.'

"'Impossible!' exclaimed Fabius. 'I looked in at the works the other day, on my way to Sallust's gardens, and found them very little advanced in the last year. There is an immense deal of heavy work to be done, such as carving marbles and shaping columns.'

"'True,' interposed Fulvius; 'but I know that orders have been sent to all parts, to forward hither all prisoners, and all persons condemned to the mines in Spain, Sardinia, and even Chersonesus, who can possibly be spared, to come and labour at the *Thermæ*. A few thousand Christians, thus set to the work, will soon finish it.'

"'And why Christians better than other criminals?' asked, with some curiosity, Fabiola.

"'Why, really,' said Fulvius, with his most winning smile. 'I can hardly give a reason for it; but the fact is so. Among fifty workmen so condemned, I would engage to pick out a single Christian.'

"'Indeed!' exclaimed several at once; 'pray how?'

"'Ordinary convicts,' answered he, 'naturally do not love their work, and they require the lash at every step to compel them to perform it; and when the overseer's eye is off them, no work is done. And, moreover, they are, of course, rude, sottish, quarrelsome, and querulous. But the Christians, when condemned to these public works, seem, on the contrary, to be glad, and are always cheerful and obedient. I have seen young patricians so occupied in Asia, whose hands had never before handled a pickaxe, and whose weak shoulders had never borne a weight, yet working hard, and as happy, to all appearance, as when at home. Of course, for all that, the overseers apply the lash and the stick very freely to them; and most justly; because it is the will of the divine emperors that their lot should be made as hard as possible; but still they never complain.'

"'I cannot say that I admire this sort of justice,' replied Fabiola; 'but what a strange race they must be! I am most curious to know what can be the motive or cause of this stupidity, or unnatural insensibility, in these Christians?'

"'Proculus replied, with a facetious look: 'Calpurnius here no doubt can tell us; for he is a philosopher, and I hear could declaim for an hour on any topic, from the Alps to an ant-hill.'

"'Calpurnius thus challenged, and thinking himself highly complimented, solemnly gave mouth: 'The Christians,' said he, 'are a foreign sect, the founder of which flourished many ages ago in Chaldea. His doctrines were brought to Rome at the time of Vespasian by two brothers named Peter and Paul. Some maintain that these were the same twin brothers as the Jews call Moses and Aaron, the second of whom sold his birthright to his brother

for a kid, the skin of which he wanted to make *chirothecæ* of. But this identity I do not admit, as it is recorded in the mystical books of the Jews that the second of these brothers, seeing the other's victims give better omens of birds than his own, slew him, as our Romulus did Remus, but with the jaw-bone of an ass; for which he was hung by King Mordochæus of Macedon upon a gibbet fifty cubits high, at the suit of their sister Judith. However, Peter and Paul coming, as I said, to Rome, the former was discovered to be a fugitive slave of Pontius Pilate, and was crucified by his master's orders on the Janiculum. Their followers, of whom they had many, made the cross their symbol, and adore it; and they think it the greatest honour to suffer stripes, and even ignominious death, as the best means of being like their teachers, and, as they fancy, of going to them in a place somewhere among the clouds.'

"This lucid explanation of the origin of Christianity was listened to with admiration by all except two. The young officer gave a piteous look towards Agnes, which seemed to say, 'Shall I answer the goose, or shall I laugh outright?' But she put her finger on her lips, and smiled imploringly for silence."—pp. 29—33.

The reader is not to expect from this opening any of the ordinary incidents of a love-story. Incidents of such a character, indeed, would have ill-assorted with the solemn events of the time in which the main action of the tale is laid. It is true that Fabiola's admiration of the noble and generous character of Sebastian is mingled with a more tender feeling; but the heart of the soldier-martyr was too much engrossed by holier thoughts to give any response. His share in the narrative, with the beautiful episode of his friendship for Pancratius, is simply that historically ascribed to him, the "Protector of the Christians;" and, indeed, as far as mere romantic interest and artistic plot are concerned, the mystery which attaches to the person of Fulvius, and which we must leave the reader to resolve for himself, is the main point on which the story is made to turn. We shall only say that Fulvius's mission in Rome, though concealed under his gay and fashionable exterior, is that of a spy and informer; and that in the persecution which ensues, he plies his hideous trade against the Christian community with all the mingled craft and energy of his character. In the wretched tool whom he is described as employing, the weak apostate from Christianity, Torquatus, the author portrays with admirable fidelity the character of the well-known class of "the Lapsed," such as it is stereotyped for us in the letters of St. Cyprian; and the hateful craft which Fulvius,

failing to win the hand and fortune of Agnes, employs to compass her destruction, is but a literal reproduction of the facts her history as recorded in the genuine Acts of her martyrdom.

In no part of the vast miscellaneous subject which the book embraces, is the author more completely at home than in the topography of ancient Rome in all its branches—of classical Rome, of Christian Rome, and, above all, of subterranean Rome. To the last, as by far the most interesting, we refer with the most unfeigned admiration. Taking advantage of a treacherous visit to the catacombs, undertaken by the spy Torquatus in company with the unsuspecting Pancratius, under the guidance of the old Fossor Diogenes, the author places before us, with all that ease and lucidness of description of which he is so accomplished a master, a most full and deeply interesting description of the catacombs, such as the most recent investigations of Father Marchi and Cavaliere Rossi have revealed them. We can only spare room for the concluding chapter.

“All that we have told our readers of the first period of the history of subterranean Rome, as ecclesiastical antiquarians love to call the catacombs, has no doubt been better related by Diogenes to his youthful hearers, as, taper in hand, they have been slowly walking through a long straight gallery, crossed, indeed, by many others, but adhered to faithfully; with sundry pauses, and, of course, lectures, embodying what we have put together in our prosaic second chapter.

“At length Diogenes turned to the right, and Torquatus looked around him anxiously.

“‘I wonder,’ he said, ‘how many turns we have passed by, before leaving this main gallery?’

“‘A great many,’ answered Severus, drily.

“‘How many do you think, ten or twenty?’

“‘Full that, I fancy; for I never have counted them.’

“Torquatus had, however; but wished to make sure. He continued, still pausing:

“‘How do you distinguish the right turn, then? Oh, what is this?’ and he pretended to examine a small niche in the corner. But Severus kept too sharp a look-out, and saw that he was making a mark in the sand.

“‘Come, come along,’ he said, ‘or we shall lose sight of the rest, and not see which way they turn. That little niche is to hold a lamp; and you will find one at each angle. As to ourselves, we

know every alley and turn here below, as you do those of the city above.'

"Torquatus was somewhat reassured about this account of the lamps—those little earthen ones, evidently made on purpose for the catacombs, of which so many are there found. But not content, he kept as good count as he could of the turns, as they went; and now with one excuse, and now with another, he constantly stopped, and scrutinized particular spots and corners. But Severus had a lynx's eye upon him, and allowed nothing to escape his attention.

"At last they entered a doorway, and found themselves in a square chamber, richly adorned with paintings.

"What do you call this?" asked Tiburtius.

"It is one of the many crypts, or *cubicula*, which abound in our cemeteries,' answered Diogenes; 'sometimes they are merely family sepultures, but generally they contain the tomb of some martyr, on whose anniversary we meet here. See that tomb opposite us, which, though flush with the wall, is arched over. That becomes, on such an occasion, the altar on which the Divine Mysteries are celebrated. You are of course aware of the custom of so performing them.'

"Perhaps my two friends,' interposed Pancratius, 'so recently baptized, may not have heard it; but I know it well. It is surely one of the glorious privileges of martyrdom, to have the Lord's sacred Body and precious Blood offered upon one's ashes, and to repose thus under the very feet of God. But let us see well the paintings all over this crypt.'

"It is on account of them that I brought you into this chamber, in preference to so many others in the cemetery. It is one of the most ancient, and contains a most complete series of pictures, from the remotest times down to some of my son's doing.'

"Well, then, Diogenes, explain them systematically to my friends,' said Pancratius. 'I think I know most of them, but not all; and I shall be glad to hear you describe them.'

"I am no scholar,' replied the old man, modestly, 'but when one has lived sixty years, man and boy, among things, one gets to know them better than others, because one loves them more. All here have been fully initiated, I suppose?' he added, with a pause.

"All,' answered Tiburtius, 'though not so fully instructed as converts ordinarily are. Torquatus and myself have received the sacred gift.'

"Enough,' resumed the excavator. 'The ceiling is the oldest part of the painting, as is natural; for that was done when the crypt was excavated, while the walls were decorated, as tombs were hollowed out. You see the ceiling has a sort of trellis-work painted over it, with grapes, to represent perhaps our true Vine, of which we are the branches. There you see Orpheus sitting down,

and playing sweet music, not only to his own flock, but to the wild beasts of the desert, which stand charmed around him.'

" 'Why, that is a heathen picture altogether,' interrupted Torquatus, with pettishness, and some sarcasm; 'what has it to do with Christianity?'

" 'It is an allegory, Torquatus,' replied Pancratius, gently, 'and a favourite one. The use of Gentile images, when in themselves harmless, has been permitted. You see masks, for instance, and other pagan ornaments in this ceiling, and they belong generally to a very ancient period. And so our Lord was represented under the symbol of Orpheus, to conceal His sacred representation from Gentile blasphemy and sacrilege. Look, now, in that arch; you have a more recent representation of the same subject.'

" 'I see,' said Torquatus, 'a shepherd with a sheep over his shoulders—the Good Shepherd; that I can understand; I remember the parable.'

" 'But why is this subject such a favourite one?' asked Tiburtius; 'I have observed it in other cemeteries.'

" 'If you will look over the *arcosolium*,' answered Severus, 'you will see a fuller representation of the scene. But I think we had better first continue what we have begun, and finish the ceiling. You see that figure on the right?'

" 'Yes,' replied Tiburtius; 'it is that of a man apparently in a chest, with a dove flying towards him. Is that meant to represent the Deluge?'

" 'It is,' said Severus, 'as the emblem of regeneration by water and the Holy Spirit; and of the salvation of the world. Such is our beginning; and here is our end: Jonas thrown out of the boat, and swallowed by the whale; and then sitting in enjoyment under his gourd. The resurrection with our Lord, and eternal rest as its fruit.'

" 'How natural is this representation in such a place!' observed Pancratius, pointing to the other side; 'and here we have another type of the same consoling doctrine.'

" 'Where?' asked Torquatus, languidly; 'I see nothing but a figure bandaged all round, and standing up, like a huge infant in a small temple; and another person opposite to it.'

" 'Exactly,' said Severus; 'that is the way we always represent the resurrection of Lazarus. Here look, is a touching expression of the hopes of our fathers in persecution: The three Babylonian children in the fiery furnace.'

" 'Well, now, I think,' said Torquatus, 'we may come to the *arcosolium*, and finish this room. What are these pictures round it?'

" 'If you look at the left side, you see the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. The fish is, you know, the symbol of Christ.'

" 'Why so?' asked Torquatus, rather impatiently. Severus turned to Pancratius, as the better scholar, to answer.

“ ‘There are two opinions about its origin,’ said the youth, readily; ‘one finds the meaning in the word itself; its letters forming the beginning of words, so as to mean “Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.” Another puts it in the symbol itself; that as fish are born and live in the water, so is the Christian born of water, and buried with Christ in it, by baptism. Hence, as we came along, we saw the figure of a fish carved on tombs, or its name engraven on them. Now go on, Severus.’

“ ‘Then the union of the bread and the fish in one multiplication shows us how, in the Eucharist, Christ becomes the food of all. Opposite, is Moses striking the rock, from which all drank, and which is Christ, our drink as well as our food.’

“ ‘Now, at last,’ said Torquatus, ‘we are come to the Good Shepherd.’

“ ‘Yes,’ continued Severus, ‘you see Him in the centre of the *arcosolium*, in His simple tunic and leggings, with a sheep upon His shoulders, the recovered wanderer from the flock. Two more are standing at His sides; the truant ram on His right, the gentle ewe upon His left; the penitent in the post of honour. On each side too, you see a person evidently sent by Him to preach. Both are leaning forward, and addressing sheep not of the fold. One on either side is apparently giving no heed to their words, but browsing quietly on, while one is turning up its eyes and head, looking and listening with eager attention. Rain is falling copiously on them; that is the grace of God. It is not difficult to interpret this picture.’

“ ‘But what makes this emblem such a particular favourite?’ asked Tiburtius.

“ ‘We consider this, and similar paintings, to belong chiefly to the time, when the Novatian heresy so much plagued the Church,’ answered Severus.

“ ‘And pray what heresy is that?’ asked Torquatus, carelessly; for he thought he was losing time.

“ ‘It was, and indeed is, the heresy,’ answered Pancratius, ‘that teaches, that there are sins which the Church has not power to forgive; which are too great for God to pardon.’

“ Pancratius was not aware of the effect of his words; but Severus, who never took off his eye from Torquatus, saw the blood come and go violently in his countenance.

“ ‘Is that a heresy?’ asked the traitor, confused.

“ ‘Surely a dreadful one,’ replied Pancratius, ‘to limit the mercy and forgiveness of Him, who came to call not the just, but sinners to repentance. The Catholic Church has always held, that a sinner, however dark the dye, however huge the mass, of his crimes, on truly repenting, may receive forgiveness, through the penitential remedy left in her hands. And, therefore, she has always so much loved this type of the Good Shepherd, ready to run into the wilderness, to bring back a lost sheep.’

“‘But suppose,’ said Torquatus, evidently moved, ‘that one who had become a Christian, and received the sacred Gift, were to fall away, and to plunge into vice, and—and’—(his voice faltered)—‘almost betray his brethren, would not the Church reject such a one from hope?’

“‘No, no,’ answered the youth; ‘these are the very crimes, which the Novatians insult the Catholics for admitting to pardon. The Church is a mother, with her arms ever open to re-embrace her erring children.’

“There was a tear trembling in Torquatus’s eye; his lips quivered with the confession of his guilt, which ascended to them for a moment; but as if a black poisonous drop rose up his throat with it and choked him, he changed in a moment to a hard, obstinate look, bit his lip, and said, with an effort at coolness, ‘It is certainly a consoling doctrine for those that need it.’

“Severus alone observed that a moment of grace had been forfeited, and that some despairing thought had quenched a flash of hope, in that man’s heart. Diogenes and Majus, who had been absent, looking at a new place for opening a gallery near, now returned. Torquatus addressed the old master-digger:

“‘We have now seen the galleries and the chambers; I am anxious to visit the church in which we shall have to assemble.’

“The unconscious excavator was going to lead the way, when the inexorable artist interposed.

“‘I think, father, it is too late to-day; you know we have got our work to do. These young friends will excuse us, especially as they will see the church in good time, and in better order also, as the holy Pontiff intends to officiate in it.’

“They assented; and when they arrived at the point where they had turned off from the first straight gallery to visit the ornamented chamber, Diogenes stopped the party, turned a few steps along an opposite passage, and said:

“‘If you pursue this corridor, and turn to the right, you come to the church. I have merely brought you here to show you an *arcosolium*, with a beautiful painting. You here see the Virgin Mother holding her Divine Infant in her arms, while the wise Easterns, here represented as four, though generally we only reckon three, are adoring Him.’

“All admired the painting; but poor Severus was much chagrined, at seeing how his good father had unwittingly supplied the information desired by Torquatus, and had furnished him with a sure clue to the desired turn, by calling his attention to the tomb close round it, distinguishable by so remarkable a picture.

“When their company was departed, he told all that he had observed to his brother, remarking, ‘That man will give us trouble yet: I strongly suspect him.’

“In a short time they had removed every mark which Torquatus had made at the turnings. But this was no security against his

reckonings ; and they determined to prepare for changing the road, by blocking up the present one, and turning off at another point. For this purpose, they had the sand of new excavations brought to the ends of a gallery which crossed the main avenue, where this was low, and left it heaped up there, till the faithful could be instructed of the intended change."—pp. 156-163.

Many additional, and even more interesting, details of the construction and uses of the catacombs, are given in the account of the attempt on the part of Fulvius, under the guidance of the traitor Torquatus, to seize, *en masse*, the leading members of the Christian community, while they were assembled for worship in that spacious subterranean church which Torquatus was baffled in his attempt to visit. The description is most minute and most luminous ; and we do not hesitate, from our own experience, to say that the reader of this simple and popular book will collect from its pleasant pages a more complete, a more precise, and more consistent notion of subterranean Rome, and of all the precious and interesting monuments which it contains, than he could perhaps purchase by weeks of study in the classical works of Bosio, Aringhi, Boldetti, and Marchi.

We regret that it is not in our power to present a few more extracts from these most instructive pages. But we regret still more that we cannot follow, with some degree of minuteness, the history of Fabiola's progress towards the truth, under the loving guidance and companionship of Syra—her awakened consciousness of responsibility—the painful void which it creates in her soul—the insufficiency of all her philosophy to satisfy the craving—her aspirations after a higher and more real creed—the envious admiration with which she watches the conduct and scrutinises the motives of her once despised slave—the wonder with which she learns the simplicity, the humility, the mere sense of duty which accompany all the virtue which she so much admires—the amazement with which she discovers that the secret of these novel and, in her eyes, superhuman principles, (which she finds to be common to all those whom she has most loved and admired—to Syra, to Agnes, and to Sebastian,) lies in their profession of Christianity—and the gradual, but complete, submission of her intellect, her affections, and her will, to that blessed influ-

ence which she has at length recognized as the only true root of genuine virtue, nobility, and peace.

All this, indeed, is foreshadowed in the dream which closes the first day that introduces Fabiola in the story, and which is so beautiful an example of all the best qualities of the style of the narrative, that we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of extracting it.

“Syra’s conversation, and all that had resulted from it, passed again through her mind; it was painful to her, yet she could not help dwelling on it; and she felt as if that day were a crisis in her life. Her pride had been humbled by a slave, and her mind softened, she knew not how. Had her eyes been opened in that hour; and had she been able to look up above this world, she would have seen a soft cloud-like incense, but tinged with a rich carnation, rising from the bed-side of a kneeling slave (prayer and willing sacrifice of life breathed upwards together), which, when it struck the crystal footstool of a mercy-seat in heaven, fell down again as a dew of gentlest grace upon her arid heart.

“She could not indeed see this; yet it was no less true; and wearied, at length she sought repose. But she too had a distressing dream. She saw a bright spot as in a delicious garden, richly illuminated by a light like noon-day, but inexpressibly soft; while all around was dark. Beautiful flowers formed the sward, plants covered with richest bloom grew festooned from tree to tree, on each of which glowed golden fruit. In the midst of this space she saw the poor blind girl, with her look of happiness on her cheerful countenance, seated on the ground; while on one side, Agnes, with her sweetest simple looks, and on the other, Syra, with her quiet patient smile, hung over her and caressed her. Fabiola felt an irresistible desire to be with them; it seemed to her that they were enjoying some felicity which she had never known or witnessed; and she thought they even beckoned her to join them. She ran forward to do so, when to her horror she found a wide, and black, and deep ravine, at the bottom of which roared a torrent, between herself and them. By degrees its waters rose, till they reached the upper margin of the abyss, and there flowed, though so deep, yet sparkling and brilliant, and most refreshing. Oh, for courage to plunge into this stream, through which alone the dyke could be crossed, and land in safety on the other side! And still they beckoned, urging her on to try it. But as she was standing on the brink, clasping her hands in despair, Calpurnius seemed to emerge from the dark air around, with a thick heavy curtain stretched out, on which were worked all sorts of monstrous and hideous chimeras, most curiously running into, and interwoven with, each other; and this dark veil grew and grew, till it shut out the beautiful vision from her sight. She felt disconsolate, till she

seemed to see a bright genius (as she called him), in whose features she fancied she traced a spiritualized resemblance to Sebastian, and whom she had noticed standing sorrowful at a distance, now approach her, and, smiling on her, fan her fevered face with his gold and purple wing; when she lost her vision in a calm and refreshing sleep."—pp. 45-7.

We must not forestall the conclusion of the story. Very different from that of ordinary tales of fiction, it yet has a deep and tender, though solemn interest of its own. Few, even of the most hackneyed novel-readers, can be insensible to its simple and touching beauty; and we are sure, that of the numberless readers of the "Church of the Catacombs," there is not one who will not heartily echo our earnest hope, that the illustrious author will not think of delegating to another the continuation of the task of "illustrating the condition of the Church in the various periods of her existence;" and that, before long, we shall once more meet the same gifted pen, on a ground where, if possible, its mastery is even more complete—the CHURCH OF THE BASILICAS.

ART. VII.—*Charles Quint, son Abdication, son Séjour, et sa Mort au Monastère de Yuste.* Par M. MIGNET. Paris, 1854.

SEPULVEDA, the historian, while occupied in collecting materials for his narrative, had an interview with Charles V., at Yuste, and sought to verify some of his statements by questioning the emperor upon their authenticity. Reading aloud one anecdote, which he had gathered from somebody about the court, redounding very much to the credit of Charles, he was stopped in the midst of his brilliant recital of it by the emperor exclaiming, "The thing has no foundation, it is a pure invention." About the same time, Don Louis de Avila, who was decorating his castle with frescoes, representing the principal victories of the emperor, mentioned that, in the picture of his last encounter with the king of the French,

at Renty, the French army appeared as totally routed and driven from their position. Charles begged of him to order the painter "to modify the action, and make it a retreat, and not a flight, for in reality it was not one."

It would have been well if the writer, upon whom English readers have, until within the last few years, relied, had shown but in a small degree the scrupulous regard for the truth of history, which the illustrious subject of his work manifested on these two occasions, and we should not now have to unlearn all our previous impressions of the cloister life of Charles V.—impressions which Robertson has conveyed to the minds of his readers in a style the charm of which now forms the sole merit of his work.

The volume which Mr. Stirling published about three years ago—and which, were it not for the flippant tone of sneering levity with which he treats objects of deep reverence to Catholic minds, would have merited the favourable reception it met with in this country, on almost every question which would tend to throw light upon the real motives, feelings, and daily life of the emperor, during his retirement at Yuste—has shown, upon the authority of those immediately about him, that his frame of mind, his relation to the external world, as well as to the little world surrounding him in his retreat, were almost directly the reverse of that which has been represented to us in Robertson's highly-coloured painting. The regrets with which the emperor is represented to have been seized immediately upon his relinquishment of power, the neglect of his son, Philip II., and of the *grandees* of Spain; the poverty of his household, and his indifference to all that passed outside his cloister, may form an imaginary picture of his imbecility, of the ingratitude of kings and courtiers, and of a life resembling rather the monastic rigour of a recluse than that of a powerful monarch spending his latter years in religious retirement, but it is a picture which has no reality, and which borrows its colouring from the fancy of the writer, without a shadow of foundation to lend it probability.

The principal authority upon which Mr. Stirling relies, is the narrative drawn up from original documents by Don Thomas Gonzales, Canon of Placencia, and keeper of the Royal Archives of Spain. This narrative, comprising letters of Philip II., of the Infanta Juanna, Regent of Spain, of de Molina Secretary of State, of Francisco de

Eraso, secretary to the king, of Don Garcia de Toledo, tutor to Don Carlos, of the Emperor himself and his household at Yuste, was disposed of by the brother of Gonzales, to the Archives of the French foreign office, of which M. Mignet was then director; and Mr. Stirling seems to have had the use of these valuable records under certain restrictions, which prevented the publication of many letters and papers which would have thrown an additional light upon the subject. But the work of M. Mignet, which has lately been published in France, supplies this deficiency; for, in addition to the narrative of Gonzales, and the full use of all the documents annexed to it, a chance discovery about four years ago in the archives of the feudal court of Brabant, has placed at his command a detailed account of the life of Charles V. at Yuste, drawn up by a monk of the order of St. Jerome, who was in the monastery during the entire period of the Emperor's retirement; and from these ample materials M. Mignet has constructed a work which is a most valuable contribution to history, and which cannot fail to add to his already brilliant reputation. It is quite free from the disfiguring feature of Mr. Stirling's book, and evidently evinces an appreciation of the higher feelings which influenced so powerfully the mind of the Emperor—feelings which Mr. Stirling seems entirely to disregard. We have put before us a faithful detail of every event, and we are thus enabled to fix the exact period when Charles first conceived the idea of retiring from the world, and to trace every circumstance of his subsequent career to its close, in the remote valley of Estramadura. By these we learn that, so far from his having determined upon resigning the sceptre when partial unsuccess had dimmed the lustre of his fame, or declining years had weakened the power of his intellect, and lent a tinge of fanaticism to his religious fervour—he had resolved upon the step in the prime of life, before he had attained his fortieth year, and at a moment when he had just concluded the brilliant expedition of Tunis, in 1535.

He had then attained almost universal empire, and in arms and diplomacy his success had been uninterrupted. He was undisputed master of Spain, of the Low Countries, of Naples, of Milan. His influence in Germany was unlimited. He himself wielded the imperial sceptre; his brother Ferdinand sat upon the throne of the Cæsars; his

sister Mary shared the crown of Hungary, and his daughter that of Bohemia. Upon the head of his sister Eleanor he had successively placed the crowns of Portugal and of France. He had terminated his contest with his chivalric rival of France, and to the captive king and the Sovereign Pontiff he had dictated terms of peaceful submission. He had been the victorious defender of Christendom against Soliman II. and his Turkish hosts, and upon the coasts of Africa he had triumphed over the Moorish enemies of his race. He had colonized and extended the newly-acquired territories of Spain in the New World, and to the fame of his own deeds he added the reflected lustre of the four ancestral houses which he represented, of Arragon, of Castille, of Austria, and of Burgundy.

Such was Charles when he formed the resolution of retiring from the world, and of spending the latter years of his life in a peaceful preparation for a Christian end. It was a resolution not inconsistent with his previous life; for, as M. Mignet describes him, "he practised his religion with a scrupulous and submissive piety. He heard several masses each day. He communicated at the principal feasts of the year. More than an hour every morning he devoted to religious meditation. He had himself composed prayers. Reading of the Old and New Testament had a particular attraction for him; the poetry of the Psalms struck his imagination and moved his soul. The magnificence of the Catholic ceremonies, the touching grandeur of the expiatory Sacrifice of the Mass, the music, mingled with prayers, the beauty of the arts, acting as a relief to the austerity of its dogma, the merciful power of the Church, aiding by absolution the weakness of man, and restoring confidence to the anxiety of a Christian, kept him with fervour in the old religion."

Many circumstances combined to prevent the immediate execution of his design, and twenty years had passed before he felt justified in entrusting the conduct of his vast dominions to the inexperienced guidance of his youthful successor; but that he *did* entertain the idea of abdication at this early period, there can now exist no doubt. He mentioned it to the Portuguese Ambassador, Lorenzo Pirez de Tavora at Yuste, and in his conversation with the monks of the convent, we invariably find the same date attributed to his resolution. We have, moreover, a stronger

testimony in that of the illustrious Francis Borgia, to whom the Emperor had confided the secret in 1542, when Borgia was himself seeking permission to surrender the ducal honour of the house of Gandia and to retire from his exalted position amongst the grandees of Spain, in order to become a humble follower of Loyola in the young and still obscure society of Jesus. In 1546 rumours of the Emperor's intention were whispered about the Court, and were mentioned in a dispatch to the doge by Bernardo Navagiero, the envoy of Venice.

This testimony is sufficient to show the value of the light in which Robertson would represent the resolution, —a resolution formed when he was at the height of his fame, and the prime of manly vigour, which this brilliant writer, but untrustworthy historian, would have us to regard as the result of a prudent resolve not “to retain the reins of government when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, or to guide them with address.”

The period which he permitted to elapse before he took any active steps to carry his purpose into effect, was quite sufficient to allow time for repentance if it were one formed in a moment of enthusiastic fervour or of passing weariness of power. We do not, however, find any evidence of wavering. On the 30th of June, 1553, he wrote to his son Philip, desiring him “to have a dwelling built beside the monastery at Yuste, sufficient for the residence of a person in a private condition, with a suite of necessary attendants.” Having concluded the negotiation for the marriage of his son Philip II. with Queen Mary of England, he granted to him previous to his departure in July 1554, the kingdom of Naples and Duchy of Milan, in order that he might appear as a king in the dominions of his wife.

Charles had hoped to have been able to retire to Spain during the summer of 1554, but the continuance of the war with Henry II. of France, and the increased embarrassment of Italian affairs upon the accession of Paul IV. to the Papacy, caused him to postpone his final acts of abdication until the autumn of the following year. His health had been for some time declining, and the grief which he had experienced upon the death of his mother, whom he had always loved with affectionate tenderness, added seriously to the weight of his increasing infirmities, and

rendered him yet more anxious to lay down the burden of government. The death of the unfortunate Queen Joanna, after a widowhood of forty-nine years, had taken place in the previous April at the Castle of Tordesilas. She had been for years in a state of mental imbecility, induced by excessive grief for the death of her husband, which had incapacitated her for any active part in state affairs, although nominally, she shared with her son the government of Spain. On the 10th of September, 1555, Philip arrived in Brussels. He was then in his twenty-eighth year, and his natural gravity of character, and his early initiation into state affairs, rendered him sufficiently mature for undertaking the responsibilities of power.

On the 22nd of October, the Emperor precluded his abdication by resigning the office of Grand Master of the Golden Fleece. In the presence of the most illustrious of the nobles of the kingdom, he conferred the insignia and power upon his son, saying, "I make you now chief and sovereign of the most noble order of the Golden Fleece; preserve it and maintain it in dignity and honour, as I, my father, and all my ancestors have guarded and maintained it.—May God grant you the grace to do so in increasing prosperity." He then counselled his son to preserve affection and regard for the Knights of the Order, and to the Knights he recommended fidelity and loyalty to their chief.

Three days afterwards, the 15th of October, Charles completed his abdication with great solemnity, in presence of the States General of the Seventeen Provinces, of the members of the council of state, of the privy council, of the council of finance, of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, of the grandees of his court, and of the foreign ambassadors, assembled in the vast hall of the Palace at Brussels, into which the populace were also admitted. Dressed in mourning, wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece, accompanied by his son, the king Philip, by his sisters, the Queens of Hungary and of France, by his nephews, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and the Duke Phillibert Emmanuel of Savoy, and by his niece, the Duchess of Lorraine, the old Emperor advanced with difficulty, leaning with one hand upon a stick, with the other upon the shoulder of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. After he had seated himself under the canopy of Burgundy, having upon his right his son, upon his

left his sister Mary, around him the remainder of his family, at the side and before him the bodies of the state, and the principal personages of the country, ranged according to their rank, Phillibert of Brussels, a member of the privy council, spoke by his order, and announced his irrevocable design. The toils and infirmities of this great and glorious prince, were the principal reasons which obliged him to divest himself of the government of his state. Although they anticipated it, the speech which announced this resolution, affected the assembly with visible emotion. The Emperor rose, and leaning upon the shoulder of the Prince of Orange, spoke as follows:—

“Although Phillibert of Brussels has fully explained to you, my friends, the reason which has determined me to renounce these states, and to leave them to my son Philip, that he may possess them and govern them, I wish to say a few words with my own mouth.

“You may remember that it is just forty years since my grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, in this same spot, and at this very hour, emancipated me at the age of fifteen from the tutelage under which I was, and made me my own master.

“The following year, which was the sixteenth year of my age, my maternal grandfather, King Ferdinand, died in the kingdom over which I began to reign, because my beloved mother, who has lately died, after the death of my father, never recovered sufficiently from her mental disorder to enable her to govern.

“I then crossed the ocean into Spain—soon occurred the death of my grandfather, Maximilian, in the nineteenth year of my age, and although I was then very young, they conferred upon me the imperial dignity.

“I did not seek it from an inordinate ambition to govern many kingdoms, but in order to preserve the welfare of Germany, for the defence of Flanders, to devote all my strength to the preservation of the Christians against the Turks, and to labour for the advancement of the Christian religion. But if this zeal was within me, I was unable to evince it as much as I should have wished, owing to the disturbances created by the heresies of Luther, and the other innovators of Germany, and in consequence of the public wars into which the envy and enmity of the neighbouring princes have driven me, and from which I have extricated myself successfully by the divine grace.”

Recounting, then, briefly, the multiplied troubles of his life, he said that he had gone nine times into Germany, that he had been six times into Spain, seven times into

Italy, that he had come ten times into Flanders, that he had four times entered France, that he had crossed over to England twice, and twice into Africa, and in order to accomplish these journeys and these expeditions, in the number of which he did not count journeys of less importance, he had crossed the Mediterranean eight times, and the ocean thrice. "This time," he added, "will be the fourth, to go to bury myself in Spain."

"I can say that nothing has been more painful to me, or so much afflicted my mind, as that which I experience in quitting you to-day, without leaving you in the peace and in the repose which I should have desired.

"My sister Mary, who, during my absence, has so well and wisely governed and protected you, explained in the last assembly the cause of the resolution which I take.

"I can no longer occupy myself with affairs without a very great fatigue to myself, and without an extreme injury to them. The cares which so weighty a charge inflict upon me—the excessive fatigue which it causes, my infirmities, a constitution completely ruined, no longer leave me strength sufficient for governing the states which God has confided to me; the little which remains will soon disappear.

"I should have laid down this burden long since had not the youth of my son, and the incapacity of my mother, obliged my mind and body to support the weight of it up to this hour. The last time I went into Germany I was determined to do what you see me do to-day, but I could not bring myself to do so, seeing the wretched state of the Christian world, given up to so many tumults, innovations, singular opinions in matters of faith, wars worse than civil, and, in fine, fallen into such deplorable disorders. I was deterred from doing so, because my maladies were not yet so grievous, and because I hoped to bring everything to a favourable termination, and to restore peace."

He then entered into some details of his contest with the king of France. He recommended his son Philip to their love and loyalty, and warning them against the sects which infested Germany, he concluded his address to the assembly by asking their pardon for any injury he might unconsciously have inflicted upon any one of them.

The Emperor then turned towards his son, and, with a voice trembling with emotion, implored of him to defend the faith of his ancestors, and to govern his subjects in peace and justice. Then being no longer able to remain standing, he sank back upon his seat overcome by emo-

tion. His speech affected everybody, the greater number wept, and some sobbed aloud.

As soon as the ceremony of his abdication was concluded, Charles removed to a small house which had been built for him, at the end of the park, at Brussels, where he remained until the following August. He had sent his chamberlain, Lewis Quivada, before him, to Spain, to superintend the preparations for his arrival. During the winter of 1556, although nominally divested of power, he was far from being free from the cares of state. He continued to advise his son on every matter of importance, and took an active part in the negociation for peace with France. With Coligny, during his mission to Brussels, he had many interviews.

We find, however, nothing to support the assertion of Strada, whom Robertson follows in many instances, that he began to experience regret for his abdication immediately upon the completion of it. On the contrary, he urged on the negociation for the transfer of the imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand, and when pressed to defer the act of transmission, we find him writing to Ferdinand on the 8th of August, 1556, that "one of the strongest desires he had in the world was to divest himself of everything."

On the 8th of August he departed from Brussels, and was accompanied as far as Ghent by his son, where, on the 25th, they took a final and tender farewell of each other. Charles's visit to the scenes of his birth and early years, before bidding a last adieu to his Flemish dominions, has furnished our poet, Rogers, with a subject for some lines in the "Pleasures of Memory."

"Say when contentious Charles renounced a throne,
To muse with monks, unlettered and unknown;
What from his soul the parting tribute drew?
What claimed the sorrows of a last adieu?
The still retreats that sooth'd his tranquil breast,
Ere grandeur dazzled and its cares oppressed."

Accompanied by his sister, the dowager Queen of Hungary and France, and a suite of one hundred and fifty persons, Charles sailed from Flushing on the 15th September, with a fleet of fifty-six sail, and landed in the gulf of Lando on the 25th.

The theatrical scene described by Robertson, on the

* see "Emata"

authority of De Thou, where Charles appears embracing "mother earth," and apostrophizing it in a flowery and affected speech, is not alluded to in any letter of his secretary, or any of his suite, who would probably have mentioned it, had any such occurred, for they chronicle the most trifling events of his progress, even to an account of the savoury dishes of which his majesty partook; which, by the way, he appears to have consumed to an extent that alarmed his trusty attendants, as it had previously astonished Roger Ascham, who, standing "hard by the imperial table at the feast of the Golden Fleece," watched the emperor partaking largely of "sod beef, roast mutton, baked ham," after which "he fed well off a capon," drinking, as Roger has it, "the best that ever I saw; he had his head in the glass for twice as long as any of them, and never drank less than a good quart at once of Rhenish wine."

Philip had written to his sister, the regent Joanna, ordering suitable preparation for his father, and desiring that he should be received with all the respect and ceremony due to his exalted rank. It appears, however, that owing either to his arrival at an earlier period than was expected, or to some accidental delay, the arrangements at Lando were defective, at which the emperor felt somewhat irritated. On this slight circumstance Robertson has founded a charge of ingratitude and neglect against Philip, and represents the entire progress of the emperor to Valladolid as a bitter commentary upon the fate of fallen princes; whereas, with this slight exception, everywhere he was received with enthusiastic demonstrations of attachment. The nobles flocked to meet him at every stage of his journey, and the regent sent forward his grandson, Don Carlos, to meet him and welcome him to the capital. This young prince seems to have given indications of that un governable violence of character, which a few years later brought him to an untimely end, at the early age of twenty-three years. The emperor remarked to his sister Eleanor, that "he appears to me very restless, his countenance and his disposition do not please me, and I do not know what he will become in time."

After spending fourteen days at Valladolid, he took leave of his daughter, his grandson, and the queens, his sisters, on the fourth of November, and commenced his journey to Estramadura. He declined the escort of nobles and

officers of state, who wished to attend him, and on the 8th he observed to those about him, "Thanks be to the Lord, I shall now have neither visits nor receptions," an observation not likely to fall from one who had experienced neglect, or who still hankered after state and ceremony. Arriving on the morning of the 12th at the gap of the mountain, overhanging the Deva of Placencia, he looked back upon the world, and exclaimed, "Now I shall never pass again by any other passage than that of death." He took up his residence, until the building at Yuste was ready for his reception, at Jasandilla, the castle of the Count of Oropesa. Here he remained until February 3, 1577, when he dismissed all the attendants who were not to continue as his permanent suite, and moved to his dwelling beside the monastery of St. Jerome. This dwelling, however humble when contrasted with the palaces of kings, or even the castles of nobles, was constructed so as to afford comfortable accommodation for a person living in retired, but by no means austere, seclusion. It was situate to the south of the monastery, and commanded a charming prospect of the surrounding hills, terminating in the broad bosom of the Deva. The imaginary picture of the poverty of the interior, and the slender suite of attendants, drawn by Sandoval, and adopted by Robertson, is fully refuted by the codicil of the emperor's will, in which he names all his attendants, and leaves to each some token of his remembrance, and by the inventory of the furniture and effects at Yuste, drawn up by Quivada after his death.

Sandoval says:—

"He lived in such a state of poverty, that his apartments seemed rather to have been despoiled by soldiers than prepared for the residence of a great prince. There was but one hanging of black cloth, and that in the room in which his majesty slept. There was but one arm-chair, and this so old, and of such little value, that, if it were put up for sale, one would not give more than four reals for it. His personal clothing was not less poor, and always of black."

Robertson adds:—

"Into this humble retreat, hardly sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter with twelve domestics only."

Now, the number of his attendants amounted in reality to about sixty, of whom the principal were Quivada, his chamberlain, Mathisio, his physician, Don Castello, his

secretary, Van Malo, his librarian, with gentlemen of the chamber, and other attendants of inferior condition, amongst whom we must not omit to mention Torriano, the watchmaker, with whom the Emperor spent many an hour of leisure, and in whose ingenious contrivances he took an especial delight.

The walls of his apartments were hung with tapestries, the produce of the looms of Flanders, on which were depicted landscapes, animals, and foliage. The floors were covered with rich carpets of Turkey and of Alcazar. His wardrobe contained no less than sixteen robes, lined with eiderdown, ermine, Tunis kidskin, or velvet. The beds, of which there were two in his sleeping room, were fitted up with rich hangings and every appliance for comfort, and the chairs in his library covered with black velvet, were contrived so as to afford ease to an invalid in every posture of repose. His collection of books was not large, but comprised a well chosen selection of the best works on history, science, and religion. His admiration for the fine arts, especially for painting and music, was in no degree lessened in his retirement. From all parts of the kingdom he procured the best performers for the service of his choir, and amongst the paintings with which he adorned his dwelling at Yuste, were some of the masterpieces of Titian, for whose works he had a particular admiration. An anecdote is related of his visiting on one occasion the studio of Titian, when, having picked up a pencil which had fallen from his hand, he observed that "Titian deserved to be attended by an emperor." In fine, everything about his residence, instead of a rude and repulsive aspect, presented one denoting intellectual refinement and a taste for luxurious elegance. His table was supplied with every delicacy which the country afforded, or which the watchful anxiety of his family could cause to be sent from the capital for his use. Indeed, so far from adopting monastic fare, in this particular, Charles does not seem to have practised even ordinary moderation.

His life at Yuste was entirely separate from the monks of the adjoining convent, with whom he had little intercourse, beyond attendance on the services of the Church, and frequent interviews with his confessor, the Father Juan Regla, who was one of his executors, and subsequently confessor to Philip II. at the Escorial. The manner in which he passed his time was marked by that strict atten-

tion to religious observances, which had been so distinguishing a feature of his character while on the throne. As soon as he rose in the morning his confessor entered his chamber, and with him the Emperor joined in prayer for some time. At ten his attendants assisted him to dress, after which, when his health permitted, he went to the Church and assisted at the celebration of mass with marked devotion.

When he was too delicate to leave his room, he attended the service from his window, which overlooked the high altar of the church. At dinner Van Malo or Mathisio, both of whom were learned men, read aloud or conversed with him upon some interesting point of history or science. After dinner Father Juan Regla read for him some passage usually from the works of St. Bernard, St. Augustin, or St. Jerome, and entertained him with conversation on religious topics. He then took a short siesta. At three in the afternoon, on Wednesdays and Fridays, he attended a sermon preached by one of his three preachers, and when he was unable to attend himself, Father Regla rendered him an account of it. When the season was sufficiently mild, the Emperor devoted many leisure hours to the cultivation of his garden, and to adorning the terraces and ground in front of his house. When outdoor occupation was impossible, a visit to the workshop of Torriano was his favourite relaxation. Religious exercises, literary conversation, or the simple pleasures of gardening and handicraft, were far, however, from being the sole occupation of the time or thoughts of Charles in his retreat. Remote from the bustle of the world, from the pomps of court and the din of camps, he still watched with anxious solicitude, the progress of events in every part of his son's dominions. On every question of domestic or foreign policy his advice was sought for, and given with a vigour and clearness, which showed that years had not impaired the powers of his intellect or the firmness of his will.

Couriers arrived daily with despatches, the contents of which Charles listened to with eagerness, frequently asking his secretary when he had finished reading them, "Is that all?" "Is there no more?"

He remained sensitively alive to everything affecting the honour of his house or his nation. The news of the victory of St. Quintin overwhelmed him with joy, tempered by regret that his son Philip had not in person shared the

dangers and glory of the battle field. He expressed in no measured terms, the mortification he experienced, on learning the conditions upon which the Duke of Alba had concluded peace with the Holy See, conditions which he regarded as humiliating to the Spanish arms. The siege and capture of Calais by the Duke of Guise appear to have caused him as deep affliction, as historians represent the English Queen to have felt, who exclaimed, in the bitterness of her sorrow, that after death "the name of Calais would be found engraven upon her heart." In the autumn of 1557, his sisters, the Queens of Hungary and France, visited him at Yuste, and remained for some months at the castle of Jasandilla. The pleasure which their society afforded him during their stay, and the grief which the death of his sister Eleanor caused him in the spring of the following year, are touching evidences of the freshness in which Charles had preserved, through his stormy career, his heart open to the influences of early associations and domestic affections.

The visits of Francis Borgia and his conversations with the Emperor, form an interesting episode in M. Mignet's narrative. There was much to create a sympathy between the ex-emperor and the humble Jesuit. Each had surrendered the highest position the world offers to a sovereign or a subject. The object which each was pursuing was the same, but it is curious to watch in their conversation the degree to which they seem to carry their respective ideas of worldly abandonment. Now the monarch was prepared to lay down the pomp, the power, and the name of sovereignty, but still was open to the influence of human laws and feelings; and now the saint had arrived at that pitch of earthly detachment as to hear with indifference intelligence vitally affecting the honour and welfare of his own children.

The calm of Charles's retreat during the last months of his life, was ruffled by reports which could not fail to disturb his mind, so deeply imbued with zeal for the faith of his ancestors. The doctrines of Luther, against the spread of which in Germany he had brought to bear all the power of his imperial state, found here and there in Spain disciples, who, within the sphere of their influences, attempted to stir up revolt against the authority of the Catholic Church. As soon as rumours of these proceedings reached Yuste, the Emperor wrote in forcible terms

to his son and to the regent, calling upon them to crush the rising sects with the strong arm of the secular power, and to avail themselves of the weapons which all parties in that age, whether in Geneva, in Lando, or Toledo, used indiscriminately in their contests with religious dissent.

In the month of July, 1558, the health of the Emperor began to manifest symptoms which alarmed his attendants and physicians. Aggravated attacks of gout accompanied by intermittent fever, exhausted his impaired constitution, and with few intervals free from suffering, he lingered till the 21st of September.

M. Mignet's description of his last moments, is a most touching picture of Christian resignation and tender piety. Many circumstances of his career may fairly furnish a subject for hostile criticism, but few will be found to dissent from the concluding lines of M. Mignet's estimate of his character.

“Toujours égal en des situations divers, s'il a terminé sa vie dans l'humble dévotion du Chrétien, il a pensé jusqu'au bout avec la persévérante hauteur du grand homme.”

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*The Shrines and Sepulchres of the Old and New World: Records of Pilgrimages in many Lands, and researches connected with the history of places remarkable for Memorials of the dead, or monuments of a sacred character; including notices of the funeral customs of the principal nations, ancient and modern.* By R. R. MADDEN, M. R. I. A. London: T. C. Newby, 1851.

The author of this work reminds us that—

“It is good to have the dead thought of in the world. It is desirable to be reminded that the tombstones of the earth are the monuments of little cares, soon brought to a termination, and of great ambitions in a short time signally frustrated.”—Pref.

Further on he adds—

“Records of many pilgrimages to tombs and shrines of celebrity in various countries, and accounts of modern funeral rites and monuments, will be found in the second volume. If these should be found devoid of interest, the labour of the collection must have enhanced very unduly the value of the materials in the judgment of the author.”—Pref.

And he quotes Old Weaver in defence of his favourite pursuit—

“At the commencement of his great work on Monumental Inscriptions, published in 1631, he tells us of the ardent desire that all or most men have to visit the sepulchres of eminent and worthy persons. In his eighth chapter he expatiates on the sacredness of such researches, and the sanctity of ancient funeral monuments. Elsewhere he observes, that the fear of not having burial, or of having ignominious or dishonourable burial, hath ever affrighted the bravest spirits of the world! He tells us that the burial of the dead was a work acceptable to God; that epitaphs on tombs were helps to history—records that solaced friends, and served good purposes in future times!”—Pref.

We have thus far allowed the author to speak for himself, to explain his own views, and justify the earnest enthusiasm with which he has followed up his favourite subject of investigation. It is indeed one which requires to be viewed with a certain bias of the mind, and tinged with some enthusiasm, ere it can become in any degree attractive.

Mr. Madden tells us—

“That it might be difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of the objects which have led him to these enquiries; ‘they have to do with the propensities of early life, for ramblings amongst tombs and ruins, indulged in later years in wanderings of a wider range, and with ampler opportunities for making researches of this kind than fall to the lot of the generality of men to do. Some people in early life seem more than others to desire strongly to see the graves of men who had been famous in their times for valour, learning, excellence in art, or eminence in philosophy or piety; to visit the final resting-places of those who had either signally served their country or suffered for it; to know all that might be learned of the tenants of such tombs from those records, scanty as they may be, of life and death, that are strewn over graveyards, or scattered amidst the ruins of ancient cities mouldering in the dust.”—Pref.

When a man of learning and general information, takes

up a subject of curious enquiry, in such a spirit as this, he can scarcely fail to produce a work of very general interest. We think it no disparagement to say that "Shrines and Sepulchres" have been made a peg, whereon to hang much various information, records of classical antiquity, descriptions of the Old Churches, memorials of many an old family, many a stirring individual, whose last resting-place is described, scraps of verses, hints at political views more picturesque than fashionable, stories of the old Irish chieftains, romantic, but very sad. With such materials Mr. Madden has disguised the repulsiveness of his subject. For it is repulsive. Death, the great dispeller of illusions, makes fearful revelations of the human heart. When we contemplate the wide spread myriads who have been left to their own instinctive notions, and the account of whose funeral ceremonies fills nearly the first volume of this work; we cannot but feel a deep disgust, which renders this the least attractive test of any that could be found, for ascertaining the degrees of civilization to which these different races had attained. How little, indeed, can civilization do for the real happiness of men! In all material arts, no nation had attained greater perfection than the ancient Mexican race; yet there was none whose superstitions were so cruel, so murderous as theirs; the bodies of their great men might have floated in the sea of human blood that was shed round them. The Hindoos of our great eastern empire, whose civilization and gentle and good qualities we hear often boasted of (nay, we have heard Europeans rank them above their Christian compatriots in all these points) are enslaved by the most soul-debasing, and merciless of all superstitions; and well it bears its fruit.

"Mr. Ward enters on as correct a conjecture respecting the number of victims annually sacrificed on the altars of the Indian gods, as he is able.

Widows burnt alive on the funeral pile in Hindoostan	5000
Pilgrims perishing on the roads and at sacred places ..	4000
Persons drowning themselves in the Ganges, or buried or burnt alive	500
Children immolated, including the daughters of the Rajapooters	500
Sick persons whose death is hastened on the banks of the Ganges	500

Total 10,500

“ ‘It has been wondered at,’ says Mr. Ward, ‘that a people so mild, so benevolent, so benignant as the Hindoos, who shudder at the sight of blood, should have adopted so many bloody rites. But are these Hindoos, indeed, so humane? these men and women too, who drag their dying relations to the banks of the river at all seasons, day and night, and expose them to the heat and cold in the last agonies of death without remorse; who assist men to commit self-murder, encouraging them to swing with hooks in their backs, to pierce their tongues and sides, to cast themselves on naked knives, to bury themselves alive, throw themselves into rivers, from precipices, and under the cars of their idols; who murder their own children, by burying them alive, throwing them to the alligators, or hanging them up alive in trees for the ants and crows before their own doors, or by sacrificing them to the Ganges; who burn alive, amidst horrid shouts, the heart-broken widow, by the hands of her own son, and with the corpse of a deceased father?’ . . .

“ Voluntary suicide is not only practised to a dreadful extent among the Hindoos, but the shastras positively recommend the crime, and promise heaven to the self-murderer, provided he die in the Ganges! Nay, the Brahmins as well as persons of other castes, assist those who design thus to end life, of which the reader will find instances recorded in these pages. In some places of the Ganges, deemed peculiarly sacred and efficacious, infatuated devotees very frequently drown themselves. A respectable Brahmin assured the author that in a stay of only two months, at Allahabad, he saw about thirty persons drown themselves!”—*Ward’s Religious Customs of the Hindoos*.—Vol. i. p. 171.

Alas, when will Christianity dawn upon this darkness? We have chosen to select these two cases, rather as being remarkable from the greater cultivation of the people, than from their peculiar enormity. For, throughout the work we are struck with a horrible resemblance in the funereal rites of the whole heathen world. Take, for instance, the indignities which under one pretext or other, are offered to the corpse. The Tartars, we are told, when they had partially embalmed the body of the king, would

“ ‘Set it stark naked upon a chariot, which was to carry it not only through all his own hereditary provinces, but those also which he had subdued and made tributary.’

“ Now it was lawful for the inhabitants of every province to do what outrage or injury they pleased, to revenge those wrongs which the prince in his lifetime had done them; so that some cut off his ears, others his hair, others his nose, others struck him on the forehead, others slashed deep and large gashes in his arms, and others pierced his hand with arrows; every one insulting that part

which he conceived he had been aggrieved or injured by. For example those that could never obtain a hearing from him, revenged themselves upon his ears, which had always been deaf to them; they that were scandalised with his debaucheries and luxury, tore off his hair, that was his chief ornament; and after they had shaved him, to make him look ugly and ridiculous, they made a thousand flouts at him. They that disliked his too great delicacy and effeminateness, slit his nose for him, as supposing that he could never have been such, but because he loved and delighted too much in perfumes and pleasant scents. They that were offended at his government broke his forehead, the place where all his tyrannical laws and ordinances had been hatched. Those to whom he had done any violence, regarding his arms as the instruments of his strength, and the executioners of their miseries, did with several blows break the very bones of them. And they who had suffered by his covetousness, either because of the heavy taxes and subsidies he had levied upon them, or else because he had not rewarded their services, did slit open his hands, for having been too griping or close fisted."—Vol. i. p. 307.

One would think that some such feeling, unavowed, had actuated all the nations of heathenism, so revolting is their treatment of the corpse they affect to honour; they boil it, bake it and cut it into pieces, expose it, give it to the birds and beasts of the field, even heap further corruption upon it; as if the fiends were instigating them to treat with such indignity the helpless form of humanity. And even more fearfully would this seem true, of the human sacrifices with which they almost invariably propitiated the supposed passions of the wretched being, and alas! their own. Truly death thus accompanied, whether when like the people of Ceylon, "they are very loath to die, and are much afraid of the devil," or when expected with "apathetic countenances" as described in others of the "bleeding victims," was a "King of Terrors" no ways softened by the universal belief in the immortality of the soul, and in a future judgment. Let us record one exception in favour of the chivalrous North American Indians, who alone show manly decency, reason, and kindness—

"When a savage dies, they dress him as handsomely as possible, and then the slaves of his relations come and bewail his death; but the mothers, sisters, or brothers of the deceased do not discover the least token of sorrow. They say that he is very happy in being out of the reach of sufferings, for they believe that death is a passage to a better life. As soon as they have dressed the corpse,

they seat it on a mat, as though he were living. His relations seat themselves round about him, after which they all make a speech to him; they repeat to him all his noble exploits, and the glorious achievements of his ancestors, when the last who speaks addresses him as follows:—"Thou art now," says the savage orator, "sitting in the midst of us; thou hast exactly the same shape as one of us; thou neither wantest arms, or head, or legs; nevertheless thou now ceasest to be, and dost begin to evaporate like the smoke of this pipe. Who was it that spoke to us two days ago? It was not thou, otherwise thou wouldst still continue to speak; it was therefore undoubtedly thy soul, that is now in the great region of souls, in company with those of our nation. Thy body which we see before us, will in six months be what it was two hundred years ago. Thou neither feelest nor seest anything since thou thyself art nothing; nevertheless, because of the friendship which we had for thy body, when thy soul animated it, we bestow on thee these marks of our veneration," &c.

And when they have laid him in a double coffin of bark—

"His slaves marry other female slaves, and become free. They adopt the children that result from these marriages, and look upon them as the children of the nation, because they are born in their villages and country; nor is it just, they say, that they should labour under the same ill fate with their fathers, or be born slaves, since they themselves do no way conspire to their own begetting. The same slaves go daily and offer some pipes of tobacco at the foot of their master's coffin, as a testimony of gratitude for their enfranchisement."—Vol. i. p. 540.

A breathing of peace comes with Christianity. The author sets forth at length the solemn service for the dead as ordered by the Church, so well known and so touching to the whole Catholic world; but the variations from this devout ceremonial in the different Catholic countries (none other are alluded to) are scarcely worth recording, and the book thenceforward does very much deserve the character the author disclaims for it, of a "collection of Inscriptions or a series of descriptions of tombs." It is a very miscellaneous collection, no classification being observed except that of place; we have here a few lines upon the Shrine of St. Charles Borromeo, and there a description of John Kemble's grave. Now a Spanish church is described, and there the adventures of an Irish chief, or Spanish brigand, with commentaries upon history or politics. Long accounts are given of "The Sepulchre and other holy

places of Jerusalem," but it cannot be said that much of this information is new, or that it is enlivened by any depth of thought or original remark on the part of the author. His *feeling* upon most subjects is Catholic and good, but it is only a feeling, not having Catholic principle by which to test it; he is frequently illogical, and at times exaggerated in his notions. We might object that his style is sometimes heavy, and the French quotations (perhaps from errors in the press), are often inaccurate; but these are minor points, especially as we are not attempting to review the book, which would require time and attention we cannot now give to it, but merely to bring to the notice of our readers a work in which they can scarcely fail to find much that is curious and amusing.

II.—*A Polemical Dissertation on the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary.* By HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LAMBRUSCHINI, Bishop of Sabina, &c. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

The name of Cardinal Lambruschini, and the subject upon which His Eminence has written, will be the strongest recommendation of the above interesting treatise, the translator of which deserves our best thanks for presenting it to the public in an English dress.

III.—*The Boys' Ceremonial.* By FATHER CROWTHER, Priest of the Eremitic Order of St. Augustine. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

The importance of this little book is sufficiently indicated by its title; and we have no doubt that it will go far to supply an acknowledged want. The greater attention to rubrical exactness, and ecclesiastical propriety, which is now happily beginning to prevail, is one of the most gratifying evidences of the revived Catholic feeling amongst us; and any attempt to promote an ecclesiastical and reverent spirit (even apart from the more practical object of the present publication) in the youths who assist in our sanctuaries cannot be otherwise than deserving of praise. In the present instance, the Rev. Father to whom we are indebted for the above little work, does not appear to have exceeded the requirements of the written laws of the Church, as interpreted by the best commentators; and

the publication has the *imprimatur* and recommendation of the venerable Bishop of Liverpool. We entirely coincide in the remark of Father Crowther, that our bishops should be designated by the *names of their sees*, and not merely by their academical degree, as "Dr. Brown," &c.

IV.—*History of French Literature in the Eighteenth Century.* By ALEXANDER VINET. Translated from the French by the Rev. James Bryce. Edinburgh: Clark, 1854.

French literature in the eighteenth century was of a description little worth preserving. With the exception of Voltaire and Rousseau, the "literateurs" commemorated by Vinet, none are known to the present age, except as names; names for the most part connected with odious associations, and it is well that it is so. Wanting in purpose, strength, and truth, they were neither sincere nor in earnest; they had no principle to build upon, no imagination to exalt them. Their single merit was elegance of style, and the high polish they gave to the French language, which in their hands became exquisitely refined, plastic, and concise, incapable of elevation, but lending itself gracefully to every shade of inuendo, a fit medium for the cold hearts and perverted intellects of these philosophers. To make a dissertation upon such writings valuable, two things are required; fine perception to discriminate and make evident to the reader that gloss of grace and ease which they undoubtedly possessed, and the strong manly sense which could unravel their sophistries, shake to pieces their cold, mischievous philosophy, and gibbet them with hearty sarcasm. Whatever the first qualification of the original may have possessed is lost in the translation. No translator, indeed, could be expected to render the characteristics of different specimens of style from a foreign language; and we are bound to say that, far from doing so, Mr. Bryce often fails in translating the meaning of his author into good readable English. For the absence of all vigour of principle and criticism Mr. Bryce is not answerable. Vinet was a Protestant Professor of Theology, at Lausanne,—not one of the philosophers certainly, but a man quite capable of establishing with them a certain see-saw of praise and blame, alternating compliments and palliations, excusing motives by actions, and actions by motives, and confounding the

principles of right and wrong. Thus, after setting forth at some length the shameful life of Rousseau, he winds it up by quoting his audacious challenge. "Let each (man) in his turn lay open his heart at the foot of Thy throne with the same sincerity, and then let a single one say, if he dare, I was better than that man." "It will be none of us, gentlemen, I dare promise for it," exclaims Mr. Vinet..... Without a moment's hesitation we reject his defiance, and will not consent not to pass for better than he; and the Professor of Theology justifies a sentiment so little edifying to a youthful audience, by referring to St. Paul's humility, in lieu of a supernatural standard of virtue.

V.—*The Life and Miracles of the Blessed Germaine Cousin, Shepherdess of Pibrac.* By F. JOSEPH BOERO, S. J. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

This a most interesting and edifying narrative, which cannot but be acceptable to our Catholic readers. The Beatification of the holy Shepherdess took place in the summer of the present year, the late eminent Cardinal Lambruschini being the reporter of the cause of the holy servant of God.

VI.—*Idyls and Songs.* By FRANCIS TURNER PALGRAVE. London, Parker, 1854.

Mr. Palgrave's volume must take its place in the "Poetry of the Million." Among the many pieces which it contains, there are a few which possess very considerable merit; but there is a carelessness in the versification, and a common-place character in the sentiments, of a large majority, which mar the beauty of the rest by their very companionship.

The translations are amongst the most pleasing pieces of the volume.

VII.—*A Sketch of the Life of St. Edward the Confessor, Patron of the Diocese of Westminster.* London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

Our brethren, on the Continent, are still far in advance of us in their devotion to local and other patron saints. But *we* have our patrons also, and are not certainly the

less in need of their good offices. St. Edward's fame is by no means confined to our metropolitan diocese; and we trust the present attempt to promote devotion to our great English Saint and King, will not be without its results in the kingdom which he so happily ruled.

VIII.—*Sunshine and Gloom: a Tale of Modern Life, Founded on Fact.* By WILLIAM GOULD. Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1854.

“Sunshine and Gloom” is a painful and improbable story, with a useful moral disagreeably conveyed. Even if they were recommended by more than ordinary brilliancy and power, we much question the expediency of portraying such characters and such scenes, as those which form the staple of its narrative; and we cannot help expressing a hope, that, if we should again meet the author, it may be on a field both more favourable for the display of his own talents, and more likely to prove advantageous to the taste of his readers.

IX.—*The Catholic Child's Prayer Book.* London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

An excellent Manual of Devotion for young children; embellished with Mr. Pugin's illustrations of the Mass, and published at a low price.

X.—*Welsh Sketches—Third Series*—by the author of “Proposals for Christian Union.” London, Darling, 1853.

We think the little work of which we are about to notice the Third Series, well deserving of attention; and are not surprised to see that it has gone into a third edition. Adopting the happy idea of modern literature, the plan of the work is to give sketches of the private lives of the Princes of Wales, making this thread of narrative a means of introducing a quantity of miscellaneous information, not to be found in history, but a most valuable accessory to the study of it. In the local traditions, family histories, and in the old poetry of Wales, there is abundance of curious lore, which our author has selected from various sources, and combined into a very entertaining little work. The history of Owen Glyndwr is especially interesting. Shakspeare has scarcely done him justice by introducing

him as the prosy and pompous foil to Hotspur; the gallant Welsh gentleman was a hero himself, every inch of him, and deserved a braver niche than that assigned to him by the poet. He was a cadet of the princely house of Powys, and claimed as his ancestress, Catherine, daughter of the heroic Llywellyn, last of the name who was crowned Prince of Wales. He had large landed property, though we are told his income, told down in hard money, did not exceed three hundred merks. We will extract the description of his mansion of Sycharth; taken for all in all, it would be hard, we think, in any times to find its superior:—

“I have repeatedly given my word and promise to pay this visit: every man should always be mindful to fulfil his engagement. It is a nice point, it is just, it is a matter of great consequence, it is a propitious vow to go to Owen's palace. There shall I go forthwith, and there shall I make my abode, to be respectfully entertained with him and his honourable companions. My noble lord, the Cler's benefactor, will deign to receive a decrepit bard. Poesy is loud in praise of his liberality to the aged. To a palace surrounded with water I go; of hundreds the most excellent; a baron's palace; the mansion of generosity; the resort of bards for their benefits: the magnificent habitation of the chief lord of Powys, and the hope of deserving petitioners. This is the description and situation. Encircled with a moat filled with water; the entrance into this goodly edifice is by a costly gate, on a bridge over the pool; Gothic arches adorned with mouldings, every arch alike: a tower of St. Patrick in the elegant antique order, like the cloister of Westminster: every angle united together with girders: a compact, noble, golden chancel, concatenated in linked order, like an arched vault all conjoined in harmony: a Neapolitan building of eighteen apartments, a fair timber structure, on the summit of a green hill, reared towards heaven on four admirable pilasters; on the top of each of these firm wooden supporters is fixed a timber floor of curious architecture; and these four pleasant and elegant floors connected together, and divided into eight elegant chamber-lofts; every part and stately front covered with shingles, and chimneys to convey away the smoke: nine halls of similar construction, and a wardrobe over every one: neat, clean, commodious, well furnished warehouses, like shops in London: a quadrangular church, well built, and whitewashed: chapels well glazed: plenty on every side: every part of the house a palace: an orchard and vineyard well fenced: yonder, below, are seen herds of stags feeding in the park: the rabbit warren of the chief lord of the nation: implements; mettlesome steeds; and fair meadows of grass and hay: well-ordered corn fields; a good corn mill on a

clear stream ; and a stone turret for a pigeon house : a deep and spacious fish pond for the casting of nets, where may be found pikes and gwyniad, or mearlings, in plenty : three tables, well furnished with the best breeds of peacocks and cranes : all necessary tools and instruments for every kind of work : the best Salopian ale ; choice wassail and braggets, wines, and all kinds of liquors and manchets ; and the cook with his fire in the noble kitchen.

“ His residence is an encampment of bards, every one finds here a lodging. His wife, the best of wives, I am blest with her politeness ; with wine and mead : a charming female of a noble extraction, liberal, and of an honourable family. His children come in pairs, a beautiful nest of chieftains. A lock or a latchet is seldom seen within his mansion, or a door-keeper or a porter. Refreshments are never wanting : hunger, thirst, want, or reproach, are never known in Sycharth. The proprietor of this domain is hardy and valiant ; the best of Britons ; a tall, handsome, accomplished gentleman, owns this most delightful palace.”

With this palace, so abounding in all that man could desire, Owen was not satisfied. Perhaps it stimulated his desire to rule in his native land. He claimed the title of Prince of Wales ; fought for it with the courage of a hero, and with all the vicissitudes incident to such a cause ; at one time ruling supreme, at another taking refuge in the caves of the mountain ;—now surrounded by devoted followers, now, alas ! calling in the, not disinterested, aid of the French. Exemplifying upon a small scale and in a limited space, all the fierce struggles for nationality, which at different times have taken place over the face of the earth, and which always so attract our sympathies. It ended, as most of them have done ; the nation and nationality have merged, divisions have broken down, and the civilised world is stirred by deeper interests, and awaits a vaster movement than could take rise in them. A glance is given by the author at the state of the Church—it consists but in a collection of anecdotes ; and this, indeed, is all we can desire upon this subject, from a writer so utterly devoid of all principle upon ecclesiastical matters. At one time, the author speaks in the highest terms of eulogy of St. Thomas a Beckett ; of whom it is recorded that,

“ By his contemporaries he was looked upon as the man of the people ; the champion of right against the tyrant and the oppressor ; the martyr blessed indeed by the untutored lips of the poor, the weak, and the defenceless.

“By the inferior ranks, whether clergy or laity, he was loved, he was pitied.”—p. 140.

Not much further on, the author resents vehemently the interference of Rome with the Welsh clergy—upon the trifling matter of their choosing to marry, or keep concubines. We are told that good and holy Archbishop Peckham..... probably mistook for carelessness and irreverence, the rustic manners of a poorly clad, and simple hearted race of priests, within many of whose hearts glowed a devotion to their God and Saviour, as fervent, &c. &c.; then follows the archbishop’s pastoral, charging them with a set of such substantial offences, as certainly left no room for any “mistake” in the matter. The commendation of such writers is given by mere haphazard, without rule or consistency—it goes for nothing. We are none the less interested in the facts they collect, which, making allowance for human frailty and the distractions of the times, seldom fail to do credit to the ministers of the Catholic Church, and sustain their character of Benefactors of the human race. In a third chapter are many charming verses translated from the old Welsh poets; we confess, however, that we were not prepared to find that the bards of old renown, so little deserved the sympathy lavished upon them. Soothsayers, abettors of all superstition, and strongly opposed to the clergy, their character is thus drawn by a monk of the thirteenth century. Jonas Mynyw, or Jonas of St. David’s:—

“Minstrels persevere in their false customs,
Immoral ditties are their delight;
Vain and tasteless praises they recite,
Falsehood at all times do they utter,
Innocent persons do they ridicule;
At night they get drunk, they sleep the day
In idleness without work, they feed themselves;
At court they enquire after feasts;
Every senseless word they bring forward,
Every deadly sin they praise,
Every vile course of life they lead;
Concerning the days of death they think not.
Neither lodging nor charity do they give,
And from no sensuality do they refrain,
Tithes and other proper offerings they do not pay,
And righteous people they delude,
Indulging in victuals to excess;

The birds do fly, the fish do swim,
 The bees collect honey, worms do crawl,
 Everything travels to obtain its food,
 Except minstrels and useless idlers.
 I deride nor learning nor minstrelsy,
 For they are given by heaven to lighten thought.
 Be silent, then, ye unlucky rhyming bards,
 For you cannot judge between truth and falsehood."

Perhaps it is scarcely fair to make the bards bear testimony to the merit of their opponents, nevertheless, we shall conclude with the following eulogium by G. Euffyd of Hiratheog upon the Abbot of Lanelwestl, or Valle Omeis:—

"Born of heaven, and Cambria's pride,
 On snowy Berwyn's various side,
 On holy Derfel's happier dale,
 Shares the strain, or hears the tale ;
 Associates of the Nine, behold
 Yon sacred symbol's glittering gold ;
 Thy buttress, Hope—thy bane, Despair,
 Lo ! I pass my Christmas there,
 Hail ! all hail ! Thou happiest place,
 The smile that every heart has won,
 The righteous abbot's rosy face
 Is far Glyndyfyrdwy's other sun,
 Whose range give sorrow's clouds to fly,
 And chase the shower from woe's wet eye.
 E'en verse in vain describes the place,
 That mundane heaven, and favoured race,
 Where prayer is frequent, praise is loud,
 And blessings still incessant crowd,
 When Berwyn rears his crest of snow,
 The herald of a season's woe ;
 When every region pours its poor,
 Wide is Eqwestl's welcome door ;
 The loaded boards are wider spread,
 And bend beneath the Abbot's bread.
 Ye wights forlorn that wayward roam,
 To whom the Fates deny a home,
 There draw ye nigh, and throng to share
 A father's blessing, father's care ;
 His open arms extend redress,
 He leans to hear, and longs to bless :
 Then draw ye nigh, and spurn despair,
 Come and pass your Christmas there.

And ye too, bards, of raiment bare
 That meet the wintry's angry air,
 That wade the Dee, the mountain climb,
 That starve on food yclep'd divine,
 That quaff the stream from melted snow,
 Where rills Castalian never flow.
 Hear me, comrades, come along,
 Join the feast, and swell the song;
 Where joy forbids the ken of care,
 Come and pass your Christmas there.
 Now, muse divine, let endless joy—
 The promised boon thy powers employ.
 See, see, beneath inclement skies,
 The valley's spotless lily rise;
 The clouds disperse, the heaven's disclose
 All healing Sharon's infant Rose,
 Strains of triumph comrades bring,
 Eqwestl's ambient rocks shall ring;
 Your harp to notes of rapture raise,
 And let the grateful theme be praise,
 Associates of the tuneful tide,
 Of lofty Berwyn's various side,
 Or humbler Corwen's fertile vale,
 Hears the song, or owns the tale;
 Awhile now quit each hapless home,
 To see the abbot's cwrw foam,
 A season's festive scenes to share,
 The Lord of Eqwestl calls, repair,
 Come and spend your Christmas there."

XI.—*The Little Manual of Confession; or, Guide to Grace, with a full Examination of Conscience.* Revised and approved by a Father of the Society of Jesus, and a Benedictine Father. London, Dublin, and Derby, Richardson and Son, 1854.

The above little volume is an enlarged edition of the well-known "Guide to Grace," and its re-appearance in this improved form will be welcomed by many directors. It is one of the most useful Manuals upon the subject to place in the hands of penitents, and is especially full and satisfactory in its Examination of Conscience, as well as in its doctrinal statements, as to the value and necessity of the Sacrament of Penance.

XII.—*England and Rome.* By the Rev. W. Waterworth, S. J.
London: Burns and Lambert.

We sincerely recommend this volume to the reader's attention. It is agreeably written, and contains a clear and forcible account of the close connection which formerly subsisted between England and the Holy See. The gradual rise of the Catholic Church in Great Britain, its re-establishment by St. Augustine after its first decay, its rapid spread and complete dominion throughout Saxon England; finally, its vicissitudes and triumphs under the reign of the Norman kings, up to that miserable schism which, in 1534, so completely severed this country from the communion of the Catholic Church. All these things Mr. Waterworth has well and forcibly described. In the first chapters of his book the author discusses the question, so often raised by our adversaries, of St. Peter's residence at Rome. The evidence he brings to bear on this subject, from the writings of the Fathers, is well worthy of consideration. The whole volume will prove peculiarly interesting to Catholic readers, and to such we cordially recommend it.

XIII.—*Father Quadrupani's Instructions for Timid Souls.* London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

This is one of those little devotional treatises which ought to be in the hands of all Christians who are living in the world, and yet desire to dedicate themselves to God. It embodies a great portion of the admirable maxims of St. Francis de Sales, of whose spirit the author has drunk deeply.

XIV.—*The Dream of Pythagoras, and other Poems,* by EMMA TATHAM.
Binns and Goodwin.

This is a small volume of considerable poetical merit, by a young lady, whose name as an authoress, has not been, we believe, before the public hitherto. To judge from a hasty glance over the book, the authoress is a Protestant; but she is evidently of a devout disposition, and there is a gentleness and sweetness both of idea and versification in several of the pieces, which is very charming.

The best specimens, perhaps, are the "Lines to the Sea Bird," "Providence," "Peace and War," "To my Bride," and "The Rainbow." From the latter poem we extract the following lines :

—————Thus did our Lord,
 The Sun of Righteousness, create His Church
 Like the fair bow of peace o'er all the storms
 And clouds of our dark world. From lowest state
 He rose and shed his soft infantine beams
 On human tears : then glittered smiles of joy
 On eyes of angels and of penitents,
 As when on Magdalen's meek weeping love
 He looked forgiveness. Thus His Church arose,
 His own reflection and creation new,
 His many-coloured and triumphant banner,
 Where every tint of beauty melts and blends
 In one unbroken whole, to show His love
 Embracing in a boundless arch all lauds,
 Proclaiming peace, and never to depart,
 While its eternal origin shall shine.

XV.—*The Catholic Choralist*. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

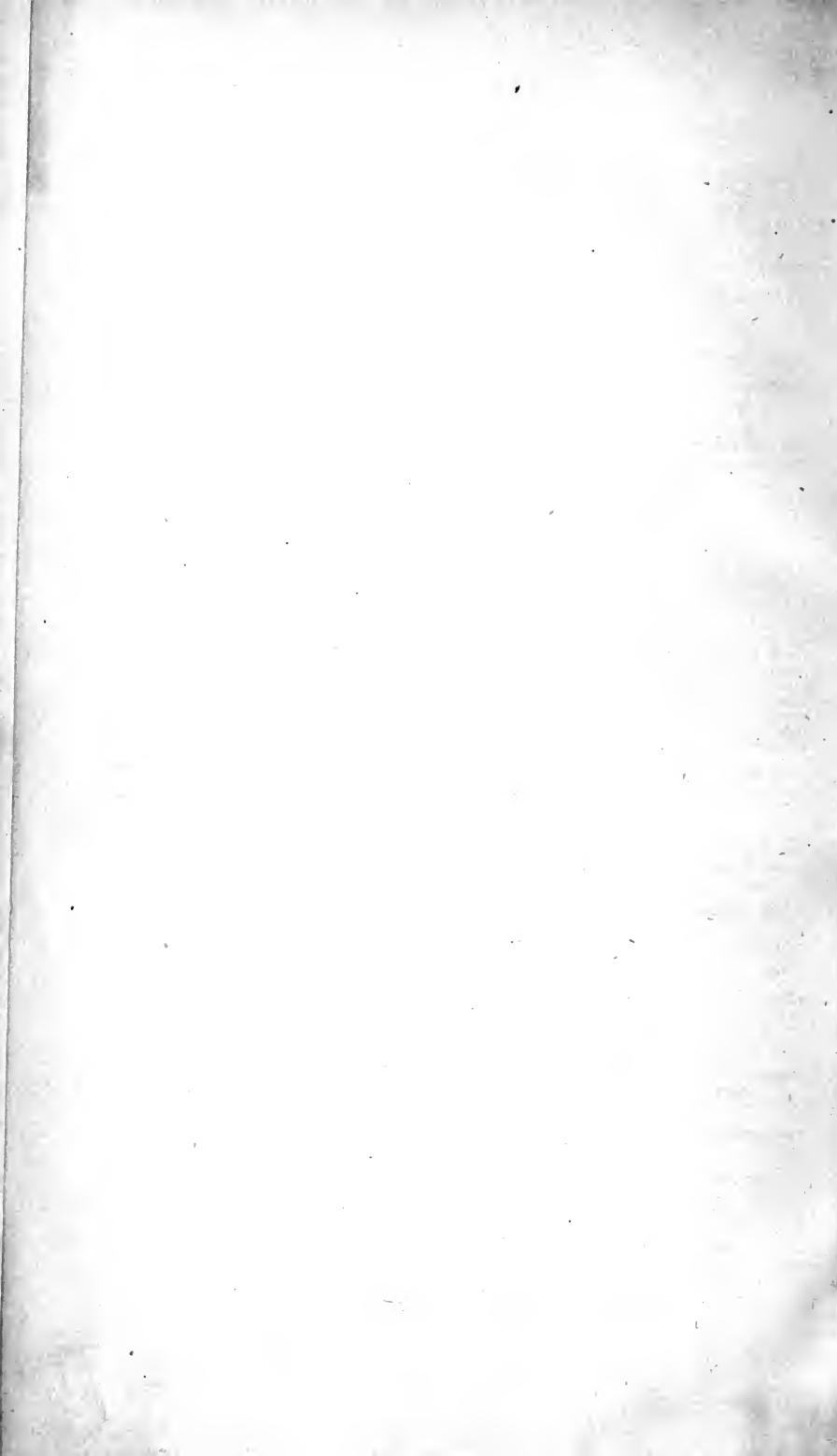
This is a neat little volume of Hymns and Songs, mostly sacred, dedicated to Father Mathew. The collection is rather miscellaneous in its character; and for ourselves we must confess that we do not like the arrangement which places in such close proximity, Temperance Odes, and Hymns for Holy Communion. The book contains, however, some good translations of the Latin Hymns of the Church.

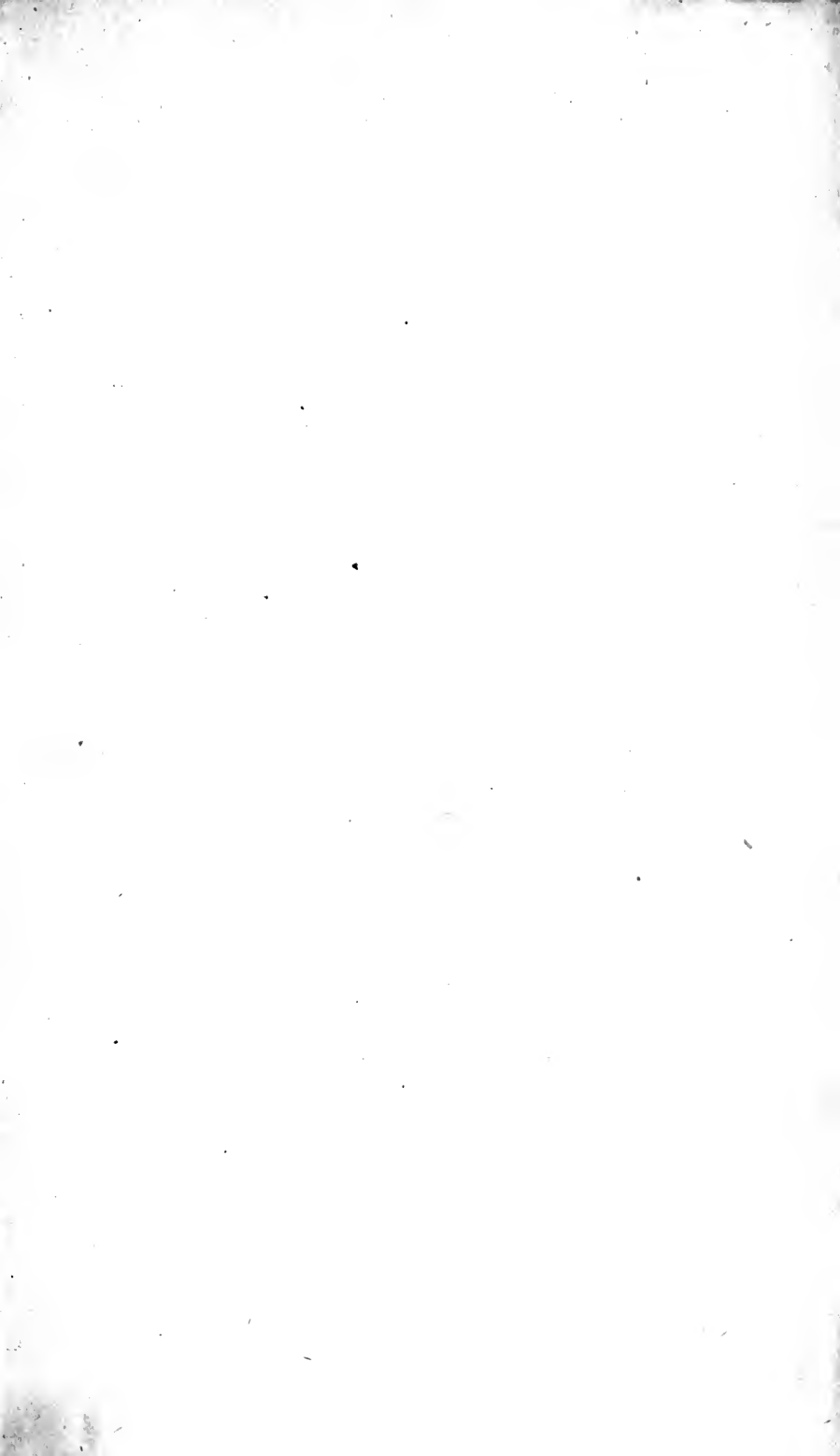
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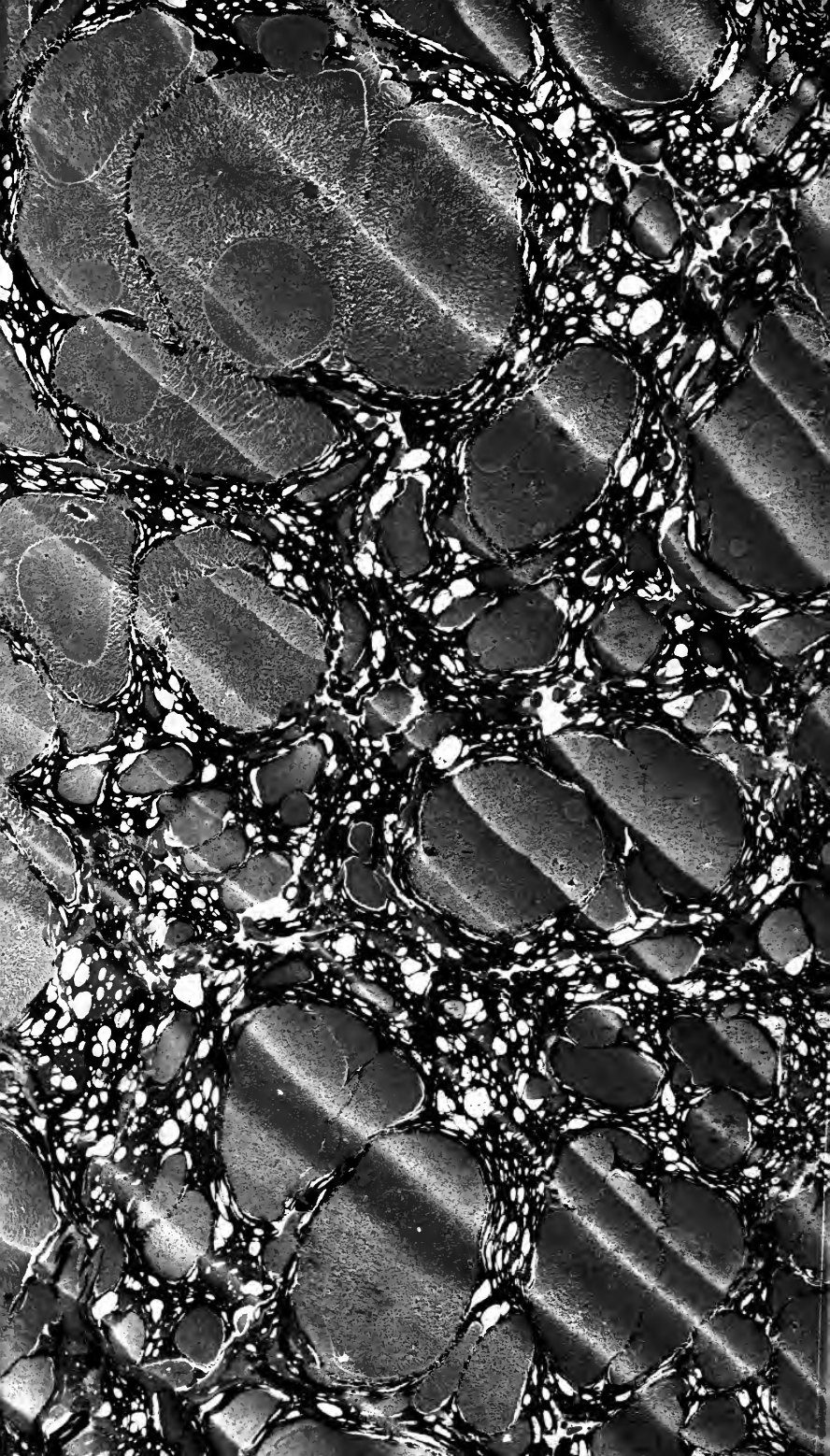
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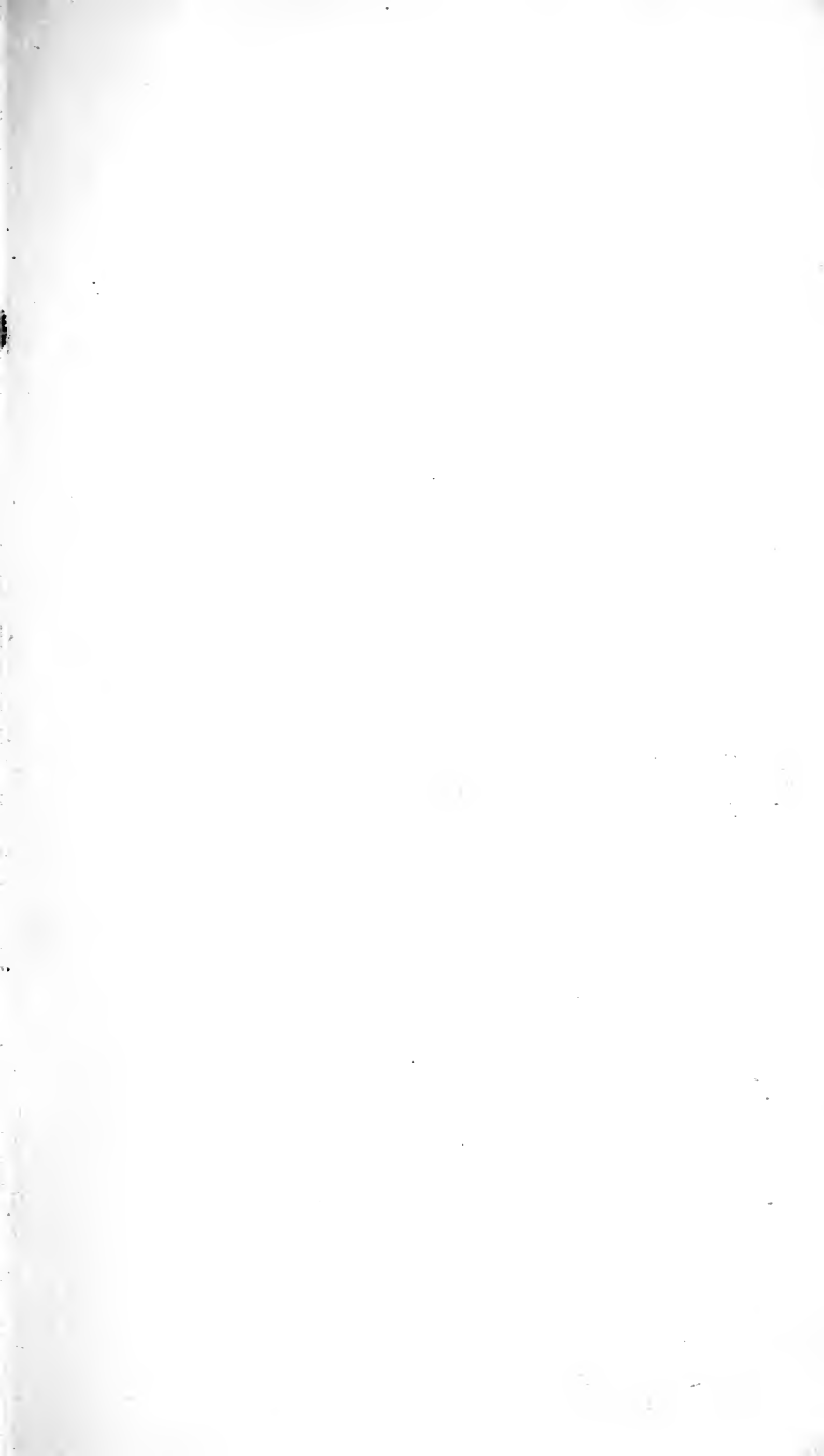
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The Dublin review.

AIP-2395 (awab)

vol. 37

