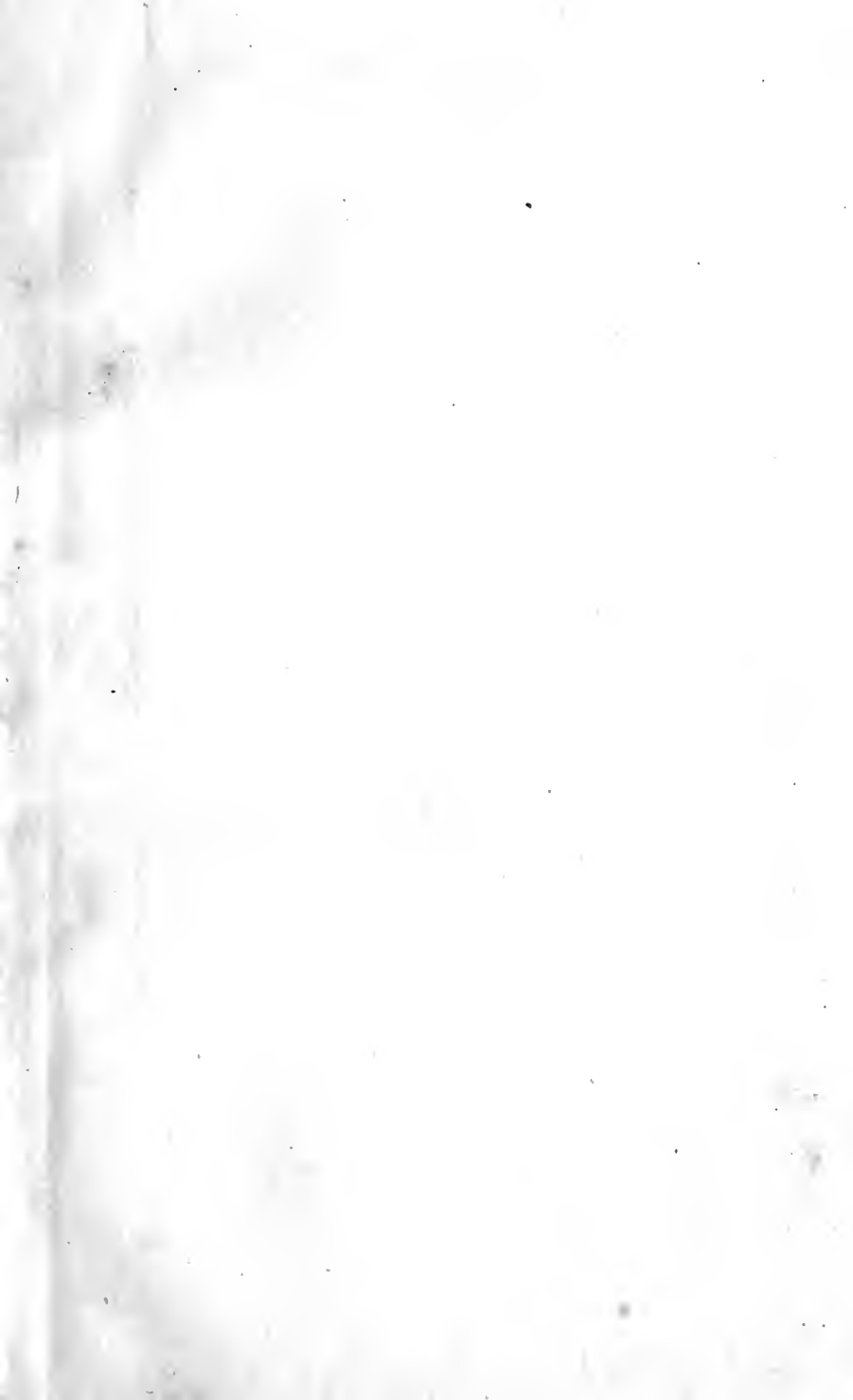


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THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal,

CONDUCTED BY A SOCIETY OF CLERGYMEN,
UNDER EPISCOPAL SANCTION.

VOL. VIII.

“ Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.”

“ As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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OCTOBER, 1871.

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL SEMINARY.¹

IT is fitting that this corner-stone should be lowered to its place with solemn religious rite, to the sound of sacred psalmody, by the hand of one of the Princes of the Church; for it marks a spot that henceforth shall be blessed in the land. The edifice that will soon rise above it is designed for no profane or common purpose, but rather in its fair and stately proportions it will crown this noble hill as with a Sacred Tabernacle, within which the Catholic Church may securely achieve a work of incomparable holiness and dignity; here will she gather to her maternal bosom youthful Levites in the fresh bloom of their early innocence; here, with patient love, day by day, and year by year, will she pour out upon them those tender and gracious influences of which she alone possesses the secret; here will she fit them to the hand of Christ, her spouse, as instruments to sanctify the souls of men. This is the office, this the work of an Ecclesiastical Seminary, such as that which the Diocese of Kilmore has commenced to-day; and when I consider the loftiness of the purposes this new Seminary is to serve; when I consider the magnificent completeness with which it is designed that it should serve them; when I consider the splendid results that may be hoped from its service, I can well understand the deep and holy joy which fills the heart of all here present, and of which even this jubilant ceremonial is scarcely an adequate expression.

The purposes of Christian education, under any circumstances, are simply among the grandest that can stir the energies of man, for they aim at leading to its highest perfection, the noblest of God's works on earth—the human soul. Beautiful as is the universe with a thousand types of

¹ Sermon preached by the Bishop of Ardagh, on Tuesday, 23rd May, 1871, when the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin placed the foundation-stone of the new Diocesan Seminary, Kilmore.

loveliness; teeming as it is with uncounted forms of wealth; wondrous as are the powers with which it is equipped; its beauty, and riches, and forces fade into insignificance before the dignity of man. And in man himself the perishable frame is of little account compared with the immortal soul, which, with its two imperial faculties of intellect and will, as with two out-stretched arms of yearning, evermore seeks the Supreme Truth and the Sovereign Good, which is God. And since our faculties then reach their perfection, when they are united with the object for which they are formed, how glorious is the purpose of a Christian education, which not only strengthens, purifies, and exercises the faculties of mind and heart, but, furthermore, unfolds to them the blessed vision of the God of Truth and of Goodness, who has made them for himself, that he may make them happy with himself for ever. Now, the Catholic Church alone possesses, in its completeness, this beneficent power of education. Others; who undertake the task, aim merely at developing the intellectual power, forgetful that, in our corrupt nature, intellect is too often the slave, not the controller of passion; or they seek to direct the wayward will by the cold and uncertain light of moral philosophy; or, after having cultivated the soul's faculties to the highest, they declare themselves incapable of satisfying the cravings they have encouraged, and can only say with Pilate, *what is truth?* or with the Athenian, point to the altar of the *unknown God*. But it is not so with the Catholic Church. She trains the intellect and disciplines the will, but at the same time with authority, with clearness, without the risk of error, she sets before the former what truths are to be believed, and before the latter what laws are to be observed, while by the grace, of which her sacraments are the channels, Faith and Virtue are made both possible and meritorious. The Catholic notion of the purposes of education is then the only complete one, for it alone embraces the whole of human nature, and consults at once for the temporal and for the eternal interests of man. It alone is the answer to the prayer of St. Paul for his disciples (1 *Thes.* v. 23), that their whole spirit and soul and body might be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. If, then, the purposes of education rank among the highest, if the conception of education prevailing in the Catholic Church be the most complete and most perfect of all, how surpassingly noble must be the purposes of an Ecclesiastical Seminary, which will not only confer the blessings of education, and that through the Church, who will lavish all her love and all her energies on the task, but where those to be educated constitute, among the youth of the

land, a class of special importance. Even to the Pagan mind youth was an object of reverence for its candour, its innocence, its glowing hopes, and the bright promises of its future; but to us, who know that the Eternal High Priest has condescended to become a child, and to rest in the arms of a mother chosen among the daughters of men, the child whom he has called, like Aaron, to his altar, appears invested with a new sanctity. The ecclesiastical vocation makes his young life bright with a secret glory, like that which shone in the hidden life of the Divine Child, who grew up in wisdom and in grace before God and man. He is the object of a special Providence which encompasses him and caresses him; a Providence that prepares him for his high destiny, by shaping to favorable issues the external circumstances of his life; a Providence that invites him by filling his young soul with holy thoughts, sanctifying the early aspirations of his heart, and hushing the turmoil of nascent passion that would drown the voice of the spirit. As with Job, in the days of his youth, God is secretly with him in his tabernacle; his lamp shines over his head, and he walks by his light in darkness (*Job*, xxix. 3, 4). The angels of Heaven, conscious of the secrets of the Most High, behold with awe how the destiny of many souls is linked in the Divine decrees with the future of a fragile creature, through whose ministry they are to be brought to salvation. How many souls are there throughout Ireland in whom, at this very hour, the spirit of God is thus sweetly working out his purpose? And how many of them will come to this spot at no distant future, meek of eye, and gentle in face and speech, as were the Kevins and Kierans of old; bearing beneath a modest, perhaps even an humble exterior, the richest graces of God, and the dearest hopes of souls and of the Church. And when they shall have come hither, oh! how will they raise to Heaven their pure hands to bless Him by whom these walls were bidden to rise for their shelter, while, like olive branches, they surround the altar of God, preparing for the day when, in the sacrament of Orders, the Holy Spirit shall be enthroned in power in their hearts, wherein He had so long dwelt in love! This is the purpose for which the new Seminary is to be built, and is it given to the thought of man to conceive of one more sublime?

But since, as the Scripture tells us, the thoughts of mortals are timid and uncertain, it often happens that the noblest purposes are marred in their execution by means that were honestly and seriously meant to promote them. It is not so in this case. When the Bishop of Kilmore set himself to draw up the plan of his new Seminary, he took into his council, not

the capricious fancy of any individual, nor the views of a party, nor the half-wisdom of local or partial experience; but, like a new Bezeleel, having undertaken to make things necessary for the uses of the sanctuary, he resolved that they should be made only according to the pattern pleasing to God, and set forth by the Church herself in the Council of Trent, where it treats of Ecclesiastical Seminaries. I am speaking his mind when I say it to be his solemn purpose, that in this new Seminary of St. Patrick, from the corner-stone that has just been laid, to the cross that shall surmount the building, there shall not be one single detail which will not fully accord with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent. I cannot follow out so large a plan in each of its particulars; I must be content to single out four of the leading principles, which, being recognised as essential, are to regulate the entire details both of the material and moral construction. These fundamental principles are—1st, that this Seminary shall be a centre of loving obedience to the Holy See of St. Peter; 2nd, this Seminary shall be free from the trammels of State control; 3rd, that for its students it shall make provision for an intellectual culture, the highest in kind, and widest in range that can be compassed; and 4th, that it will attend to everything by which the ecclesiastical spirit may be preserved and developed in the hearts of its *alumni*.

To be fruitful of good, ecclesiastical training must be inspired by the principle of loving obedience to the Holy See. As in the natural, so in the supernatural order, union with their head is the condition of growth in the members. And, as in our spiritual life, according to the Apostle, we grow up in him who is the head, even Christ, from whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly joined together, maketh increase; so also it is in him who is her visible head, and through whom, as the centre of her unity, her whole body is compacted and fitly joined together, that the Catholic Church maketh increase unto the edifying of herself in charity. Whenever, therefore, you hear that in this or that Catholic country faith is languishing, and virtue dead, or that the priesthood has saddened the holy spirit of God, you may be sure, my brethren, that has happened because the seminaries of that country have fallen under the curse that fell upon the mountains of Gelboe, inasmuch as, being cut off from the fertilizing influence of Rome, nor dew nor rain from Heaven has come upon them, and that, therefore, have they ceased to be the field of first fruits. And if to-day the Catholic Church mourns, with a mother's sorrow, over the apostacy of a few proud professors in the centre of Europe, it should not be forgotten that

one of the early steps taken by the leader of these unhappy men upon the road that has led him to the precipice, was the uttering of disrespectful words against the teaching of Rome. He boasted, in his conceit, that the candlestick of Catholic theology had been transferred from Italy to Germany, whither alone the Catholic schools should henceforth look for their enlightenment. To-day we see the dreadful punishment of his presumption and disloyalty; for he who, out of contempt for Rome, had claimed for himself and his handful of pupils to be the source of theological learning, has miserably lost even the light of faith, without which it is impossible to please God. After union with the Holy See, I have placed next among the conditions for the due training of ecclesiastics, that the clerical seminary should be independent of control on the part of the civil power. The Catholic Church, from her constitution as a divinely-founded religious society, is and must be independent of the civil power. This independence has ever been viewed with a jealous eye on the part of the State. At all periods of the Church's history statesmen have attempted, under one form or another, to possess themselves of ecclesiastical influence, or at least to control her by employing it for their own purposes. The entire history of the Church is but a recital of the struggles made by the Church, especially through the Roman Pontiffs, against these encroachments, and of the multiplied victories she has achieved in this perennial warfare. But, I think, that not one of the many attempts made upon the Church's liberty has ever been more dangerous than that which aims at controlling the training of the priesthood. It is against such attempts, even when they claim for the civil power merely a right to direct the method of studies in seminaries, that the forty-sixth proposition of the immortal Syllabus is directed. Such interference on the part of the State is fatal to the working of an ecclesiastical seminary. The formation of the priestly character is too sacred a work to be entrusted to any agent other than the Church herself. The growth of the sacerdotal virtues in the soul, under the mysterious action of the grace of the Holy Spirit, is too exquisitely delicate to bear the inspection of profane eyes, or the rough handling of profane hands. The figure of this world is passing away; and each of its passing phases brings into fashion new principles of action, new theories of morals, new models in literature and art, to which, as to the idols of the hour, the tyranny of public opinion would have everything to conform. What misery, then, would it be if the ever-changing passions of the day were to be allowed to form the ministers of a law that never changes, because it is the truth of Christ.

No! Between the soul of the young Levite and the Catholic Church no power on earth must be allowed to stand to counteract her blessed influences, or to call evil what she calls good, or good what she calls evil. The Church, far from discouraging, as her enemies assert, counsels and prescribes to her ministers the highest intellectual culture. As the spouse of that God who rejected the imperfect victim, because unworthy of his acceptance, she loves to present at his altar, in her priests, the choicest fruits of cultivated intellect. Indeed, it is not too much to say of the present age, that only in her schools can we behold Faith and Science, each in the fullness of its own proper dignity, meet together in unity. With regard to the faculties of the modern Trivium, viz.—letters, philosophy, and theology, it would be easy to adduce a catena of forcible exhortations repeatedly addressed by the Holy See to the rulers of ecclesiastical seminaries, in which the fullest and most complete development of each subject is inculcated with an anxious earnestness. Thus, in his Encyclical *Inter Multiplices* to the Bishops of France (21st March, 1852), Pius IX. defends the use of the classes against some who would remove them from the schools, and prescribes that ecclesiastical students should be carefully trained in literature, and taught to acquire elegance of style and eloquence from the writings of the Holy Fathers and from the classical authors, purged from the indecencies of Paganism. And whilst, in our day, the growing school of Positivism openly and unequivocally condemns metaphysical studies, as tending to lift men above the region of the senses, it is remarkable that the Catholic Church has exerted herself to the utmost to protect and promote them. In the Syllabus and in the Decrees of the Vatican Council the rights and dignity of the human reason are powerfully defended; and in its communication with the Bishops, the Holy See has again and again urged that at least two years should be devoted to the study of metaphysics and moral philosophy. Such studies have never been more necessary than in this age, which directs its attacks rather against the natural truths which constitute the preamble to faith, than against the doctrines of faith themselves.

I need not say a word about theology, since, indeed, our enemies charge us with narrow-mindedness, on account of a too exclusive devotion to its study. But, in thus accusing us, they do not see what did not escape Prudhon, the father of the modern Commune, who has declared that behind every great political and social question there lurks a question of theology. They forget also that to master any one science as thoroughly as the priest is trained to master his theology, is,

in itself, an education such as never can be imparted by that discursive study of many various subjects now in fashion, upon which scatters and weakens the energies of the mind; and finally, they forget that volumes of theology placed in the students' hands contain the treasures of thought that the kings of the intellectual world have stored up for nineteen centuries, and that to despise them is to despise all that is wise and noble in the history of human intelligence. The preservation and increase of the ecclesiastical spirit is the very secret of the success of a clerical seminary. The world mocks at what it styles the gloomy virtues of the priesthood, and is indignant that its own principles, its literature, its heroes, its fashions, its amusements, are not accepted in places of ecclesiastical education. I hope that it shall never have reason to withdraw or to soften that accusation. In this new seminary at least the priceless blessing of the ecclesiastical spirit shall be protected by the sweet and vigorous discipline, traditional in the Catholic Church, of which the habit of prayer, meditation on the eternal truths, repeated retreats, frequentation of sacraments, the study of ascetic and pastoral theology, are the integral parts. By these means is formed that sacerdotal character, which, by its grave and solemn principles of duty, of self-denial, of patient courage, of gentleness, is a joy to the faithful Catholic, and not unfrequently conquers even the hostility of the enemies of the Church. These four principles, faithfully carried out in the new Seminary of St. Patrick, will place in the hands of the Church, for the education of her ministers, all that is sanctifying in religion, all that is profound in science, all that is graceful in literature, all that is vigorous in discipline, all that is gentle in charity, and thus will make it a perfect expression of the Church's plan of a house of ecclesiastical education.

And from such a realization of such a plan, what splendid results may you not expect. I wish it were in my power adequately to describe to you the wonderful influences upon society and religion which must flow from the ministrations of priests trained according to the spirit of the Council of Trent. "What is a priest?" asks Balmez. "What his character and functions? What is the mission he is to discharge upon earth? The priest is, as it were, a mediator between God and man; it is his to offer to the Almighty incense and sacrifice; to carry before the throne of infinite mercy the prayers of mortals, to appease the Divine justice unceasingly provoked by their crimes; and receiving in return from the hands of the Eternal gifts the most precious and necessary, he scatters them upon the world as unfailling treasures of consolation and of hope.

Look upon him when engaged in his august functions ; surrounded by his entire people, who, in the spirit of profound humility, bow low before the Holy of Holies ; clothed in symbolical and mysterious robes, standing before the altar in the glow of lights, enveloped in the sweet and fragrant cloud that rises from his hands towards the throne of the Eternal God, he pronounces with faltering lips the universal prayer, he entones the majestic hymn to the God of Sabaoth, he lifts up, with trembling hand, the Host of Salvation, and presents for the adoration of the people the Lamb without stain, whose blood has redeemed the world. Does not this sublime spectacle move to transport your entire soul ? Are you not penetrated with a religious feeling which humbles you before the Majesty of the Most High ; and, at the same time, is not your heart filled with profound respect for the dignity of His Minister." These are eloquent and noble words, and powerfully depict the exalted idea of the priestly dignity which that great man cherished. But eloquent and noble though they are, in my heart I believe them weak and colourless when compared with that majestic conception of the priesthood which faith and love have impressed on the mind of the simple Irish Catholic. Among all the nations of the earth there is not one which more correctly appreciates, or reverences the dignity of, the priesthood more lovingly than the Irish. Men say that this devotion of the Irish to their priest is but a bigoted superstition. No! but it is the outcome of faith in a high-souled nation, clean enough of heart to look upon the face of Christ, to whom sorrow has brought them close, and quick enough to recognise in their priests the very traits they have adored in Him! They say that it is the growth of ignorance! No, but it is the enlightened homage which the intellect of a believing nation pays willingly to the sacerdotal virtues of humility, chastity, love of learning, the spirit of labour, union with God! They say that it is the result of fear! No, but it is the outpouring of a love that has been growing in the heart of Ireland for the last fifteen centuries, fed year after year, as the sea by the inflowing rivers, by the active service of a priesthood whom gold could not corrupt, nor prosperity alter, nor sorrow crush, nor the fear of death itself sever from the people whom God had given them! And chief among the good results which will flow from this Seminary upon society do I account this, that through it the religious influence of the priest upon the people will be deepened, strengthened, purified, and intensified. Through it will be renewed those brilliant virtues of the Irish priesthood, the history of which, handed down by the tradition of ages, has enkindled the love of the Irish for the minister of

God. At this moment two classes of enemies conspire to weaken this love ; first, the *doctrinaire* statesmen, who seek to revenge upon the clergy the failure of their own insolent educational experiments upon the faith and morals of our people ; and next, the enemies of order, who gnash their teeth, because in Ireland religion has been found stronger than revolution. These are our two most dangerous enemies at this hour, but the fruits of the work that has been undertaken to-day shall make us secure against both ; for, upon the heart of Catholic Ireland the influence of the man, on whose brow she beholds the triple glory of learning, virtue, and the sacerdotal character, will ever be simply irresistible. And what shall I say of the influence of the good priest upon the interests of religion ? When the young priest leaves the threshold of the Seminary, with the unction of sacerdotal grace yet fresh upon him, to begin his journey in the midst of the sorrows and the sins of men, we know that he does not go alone. With him there goes One, who, as He took upon Himself the sins of the world, that He might expiate them, so did He take upon Himself the sorrows of men, that He might console them. How many sorrowing hearts daily call out to the priest of God for comfort in their sore agony ? How many sinful heads are bowed before him, asking that their load of guilt may be lifted off from them ? Nor in vain do they cry ; for in the hands of the priest the Redeemer and the Consoler of men has deposited His own beneficent power ; or rather, He will use that power through His minister, as He Himself used it when, in the days of His flesh, He went about doing good. And thus, to the other results of the Seminary, we may without presumption add this one, which in itself includes the various excellences of all the rest—that in the life of every priest sent forth from it shall be renewed the infinitely loving and infinitely beneficent action of Him who is the Lamb of God taking away the sins of the world. O happy Bishop ! to whom God has given it to unseal for your people these fresh streams of gladness and salvation. O happy clergy ! who will soon behold within these walls heirs of your virtues and learning, and helpers for your weakness in your hour of need. O happy people ! for whose sake God has filled the heart of your pastor with such glorious purposes, and so magnificently carried out to such glorious results. May He in whose name the beginning has been made to-day, be unto the work increase and growth, until, in His own good time, He bring it to the desired perfection. Amen.

WHAT THE JESUITS HAVE DONE FOR SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

I.—THEOLOGY.

IN essaying to trace the scientific and literary labors of the Jesuits, we will commence by recording what they have contributed towards the advancement of the Queen of Sciences—Theology. It would be both absurd and presumptuous on our part to attempt presenting our readers with anything like a complete account of what the illustrious children of Loyola have achieved in this department. Even had we at our disposal sufficient space for so doing, the consciousness of our inability to grapple with so extensive a subject, would cause us to shrink from the task. Our sole purpose is to place before our readers a brief, and, necessarily, imperfect sketch—to glance at a few of the more gigantic productions which the pens of the Jesuits have given to the world—to point out the influence which they have exercised on theological studies; and then allow those who may be pleased to read our pages to decide for themselves whether Theology is or is not deeply indebted to the gifted sons of St. Ignatius.

Previous to the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, the many heresies which sprung up assailed merely some particular doctrine. Thus Arius, Eutyches, Nestorius, and others erred, each regarding some one doctrine. But it was reserved for the pseudo-reformers of the sixteenth century to endeavour to destroy the entire deposit of revealed truth, nay, to seek to undermine the very foundations of revelation; for not only did they reject *in toto* Tradition as one of the *loci Theologici*, but even dared to lay sacrilegious hands on the Sacred Volume itself—denying the authenticity and inspiration of some Scriptural Books, and asserting for each one the right to interpret, according to his individual fancy, such of the sacred writings as they were pleased to receive.

These were the men with whom the Jesuits had to deal. They were, unquestionably, persons of no mean intellectual power, but they rated it much higher than it really was. They had read and thought much, and even in a bad cause could argue with considerable subtlety. They laughed to scorn the monkish ignorance, as they phrased it, of the Middle Ages. They could quote the classical authors of Greece and Rome “at their fingers ends,” and could fill large folios of prose *slightly* resembling (tho’ they thought otherwise) the style of Cicero. They could write hexameters too by the thousand, which they fondly considered equal to, if not surpassing, the

efforts of that vulgar scribbler, Virgil. In a word, they thought, by a fictitious appearance of learning, to prejudice shallow minds against the Truth: it was for the Jesuits to bring real solid knowledge and brilliant intellects to the defence of the dogmas of our holy Faith. The contest on which they entered involved the study of a vast number of subjects. It was a trying and laborious struggle, but for the Jesuits it was a labor of love. The children of Loyola were equal to the task, and sustained and inspirited by Divine grace, they rushed at once into the breach to do battle for Mother Church. History bears witness how nobly and successfully they fought.

First on the list of those athletes of the faith stands the name of the Blessed Peter Canisius who was, unquestionably, one of the most indefatigable workers of his age. Notwithstanding the immense labors which his incessant missionary duties imposed on him, he found time to compose several controversial works against the Protestants, who feared and hated him so much, that by a play upon his name, they used to style him the Austrian dog—"canem Austriacum." He did not confine his labors exclusively to any particular branch of Theology. He was at once historian, annotator, controversialist, and ascetic writer; and his works in each department display wonderful versatility and originality of thought. We have from his pen "S. Cyrilli Patriarchae Alexandrini opera," Cologne, 1546, 2 vols., fol.; "D. Leonis Magni, Papae Sermones et Homiliae," Louvain, 1566; "D. Hieronymi Epistolae," Cologne, 1674; "Commentaria de Verbi Dei Corruptelis," in which he refutes the fables of the "*Centuriateurs*" of Magdeburgh; "Manuale Catholicorum," "Notae in Evangelicas Lectiones," &c. But the work, perhaps, by which he served the Church most was his Catechism, or "Summa Doctrinae Christianae," which was composed by express order of St. Ignatius, and published for the first time in 1554, by command of the Emperor Ferdinand I. Though a very small volume, it demonstrated the Catholic faith so victoriously that the Protestants were never able to reply, save by satires. This work alone, had he never written another, would have been amply sufficient to secure for the name of Canisius a distinguished place in the records of theological learning. It gives a summary of the Catholic faith, at once clear and concise, while the style in which it is written is universally admitted to be classic. The best proof of the esteem in which the work has been held, is gathered from the fact that it has been translated into every European language, and has passed through more than 500 editions.

The name of Salmeron must win the admiration of every

theological student, and ought to be especially dear to Irishmen, inasmuch as he exposed his life to strengthen them in the faith when visiting our isle as the legate of Pope Paul III. in 1542. Salmeron gave proof of superior talents at a very early period. When only 18 years of age he had already acquired a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages; but his high position as a theologian must be determined, not merely by his works, but by the high honor conferred on him by the Sovereign Pontiff, who selected him, in his 31st year, to represent him in the quality of theologian at the great Council of Trent. In that august assembly Salmeron won the applause of all by his vast display of erudition, and his brilliant eloquence. To enumerate the writings of this eminent theologian would be a task of no inconsiderable difficulty; suffice it to say that they fill 16 volumes in folio, which were edited successively at Madrid, at Brescia, and at Antwerp.

Few theological students are unacquainted with the name of *Toletus*,¹ of whom the learned oratorian, Cabassutius, has left on record this judgment—"we must wait several centuries to see such another as Toletus." His was a highly philosophical mind; but yet in all his treatises—even when dealing with the most abstruse details of physical science—there is an undercurrent of deep, lively, practical faith, which causes even earthly things to transport the soul to heaven. We have from his pen a "Commentary on the Gospel of St. John;" "Introduction to Logic;" "Commentaries on Aristotle;" three books "De Anima;" eight books on Physics, and his "Summa Casuum Conscientiæ," which was approved of in the warmest terms by the sainted Bishop of Geneva, St. Francis De Sales, and by the Eagle of Meaux—the gifted Bossuet.

These, and other Jesuits, who placed themselves in the vanguard of the Defenders of the Faith, cared little for their own individual reputations. Had they possessed some of the vanity of most literary men, they would have been somewhat more slow and painstaking in the composition of their works. But it was enough for them to know that the church was in danger, and they rushed to her defence, little heeding, meanwhile, how the world judged them, provided they could only serve that cause which occupied their every thought. They met the leaders of heresy in their own strongholds—at their diets, at their conferences, at their private meetings; at Ratisbonne, at Worms, at Nuremberg, at Augsburg, at Cologne—there were the children of Ignatius always ready to meet

¹ Toletus was the first Jesuit elevated to the rank of Cardinal. He was promoted by Clement VIII. in 1593.

the heretics face to face, and though they encountered no contemptible foe, still the Jesuits were always able to retire from the contest crowned with the laurels of victory.

For a long while the Jesuits had carried on a merely *defensive* warfare. They were the Church's soldiers, and nobly did they do their duty. Whenever an attack came from any quarter the Jesuits flew to the rescue. They reconnoitred the enemy's position, and once they had discovered his weak point—with arms of every description—Scripture, tradition, logic, physical science, history, archaeology, oratory, they set themselves to drive back the invader—which they did with unvarying success, until at length they left their adversaries thoroughly discomfited.

It was now the turn of the Jesuits to commence offensive warfare against the Protestants, and the names of such men as Bellarmin, Suarez, Petavius, Cornelius a Lapide, Maldonatus, Menochius, Tirinus and De Lugo, not to mention others of less note, testify sufficiently with what effect the sons of St. Ignatius crushed all the sophisms of the so-called reformers.

The Protestants had left scarce a dogma of Christianity unassailed, nay, they had endeavoured to undermine the very foundations of the Faith; the Jesuits, therefore, made dogmatic controversy and Biblical studies the object of their especial solicitude, without, however, ceasing to cultivate with unremitting zeal the various other branches of theological science.

Foremost among Catholic controversialists must ever stand the honored name of Robert Bellarmin. The services which he rendered to the Church in her conflicts with the heretics of the 16th century are simply incalculable, as has often been confessed by Protestants as well as Catholics; by the former with deep regret and bitter indignation, by the latter with feelings of warm gratitude. No higher eulogium could be pronounced on any man, than that which Clement VIII. passed on Bellarmin when promoting him to the Cardinalate, March 3rd, 1599—"Hunc elegimus *quia non habet parem Ecclesia Dei quoad doctrinam*, et quia est nepos optimi et Sanctissimi Pontificis."¹

The work which must ever reflect the brightest honor on the name of Bellarmin is his famous "Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos," comprising sixty-four books, in three vols., in which he sets forth and defends with marvellous clearness and learning all the Catholic truths which the Protestants had attacked. This great work may be considered a kind of theological arsenal, in which Catholics are ever sure to

¹ Bellarmin was nephew of Pope Marcellus II.

find all the arms necessary to defend their faith against the sophisms of the heretics, so much so that not a single theologian has since then treated the same subjects who must not acknowledge himself deeply indebted to the illustrious Jesuit Cardinal. So much did the Protestants fear the effects of Bellarmin's controversies, that at Cambridge, and afterwards at Oxford, special theological chairs were instituted for the avowed purpose of refuting, if possible, the arguments in defence of Catholic Doctrines put forward in that work; and the celebrated Theodore Beza used to say, "that *one* book humbles us all to the dust." Bellarmin allowed himself no rest; his one great aim was to labour incessantly for the good of the Church, and hence we have many other volumes from his pen, all of which are of rare merit. Amongst those best known are his "Explanatio in Psalmos;" "Conciones Sacræ;" "Dottrina Christiana;" "De Gemitu Columbae, sive de bono lacrymarum," lib. 3; "Institutiones Linguae Hebraicæ;" "De Officio Principis Christiani," lib. 3; "De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis," lib. 1; "De potestate summi Pontificis in Temporalibus," &c.²

Had the Society of Jesus given to the Church but one such theologian as Ballarmin, Catholics should feel eternally indebted; but that illustrious order can reckon among its children many others who equalled in some respects, while they surpassed in others, the great Cardinal. On the roll of these distinguished men, the name of Dyonisius Petavius shines out with peculiar brilliancy. We find him, at the early age of twenty, occupying the chair of Philosophy, at Bourges, and from that time to his death he never ceased, even for an instant, to be the wonder of his age. He was a member of almost every learned society in Europe; there was scarce a branch of science which he did not cultivate, always with distinguished, sometimes with unparalleled success. Not only did he achieve fame in the more profound studies, but he was also an accomplished "*litterateur*," to such a degree, that critics do not hesitate to compare his prose style to that of Cicero, while his poetry is judged to resemble the sweet verses of the Bard of Mantua.³

The principal works which we have from the pen of

¹ As it would be too tedious to transcribe, even a few of the many eulogies which have been lavished on this learned work, we must refer our readers to the "Bibliotheca Patrum Societatis Jesu," Auctoribus P.P. Philippo Alegambe et Nathanaele Sotuello. Romæ, anno 1676.

² See "*Decor Roberti Card. Bellarmini*," auctore Sebastiano Bado, in 4°, Genuæ, typis Antonii Franchelli, 1671.

³ Some idea of the quickness and versatility of his genius may be gathered from the fact that in the course of his evening walks he translated into much admired Greek verse, merely as a recreation, the Psalms of David. He executed this wonderful task while at the College of Clermont, and the work was published in 1637.

Petavius are his "Dogmata Theologica," 5 vols. in fol.; "De Doctrina Temporum," 2 vols. in fol.; "De Hierarchia Ecclesiastica," 1 vol., in fol.; "Uranologia," 3 vols. in fol.; and editions, with learned notes and prefaces, of the writings of Synesius, Themistius, St. Epiphanius, Nicephorus, and others. Of the "*Dogmata Theologica*" of Petavius, it must be said that it ever has been, and ever will be, considered a "*classic*" work in the theological literature of the Catholic Church. It is not the purity and elegance of style which we admire so much, but the solid judgment, the acute criticism, the subtle reasoning, and, above all, the intimate acquaintance with patristic lore, which are distinguishing features of the work, and which entitled the celebrated Muratori to style the author "The restorer of dogmatic Theology." The learned Jesuit has been accused of writing in a somewhat disrespectful style of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, when treating of their Doctrine on the Trinity (De Trinitate, lib. I, chapters 5 and 8). It is true that his language *does* seem very strong, but this arose merely from the fact that he misunderstood some of the expressions of the early fathers; but when he discovered his error, he was the first himself to retract it in the preface to the second vol. of the "Dogmata." (See Bull, Defensio fidei Nicaenae, p. 205). The works "De Doctrina Temporum" and "Uranologia" are admittedly the most learned treatises on chronology extant, and have been equally prized by Protestants and Catholics. In connexion with the composition of the first-mentioned work, a curious story is told, which aptly illustrates the versatile genius of Petavius. It is related, that when preparing to write this splendid treatise on chronology, he, as a previous step, engaged a professor to teach him astronomy. After a few lessons, such wonderful progress had Petavius made, that the professor indignantly refused to continue his lectures, believing that Petavius was a more accomplished astronomer than he, and had called in his services, in the first instance, solely for the purpose of enjoying a little innocent amusement at his expense. The small space at our disposal forbids us from noticing at greater length, the labours of the "Eagle of Jesuit Theologians," as he has been styled; but such of our readers as wish to know more about him, and his works, will be amply repaid by reading the "Virorum Illustrium de Petavio Testimonia, A Franc Antonio Zacharia Collecta," prefixed to the edition of the "Dogmata Theologica," published at Venice, 1757.

Suarez is another name of which the Jesuits, and, indeed, the whole Catholic world may justly feel proud. He has left

us 23 vols. in folio, treating almost exclusively of theological matters, and of such rare merit, that Pope Benedict XIV., in the celebrated work, "De Synodo Diocesana," styles him "*Doctor eximius*;" and Grotius declared him so profound a philosopher and theologian that it would be difficult to find his equal. His style of composition belongs to the Iron Age, when compared with the Augustine purity and elegance of Petavius. But the Jesuits, as a rule, cared little for style; their great object was to do battle for the Church against the heretics, and this end they wisely believed they could achieve more readily by learning and argument than by the flimsy ornaments of rhetoric.

Cardinal de Lugo must ever hold a very high place among the theologians which the illustrious Society of Jesus has given to the Church.¹ The esteem in which his learned brethren held him for his theological knowledge may be inferred from the fact that he occupied the Divinity chair for 20 years in the far-famed Roman College, and was raised to the purple by Urban VII. on account of his transcendent ability—a distinction the more honorable as the Jesuits are forbidden to seek for any post of honor in the Church. The works of this learned Cardinal fill seven large folio volumes, and are remarkable alike for the soundness of judgment and profound learning which they display.

Great and honored names these!—*Canisius, Salmeron, Toletus, Bellarmin, Petavius, Suarez, De Lugo*—names which of themselves would establish the Jesuits in the foremost place as the defenders of the Church's truths. What modern sect—nay, what sect either of ancient or modern times can point to, among its adherents, men of such giant intellects, such deep research, such varied, and yet profound acquirements, such untiring scientific labors, and such unflagging zeal in defending the truths which they professed?—and yet we have barely culled six names from an almost interminable list, in which even the least distinguished is a man of note. To allude to them all would be to fill volumes; but we believe that *Sanchez, Vasquez, Escobar, Layman, Gobat, Lacroix, Busebaum, Eberman*, and, in our own days, *John Perrone*, are names familiar as "household words" to every theological student. Other names of world-wide fame—*Cornelius a Lapide, Maldonatus, Menochius, Labbe, &c.*, we will not just now mention, as we intend to classify them more particularly in a future number.

W. H.

¹ It may not be generally known that Cardinal de Lugo paid some attention to medical as well as theological studies. He was the discoverer of the famous "Jesuits' powder."

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF ST. BRENDAN.

I.—*St. Patrick's Blessing on Munster.—Eulogy of St. Brendan.—His Father.—Birthplace.—The Birth of St. Brendan foretold by St. Patrick and St. Bec-Mac-De.—First gifts to St. Brendan.—He is baptized by St. Erc.—The year of St. Brendan's Birth.—Meaning of his Name.—The Baptismal gift.—St. Brendan given in fosterage to St. Ita.—The virtues of this great Patroness of Munster.—Poem composed by her.—St. Brendan for five years under her care.*

IT is recorded in the life of our Apostle, St. Patrick, that, when preaching in the province of Munster, he bestowed a special blessing on its people :—

“A blessing on the tribes of Munster,
 On its men, its sons, its daughters ;
 A blessing on the land that gives them food,
 A blessing on all the treasures
 Produced upon its plains.
 A blessing upon Munster,
 A blessing on its woods,
 And on its sloping plains ;
 A blessing on its glens,
 A blessing on its hills ;
 As the sand of the sea under its ships,
 So numerous be its homesteads ;
 On its slopes. on its plains,
 On its mountains, on its peaks, a blessing.”

In no district of the southern province was this blessing more fruitful, and on none did the fertilizing dews of sanctity descend more copiously than on its western territory, extending from the Shannon to Bantry Bay, now known as the county of Kerry. Before the close of St. Patrick's apostolate, St. Brendan was born there, and so many were the holy men whom he guided in the paths of a religious life, so many were the other great saints who there emulated his virtues, and attained, like him, the heroism of sanctity, that that extensive district seemed transformed into another Thebaid, and its monasteries, its bee-hive cells, its oratories, its churches re-echoed, without ceasing, the hallowed anthems of the praises of God. We will meet hereafter some of the eulogies bestowed by our ancient writers on these sainted heroes of our early Church. For the present, it is more to our purpose to cite one passage, in which the author of the “Irish Life of St.

Brendan" thus compendiate the many merits of this great Saint:—"Brendan was the chief of the faith and piety of the west of the world in his own time. He was like to Abraham in righteousness; a high prophetic psalm-singer, like David son of Jesse; an illustrious sage, like Solomon, son of David; a lawgiver, like Moses, son of Amra; a gifted translator, like Jerome; full of wisdom, like Augustine; a chief lecturer, like Origen; a virgin, like John of the bosom, the foster child of the Lord; a gospeller, like Matthew; a teacher, like Paul the high Apostle; the head of forgiveness, like Peter the Apostle; a hermit, like John the Baptist; a commentator, like Gregory of Rome; a prudent messenger of sea and land, like Noah, son of Lamech; and as Noah raised his ark over the swelling waters of the Deluge, so will the son of Findloga raise up his disciples and his people above the wrath of judgment, so that, through the power and pure piety of Brendan, no fire or smoke, or fog, or sparks, shall reach them."¹

All ancient authorities agree that St. Brendan was the son of Findlugh, who, through Ciar, son of Fergus, traced back his descent to Ir and Miledh, the great fathers of the Milesian race. Thus, in the *Naomhseanchus* :—

"Brendan son of fair Findlugh,
And Mochuda son of Findall,
A holy pair with penitential looks,
Of the race of Ciar, son of Fergus."²

O'Clery, in his "Genealogies of the Saints of Ireland," gives in detail the parentage of our Saint, as follows:—"Bishop Brendan, son of Fionnlugh, son of Olcon, son of Alta, son of Fogomain, son of Fithcuire, son of Delmna, son of Enna, son of Usralaig, son of Astamain, son of Ciar, son of Feargus, son of Rosa, son of Rudraighe."³

Findlugh, the father of St. Brendan, is described to us as a virtuous and just⁴ man, who, living in peace and lawful wedlock, served God faithfully, with his wife, under the rule and guidance of Bishop Erc, and merited to have three other saints among his children, viz., St. Domaingen, Bishop of Tuaim-muscraighe, St. Faithleach of Cluain-tuaiscert, and St. Faolan, of Cill-tulach.⁵

¹ Irish MS. in British Museum, Egerton MSS. 91, and Book of Lismore, in Library of R. I. A., Dublin.

² *Naomhseanchus*, in "Book of Lecan," R. I. A.

³ *Genealogies*. St. Isidore's MS., chap. 27.

⁴ The "Irish Life of St. Brendan" has: "The father of that son was a free, high-born, devout, faithful man, i.e., Findlugh."

⁵ See O'Clery's "*Genealogies of the Saints*;" as also the "*Martyrology of Donegal*," page 113, &c.

Some writers have supposed that St. Brendan was a native of Connaught; this opinion, however, is quite at variance with the ancient records of his life, and probably had its origin in the fact, that the great monastery of Clonfert was founded by him, and that he spent there the closing days of his saintly career. The Latin narrative expressly states that he was born "in the western district of Munster, called Ciarraighe,"² *i.e.*, Kerry; and the Irish life still more clearly defines the locality, telling us that "the precise place of his birth was Alltraighe Caille, situated in Ciarraighe Luachra."³

That portion of Kerry which extends from the slopes of Sliebh-Lougher to the sea, was anciently known as Ciarraighe-Luachra, whilst Alltraighe-Caille was the name of the lesser district, now comprised between Ardfert, Fenit, and Tralee. Thus, the ancient records allow no room for doubt as to the birthplace of our Saint; and, I may add, that popular tradition fully corroborates this testimony of authentic history.

The fertile and wooded plains of this western district, washed by the waves of the broad Atlantic, are rarely mentioned in the romantic tales of our pre-Christian period: henceforward, however, they shall have a leading part in the joys and sorrows of Ireland, and be the theatre of some of the most remarkable events of her chequered history. During her ages of faith, they shall be enriched with the blessings of heaven, and witness many holy and happy scenes. In the succeeding era of foreign plunder and domestic dissensions, no territory shall be more sadly pillaged. In the three hundred years of our nation's martyrdom for Christ, no district shall give more martyrs to religion, or see its sons more joyfully go forth to shed their blood for the faith. The age in which we live is, for Ireland, a time of reconstruction; everywhere we see the faithful busy restoring the sanctuary, and rebuilding the ark of God: and, once again, this district seems destined in the ways of Providence to take a leading part in the work of faith. The *Vexilla Regis* solemnly entoned in Tralee, whilst these lines are written,⁴ gives proof that the Cross of Christ is triumphant there: the old abbey re-consecrated to-day will once more gather together within its hallowed walls many children of Christ; and this festival of Holy Cross marks, we fondly hope, the re-opening of a

Hanmer, *Chronicle*, &c., page 107.

² *Vita*, cap. I.

³ *Book of Lismore*, fol. 72.

⁴ The Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 14th September, 1871, the re-erected Abbey of Holy Cross, Tralee, was solemnly dedicated to the service of God. The chalice of the last martyred Dominican Prior of Holy Cross was used at Mass on the occasion.

cycle of holiness and happiness to shed its choicest blessings on this favored region.

But, to return to St. Brendan : his birth was the theme of prophecy. When our glorious Apostle St. Patrick visited the territory of Luachra, about the year 450, he foretold that "thirty years thence there should be born in that district of West Munster, a great Patriarch of Monks, the star of the West, St. Brendan, of the Hy-Alta family."¹ St. Bec-Mac-De, who is commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal as "a celebrated prophet,"² and in the Irish Life of St. Brendan is styled "the chief Prophet of Erin," though as yet a young man, also prophesied the birth and future greatness of our Saint. "Bec-Mac-De, the chief Prophet of Erin (thus we read in the Irish Life), at that time came to the house of a certain wealthy farmer, named Airde, son of Fidach, whose residence was a good distance from the house of Findlugh : and Airde said to him, 'What great event do you now predict for us?' Bec-Mac-De replied : 'Your own legitimate and powerful prince shall be born this night, between this and the sea-shore, and many are the kings and royal chieftains whom he shall guide in the service of God, to the enjoyment of Heaven.'" Having registered this prophecy, the Irish Life continues : "On this night of the birth of St. Brendan, thirty cows of Airde, son of Fidach, brought forth thirty calves. Airde rose at early dawn on the morrow, and hastened to seek the spot where the infant was born, and finding the house of Findlugh, he eagerly prostrated himself before the child, and made an offering of the thirty cows, with their calves : this was the first alms offered to St. Brendan, as is recorded by a poet in the following rann :—

"Thirty cows, ever fruitful, I deny it not,
Were given by the son of Fidach to Brendan ;
These were the first gifts to Brendan, the powerful,
of hosts,
From the Brugaid (*i.e.*, the farmer) of the Ciarai ;

and afterwards the Brugaid took the child in his arms and said : 'This child shall be my foster-child for evermore.'

The mother of St. Brendan, a little while before his birth, had a vision, in which it seemed to her that her own bosom was radiant with heavenly light, whilst her lap was filled with a quantity of the purest gold. Having mentioned this vision

¹ Colgan. Vit. Tripart, page 158.

² *Martyr. of Donegal*, page 273. O'Donel, in his Life of St. Columkille, also describes St. Bec-Mac-De as "virum futurorum praedictione et vaticiniis clarum." —Colgan, page 400. St. Columkille was present at his death, about the year 558, and administered the last sacraments to him.

to the holy Bishop Erc, he said to her: "You shall bring forth a son, wonderful in his holy deeds, and full of the grace of the spirit of God."

St. Erc himself, on the night of St. Brendan's birth, was favored with another vision from God. I shall narrate it in the words of the Irish writer of St. Brendan's Life: "On the night of Brendan's birth, Bishop Erc saw the whole country around in a blaze, such as never had been witnessed before; and the angels, arrayed in robes of white, descended in various ministrations upon that district. Early next morning, St. Erc arose and came to the house of Findlugh; and taking the child in his arms, he said: 'O servant of God, take me unto thee as a faithful disciple, for, though numbers are joyful at thy birth, far greater is the joy which inundates my heart and soul.' After this, St. Erc prostrated himself before the child, and shedding tears in abundance in token of his joy, administered Baptism to him."

The ancient Latin Life, and the Annals of the Four Masters, whilst fixing with accuracy the death of St. Brendan on the 15th of May, 577, "in the ninety-fourth year of his age," enable us to assign his birth to the year 483, at which time our Apostle, St. Patrick, was still living. The Irish Life also expressly records that "it was in the time of Ængus, son of Nadfraic, king of Munster, that Brendan was born." This, royal ruler of Munster embraced the faith at the preaching of St. Patrick, and when baptized at Cashel, about the year 450, merited a special blessing by his firmness; for our Apostle inadvertently pierced the king's foot with the lower end of his crozier, which was sharp and pointed; and Ængus, imagining that this was part of the ceremonial of baptism, endured the torture without the slightest expression of pain. He fell in the battle of Kill-Osnadha,¹ which was fought in the year 490, and an old chronicler commemorated his death in the following verse:—

"Died the branch, the spreading tree of gold,
Ængus, the praiseworthy, son of Nadfraech,
His prosperity was cut off by Illann,
In the battle of Cell-Osnadha, the foul."

It was St. Erc who administered the sacrament of baptism to our Saint, and that holy Bishop decreed that the child's name should be *Brendan*, thus to set forth the purity and sanctity of his future life. His parents, indeed, had already given him

¹ Keating describes the scene of this battle as Cell-Osnadha, situated in the plain of Magh-Fea, four miles east of Leighlin, in the county of Carlow. Its present name is Kelliston. See the Annals of the Four Masters at A.D. 489; also the *Chronicon Scotorum*, &c.

the name of *Mobi*,¹ but posterity has confirmed, by its sanction, the name chosen by St. Erc. A fragment of an ancient poem preserved in the Egerton MS. thus alludes to the name given to Brendan by his parents:—

“Mobi was the first name given to Brendan
By his parents: comely was his countenance:
He was a loved, researchful, slender youth,
He was a refuge to the men of Erin.”

Many have indulged in fanciful speculations as to the meaning of the old Celtic name *Brenand* thus given to our Saint by the holy Bishop Erc. Only two explanations seem to us to merit attention—one of these is given in the poem just referred to, when it adds:—

“Brendan (*i.e.*, *Broen-find*) was his second name,
Given to him because he was spotless
In body and in soul.”

The other is recorded by Lynch in his MS. History of the Irish Sees: “The name Brendan was given to him, *i.e.*, *Braen-fhionn*, because on the day of his birth dew of heavenly whiteness descended on the whole country around the spot where he was born.”

One further circumstance connected with St. Brendan's baptism is mentioned by the ancient biographers, and incidentally it serves to illustrate some of the baptismal usages of our early Church. The infant was brought to receive the waters of regeneration at one of those clear springs which our people still love to call ‘the holy wells,’ where the crystal stream, gushing forth from the living rock, so fitly typifies the abundant graces of the new life which come to us through Christ. Whilst, however, he received from St. Erc the sacrament of baptism, three sheep of a neighbouring flock came to drink at the stream, and these were presented to the holy Bishop as a baptismal offering by the kinsmen of St. Brendan:—

“Three coloured wedders—a joyous flock,
The price of Brendan's baptism: 'tis not a falsehood;
Beautiful was the gift,
They came forth from the well together.”²

St. Brendan was allowed to remain with his parents only during the first year of his childhood, after which time he was

¹ Irish Life in *Book of Lismore*, and *Egerton MS.*

² Irish Life, in *Egerton MS.*

consigned by St. Erc to the care and fosterage of St. Ita,¹ "the Brigid of Munster."

Ireland is indebted to the lessons of heavenly wisdom imparted by this great virgin Patroness of Munster for several of the most illustrious saints who, in the sixth century, adorned our Church by their miracles and virtues. In all our Martyrologies she is commemorated as a model of perfection in her humility, mortification, and self-denial, as well as in her love for Jesus Christ. Deirdre was the name given to her by her parents; but such was her insatiable thirst² for the love of her Creator, that the name *Ita* became universally accepted as her distinctive designation among the saints of Ireland. St. Ita is thus commemorated in the Feliré of St. Ængus, the most venerable Tract on our early Saints that has come down to us:

" She underwent a long course of fearful suffering,
She loved the three-days' wasting fast,—
The radiant sun of Munster's daughters,
Ita of Cluain-Credhail ;"

and the gloss adds that "she was of the Desii, and a disciple of Benedict," one of the first companions of Palladius, and, subsequently, fellow-labourer of St. Patrick in the work of the Gospel, whose memory was long cherished at Inisbeg, in the diocese of Ferns. As regards her penitential life, the Feliré commemorates that "there was a chafer constantly gnawing her, till, at length, it became as large as a young lap-dog, and it eat away her whole side; yet no one perceived her suffering. On one occasion the chafer came forth from its den, and Ita, happening to leave the spot, some of the nuns saw the worm, and killed it. Ita, soon returning, asked: 'Where has my pet gone to?' The nuns replied: 'Shut not heaven against us; we saw the worm, and knowing not that it was not hurtful, we killed it.' Ita then foretold, that in punishment no nun should be her comharb in that monastery, and she prayed God to send his divine Son to comfort her." The narrative then continues:—

"The Angel that was wont to minister to her (*i.e.*, her guardian angel), announced to her: 'What thou hast asked shall be given to thee.' Whereupon Christ came to her in the form of an infant, and she composed the poem:—

¹ The name Ita is often written with the Irish endearing prefix *mo*, and hence assumes the form of Mida, Midhe, Mita, and Midea.—See Colgan. *Acta*, page 71.

² The gloss in Brussel's MS., Martyrology of Donegal, has: "She was called *Ite* from the thirst (*i.e.*, ἰστᾶ) of the love of God, which she had." In the Felire of St. Ængus, in '*Leabhar Breac*,' there is also the gloss: "Ita, *i.e.*, a thirst on her for God's love."

' Little Jesus, little Jesus,
 Shall be nursed by me in my dear Disert :
 Though a cleric may have many jewels,
 All is deceit but little Jesus.

' A nursling I nurse in my house,
 It is not the nursling of a low-born clown,
 It is Jesus with His heavenly host,
 That I press to my heart each night.

' The fair Jesus, my good life,
 Demands my care, and resents neglect ;
 The King who is Lord of all,
 To pray him not, we shall be sorry.

' It is Jesus, the noble, the angelical,
 Not at all a tear-worn cleric,
 That is nursed by me in my dear Disert,
 Jesus the son of the Hebrew maiden.

' The sons of chiefs, the sons of kings,
 Into my district though they may come,
 It is not from them that I expect wealth,
 More hopeful for me is my little Jesus.

' Make ye peace, O daughters,
 With him to whom your fair tributes are due,
 He rules in His mansion above us,
 Though he be little Jesus in my lap.' "

I have cited this long passage¹ from the *Feliré* of St. Ængus, that the reader may fully appreciate the happy guardianship to which our Saint was entrusted, St. Cuimin, of Connor, in his poem on the characteristic virtues of the Saints of Erin, also commemorates St. Ita :—

" Midhe loved great nursing,
 Great humility without ambition ;
 Her head on the pillow she never laid,
 Through love of the Lord."

The Martyrology of Donegal, on her festival (15th January,) also says of her : " Ite, Virgin, of Cluain-Creadhail. Mide was another name for her. She suffered great martyrdom for God : a worm was gnawing her, unknown to all for

¹ Further details connected with this great virgin Saint will be found in Colgan's *Acta*, page 66 seqq. The Martyrology of Tallaght marks her festival on the 15th of January, with the simple formula "*Dormitatio Itae.*"

a long time, until it was as large as a sucking-pig, so that it withered all her side A.D. 569 was the year of her repose. Deirdre was her first name. She was of the race of Fiacha Suighdhe, son of Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar, son of Tuathal Teachtmhar. Neacht was her mother's name."¹

For five years Brendan remained under the care of St. Ita; and, it is added in his Life, that this holy virgin watched over him with special care, "because she saw the Angels ministering unto him, and because the grace of the Holy Spirit was abundantly showered down on him." St. Brendan, on the other hand, always manifested special delight at the presence of Ita, and being asked one day why he was thus joyful, he replied that each time she approached he saw her accompanied by a choir of virgins of heavenly brightness, who lavished every kindness on him. It is added: "They were angels in the form of fair virgins that were there, as the poem tells us:—

"Angels in the form of virgins bright
Were the nurses of Brendan:
From one to another
They fondled the child with joyous love."²

LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

XXII.—WORDS OF LEIBNITZ IN FAVOR OF THE VENERATION OF RELICS.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter, in answer to my last, contains various matters, and among them a request that I should translate, although you do not question the truth of my quotations, the passages of Leibnitz, in which he speaks in favor of the Catholic Dogma about the homage of Saints. I have not the slightest hesitation in doing so. Here they are:—"Prudent and pious people think that the *immense* and *infinite* difference there is between the honor which is due to God, and that which is paid to the Saints, should not only be inculcated on the minds of hearers, but also manifested, as far as possible, by external signs: theologians, since St. Augustine's time, call the first, *Latria*, the second, *Dulia*."—(Theological System).

Here you have the difference between the homages of

¹ *Martyrology of Donegal*, published by Dr. Todd and Dr. Reeves, for I.A.S., page 17; and Colgan, *Acta*, page 37.

² *Irish Life*, in Egerton MS.

Latria and *Dulia* acknowledged by Leibnitz—a difference he calls nothing less than *immense* and *infinite*; and it is worthy of remark, that he confesses he took these terms from the theologians. As regards the wishes of the pious and prudent men of whom he speaks, you can see them complied with in all Catholic writings, from the master-work down to the smallest catechism; from the greatest solemnity to the simplest ceremony of the Church. But the illustrious philosopher does not content himself with what we have just seen; he purposes a complete defence, and he proceeds as follows:—“In general it should be held for certain that the homage of Saints and relics is not approved of, except in as much as it refers to God, and there should be no act of religion that does not resolve and *terminate* in the honor of God Almighty. Thus, when the Saints are honored, it should be understood, as it is said in Scripture:—‘*Thy friends have been honored, O God; and praise the Lord in his Saints.*’”—(Ibid.)

Further on, refuting those who accuse the homage of the Saints of idolatry, he reminds them of the very ancient custom of the Church of celebrating the feasts of the martyrs, and of the pious meetings held at their tombs from the earliest ages; and continues with the following extremely remarkable observations:—“It is to be feared that those who think thus open the way to the destruction of the Christian religion; for if they hold that dreadful errors prevailed in the Church from these times, they strengthen the arms of the Arians and Samostanians, who sustain that the mystery of the Trinity and idolatry were introduced at one and the same time. . . . I leave the result to which this should lead to the judgment of the reader. Daring geniuses will carry their suspicions farther, and wonder that Jesus Christ, who promised so much to the Church, should have allowed such range to the enemy of the human race, that one idolatry destroyed, another succeeds it; and that of the sixteen centuries there can scarcely be found one or two in which the true faith was properly preserved among Christians; while we see that the Jewish and Mahomedan religions continued pretty pure for many ages, according to the institution of their founders. What, then, of the counsel of Gamaliel, who said the Christian religion and the will of Providence should be judged by the result? What would we think of Christianity, if it could not suffer the proof of that touchstone?”

The reflexions of Leibnitz should be taken into consideration by all those who would see with concern the extirpation of the relics of Christianity from amongst Protestant sects. Unfortunately, the previsions of this great man have been sadly realized in his own country. Germany, at present,

presents a deplorable spectacle: the dissolution of ideas in religious matters has gone to the last extreme, and now is gathered the fruit of the seed sown in other times: It was believed that the Catholic dogmas could be attacked, and Scepticism at the same time avoided, by retaining of the Christian religion whatever appeared well to the false reformers; but time has cruelly frustrated these hopes. An inflexible logic has deduced the consequences of principles established. At present Protestantism is no more than a mere shadow of what it was. Religious anarchy has reached its culmination: Scepticism is making terrible ravages in all classes of society, and a nebulous and seductive philosophy takes care to give it deeper root, by diffusing its pantheistic doctrines, which, after all, are only a new phase under which Atheism presents itself to excite less repugnance.

You make reference to the veneration of relics, though I see what I said with respect to the homage of saints has greatly impaired, in your mind, the force of that difficulty.

It is a feeling natural to man to extend his love or veneration to the objects which were nearest the person beloved or venerated. We preserve with greatest care the articles which belonged to the person who possessed our affection; and it often happens that things, in themselves insignificant, acquire an immense value when measured by the feelings of the heart.

The bodies of the dead have always been regarded with a species of religious respect; and the profanation of a grave excites more horror than the sack of the habitations of the living. Every people has respected the sepulchre, and placed it under the shield of Religion; and the body of an illustrious man has ever been considered a treasure of great value, and worthy of being disputed for by nations who regarded the fortune of possessing it with happiness and pride. This veneration extends to everything that belongs to him. His dwelling is cautiously preserved from the injuries of time that future generations may visit it; his dress, his articles, his furniture, his most insignificant things, are held as a treasure, and have an estimation above all price. Sanctify that feeling of the human race; purify it of everything that can stain it; raise it to the supernatural order in its object and end, and you have a philosophical explanation of the veneration of relics, and free yourself from the necessity of condemning *simple* and other people who do that through religious motives, which is done by the whole human race, even in things profane. You now see that where you thought you had discovered superstition in our mysteries, you find the most tender and sublime feelings of our soul, purified, elevated, and directed by the Catholic religion.

Finally, I now come to answer the last question you put me about the utility of the homage of Saints, with respect to preserving and promoting religious spirit among the people. You fear that by giving this homage a too sensible direction, the principal object may be lost sight of, and secondary practices substituted for the essential part of Religion. Before everything, it is well to remark, the Catholic Church is not to be blamed for certain abuses into which some of the faithful may fall. When you argue thus, far from weakening the Catholic dogma and the sanctity of the practices of the Church, you supply me with a new reason in defence of those practices and the dogma on which they are founded. The exception confirms the rule : you would not have noticed the abuse if the good use were not general. Long before you had thought of it, the Church had taken the necessary precautions to avoid this kind of abuses, by teaching the people the true sense of the Catholic doctrines, and warning them that in these acts they should endeavour to conform to the spirit of the Church and her venerable practices, agreeably to the example and teaching of their legitimate pastors. If you insist that in spite of this there have been abuses, I shall reply that this is inevitable, considering the condition of weak humanity ; and I will ask you to point out a truth, a custom, an institution, no matter how pure and holy it may be, which men have not repeatedly abused. Leaving aside, then, these exceptions, which prove nothing but human weakness, which certainly does not require to be proved anew, let us to the principal difficulty.

I am so far from believing it hurtful to the preservation and fomentation of Religion to offer objects to sensibility, that, on the contrary, I consider it useful and even necessary. Your argument is one of those which, by proving too much, prove nothing ; for deducing the ultimate consequences of the purely spiritualistic worship you desire, we shall have to condemn all external worship. We must exile from our temples all religious insignia, music and singing, and not only this, but even pull down the temples themselves, since they are destined to move the soul, by means of sensibility, with their magnificent and imposing forms. From this it evidently results your theory cannot be admitted without condemning all external worship ; and, consequently, the only thing that can be insisted on is, that sensibility do not trespass its limits, but submit to laws which may give it the true religious spirit.

It is remarkable that the human mind is constantly subject to action and reaction. When it is penetrated with an idea or a sentiment, it expresses its intimate affection in a sensible form ; and, on the contrary, sensible forms exercise on our mind a mysterious reaction, exciting and clearing up our

ideas, and enlivening and warming our sentiments. There are here two movements which reciprocally aid each other; the one from within to without, the other from without to within; the natural result of the intimate union of the body with the soul, and the expression of the harmony established by the Creator between two beings so different, intimately united by a mysterious bond.

On these principles is founded the philosophical reason why external worship is so natural and useful—natural, in as much as it is very natural to man to sensibly express his thoughts and feelings; useful, in as much as those sensible expressions have the property of clearing up and fixing his ideas, and exciting and warming his sentiments. Well, now, when we view the question from this point, the immense utility of the homage of saints is discovered at a glance. In it we find the most natural sentiments of the heart, and man puts himself in communication with the Divinity, through beings one day as weak as he, and even yet of the same nature. He speaks to them his own language, he tells them his troubles, he interests them to aid him in his misfortunes; and in thanking them for some favour obtained, he appears to desire to make them participators in his happiness. This, without ceasing to be very pure and holy, accommodates, in a certain measure, the sublimity of religion to human weakness. The highest mysteries are impressed on the memory with sensible forms, and the Christian finds in the Saints a sweet attractive to devotion, and beautiful models from which he can take sure rules for the direction of his conduct.

These considerations are sufficient to remove the difficulties which the Catholic dogma, examined from a false point of view, presented to you; from them you must be convinced we do not confound the principal with the accessory, nor the essential with the accidental. God, infinite being, origin of all, end of all, final term of all worship; Jesus Christ, God and Man, Redeemer of the human race, in whose name we hope to be saved; the Saints, friends of God, united to us by the bond of charity, and interceding for us; man, composed of body and soul, sensibly expressing what he feels, and fomenting his interior affections with sensible objects; God, Jesus Christ, the object of our worship; the Saints, the object of our veneration, in as much as they are united to God and Jesus Christ, God and Man—these are the grand ideas of Catholicity with respect to homage and worship. Examine them under whatever aspect you may, and you shall find nothing in them that is not reasonable, just, holy, and worthy of a divine religion.

I remain, your most affectionate,

J. B.

DOCUMENT.

DECRETUM—URBIS ET ORBIS.

“Salutare Viae Crucis, seu Calvarii exercitium summopere conducit ad recolendam memoriam passionis D.N.I.C. qui ob nimiam caritatem qua nos dilexit, opprobria passus, et vulneribus affectus, ut a servitute peccati humanum genus redimeret, pretiosum suum sanguinem effudit, et ligno crucis affixus se obtulit holocaustum pro peccatis. Quapropter Summi Pontifices, ut fideles Christo in carne passo cogitatione passionis ejus saepe saepius unirentur, pium Viae Crucis, seu Calvarii exercitium non modo commendarunt, sed etiam rese-rato Ecclesiae thesauro Indulgentiis illud auxerunt.

“Verum stationes Viae Crucis juxta primaevas concessionem erigi tantum poterant in Ecclesiis, piisque locis Ordini Min. Observantium subjectis, atque Indulgentiis fruebantur personae, quae eidem Ordini erant addictae. Tractu tamen temporis ad omnes Christifideles, qui in Ecclesiis, piisque locis praedicti Ordinis, tam sanctae devotioni vacarent, Indulgentiarum concessio extensa fuit; et deinde praesertim Benedictus XIV. sa. mem. Apostolicis Litteris in forma Brevis incipien.—*Cum tanta, die 30 Aug. 1741*—evulgatis concessit, ut etiam in aliis Ecclesiis memorato Ordini non subjectis Stationum erectio fieri posset cum aliqua tamen limitatione, quam per rescriptum S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 10 Maii 1742 clarius declaravit. Idem namque Pontifex inter monita ad rite peragendum pium exercitium Viae Crucis iussu Clementis XII exarata, et ab ipso confirmata, inseri voluit hanc declarationem sub N. X. hisce verbis: Excipiuntur tamen illa loca in quibus extent Monasteria Fratrum Minorum (Observantium aut Reformato-rum aut Recollectorum), quum non debeat hoc in casu constitui Via Crucis in aliis templis non subjectis eidem Ordini. Dummodo ejusmodi monasteria non adeo distent a Terra vel urbe, aut dummodo iter non adeo sit difficile, ut absque gravi incommodo, quod Ordinarius judicabit, non possit pium exercitium frequentari.

“Nuper vero SSmo D. N. Pio PP. IX humillimis preci-bus expositum fuit, valde optandum esse, ut tristissimis hisce temporibus, quibus inimici Crucis Christi divina, humanaque

omnia pessundare conantur, pia Viae Crucis exercitatio magis magisque promoveatur, ac illius Stationum erectio, sublata limitatione enunciata, ubique in Ecclesiis, piisque locis fieri possit. Sanctitas Sua animadvertens summam esse vim meditationis passionis, et mortis Redemptoris nostri ad confirmandam in animis fidem, ad curanda conscientiae vulnera, ad purgandam mentis aciem, divinoque amore inflammandam, in Audientia habita die 14 Maii 1871 ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, memoratas preces benigne excipiens, Apostolica auctoritate indulset, ut Stationes Viae Crucis cum adnexis Indulgentiis etiam in locis, ubi Conventus praefati Ordinis Minorum, sive Observantium, sive Reformatorum, sive Recollectorum existunt, quamvis in ejusdem Ordinis Ecclesiis, Sacris Aediculis, piisque locis erectae reperiantur, nulla habita superius expressae limitationis ac distantiae ratione, servatis tamen aliis de jure servandis, erigi possint et valeant. Ceterum Sanctitas Sua per praesens decretum minime intendit derogare privativae facultati, quam idem Ordo in peragenda erectione Stationum Viae Crucis habet, nec specialibus indultis, hac super re aliis personis ob peculiaria rerum ac locorum adjuncta ab Apostolica Sede concessis, quarum tenor ac forma in omnibus servanda erit.

“Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque etiam speciali et individua mentione dignis, quibus Sanctitas Sua in omnibus perinde ac si de singulis expressa mentio facta fuerit, plene derogavit.

“Datum Romae e Sac. Congr. Indulgentiarum et SS. Reliquiarum die 14 Maii 1871.

“A Card. BIZZARRI, Praefectus

“*Pro R. P. D. Secretario*

“*Dominicus Sarra Substitutus.*”

ROMAN CHRONICLE

1. *The Health of the Pope.*—2. *The Disturbances at the Minerva.*—3. *Catholic Journals sequestered.*—4. *More Convents appropriated.*—5. *The Convent of the Trinita de Monti.*—6. *New appointments made by the Pope.*—7. *Deputations to the Pope.*—8. *The Sacred Congregation of Rites.*—9. *The 20th of September in Rome.*

1. All the revolutionary journals of Europe are continually repeating the old story that the Holy Father is rapidly breaking down. The wish is father to the thought; and, on the other hand, the ordinary laws of nature would seem to justify the surmise, that a man of such an age, and having endured so much, could not long hold out against the accumulation of trials that are now proving him. But, thanks to God, the miracle that enabled him to outlive the years and days of Peter, seems to have endowed him with new energies, physical and intellectual. Whether you consider the amount of work he gets through, the elasticity of his walk, the buoyancy of his spirits, or the wonderful fluency of his innumerable discourses, all sparkling with most appropriate thoughts, clothed in eloquent language, you would be compelled to admit that he has got young again. One thing is certain, he was never in better health. May he long continue so, is the fervent united prayer of the entire Catholic world.

2. The Holy Father celebrated Mass on the morning of the 23rd of August in the Sixtine Chapel, and offered the Holy Sacrifice for the salvation of Italy. The alms presented for the Mass, and collected for the most part by the *Unita Cattolica* in the space of a few weeks, from Italians only, amounted to 154,738.93 francs, or something over £6,000. In our last number we alluded to the religious festivities organized by the *Roman Society for Catholic Interests*, to thank the Almighty for this special favour accorded to His Vicar on earth, allowing him to exceed the years and days of Peter. But these festivities, though purely religious, were not allowed to pass unnoticed by the Liberals. We could not expect that the conquerors of Rome, *Romans for the occasion*, and the hordes of heroes, remnants of Monterotondo and Mentana, would, for a moment, permit Catholic Rome to testify their love and loyalty to Pius IX., even though it were only by public prayer in the churches. The chief end of the invasion of Rome, as known to the real supreme directors of the movement, being

not only the destruction of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, but also of the Papacy and Catholicism, it is evident that public prayers for the Pope should produce the same effect on those gentlemen as a piece of red cloth shaken before a mad bull. The two first days of the Triduum, in St. Mary Major's, were allowed to pass with comparatively little notice. But on the third day these worthies, unable to restrain themselves much longer, attempted a small counter-demonstration by way of rehearsal before they should actually come to blows. They contented themselves, therefore, with a *sbandierata*, or display of tricolor flags. A few houses in the neighbourhood of the Basilica were, thanks to the persuasive efforts of a street paver and a baker, decorated with flags, just as the faithful issued from the church. The baker established two at each window of his house, a couple of caffès followed suit, and, notwithstanding various methods of appeal to the populace, exactly *fifteen* houses, out of a couple of hundred surrounding the church, were ornamented with the *sacred standard of Italy*. The Liberals felt themselves checkmated, and decided on something more imposing for the following evening at St. John's, where the solemn Te Deum was to be sung. We now proceed to quote from revolutionary anti-clerical journals. The *Nuova Roma*, number 233, admitted that "the congregation assembled at the ceremony was both *numerous* and *select*. . . . Nothing occurred to disturb the ceremonial, . . . but on issuing from the Basilica, we have to deplore certain occurrences that we have no hesitation in characterizing as decidedly ugly. Some young men stationed themselves close to one of the entrances to the church in two hired carriages, decorated with tricolor flags, and commenced insulting and hooting the people coming out of the church, especially the priests, shouting *Viva L'Italia, Viva la Libertà*." The correspondent of the *Nazione* narrates the same. The *Voce della Verità*, a Catholic journal, gives the details of this unpleasant affair, which only terminated by the police charging the *demonstranti*, tearing their flag, and arresting a great number of them, all of whom, however, were set at liberty the next day; whilst a number of the Catholics who dared to shout *Viva Pio IX.*, were first brought to the *Carceri Nuove*, and thence to the *Termini* prison, and there left for several days in the midst of the very worst characters. Both the *Concordia* and the *Nazione*, two revolutionary journals, censure the demonstration, and candidly admit that the conduct of the Catholics was offensive to no one. The following day, the 24th, the solemn Triduum commenced in the Church of the Minerva. This sacred edifice was filled to overflowing by a devout and reverential congregation. The celebrated Dominican, Father

Tommasi, preached, and all sides admit that neither in the attitude of the faithful nor the words of the preacher could anything be inferred as provocative of a demonstration on the part of the Liberals. However, they should have their holiday. We will let the *Nazione* describe the affair. "About two hundred, who called themselves Liberals, Italians, Romans, emigrants, patriots, Garibaldians, etc., etc., assembled in the Piazza soon after the sacred function had commenced. They awaited the *triduanti* to salute them with such friendly epithets as "*scoundrels*" and "*robbers*." These, then, were the actors in the tragedy, and this their purpose. What subsequently happened was a premeditated riot, known to the authorities; for three Cabinet Ministers, Lanza, De Falco, Gadda, and the Questor Berti, had established themselves in the porch of the Minerva Hotel to witness the affair, and had in readiness close by a company of soldiers to disperse the rioters if necessary. No sooner did the faithful commence to leave the church by the front entrance, than the 200 heroes, armed with sticks and revolvers, which they made no effort to conceal, in a threatening manner called on the Catholics to shout *Viva L'Italia*, and effectually blocked up their further progress through the Piazza. The faithful were massed on the platform at the entrance of the church, and to the repeated insults of the mob, they replied with enthusiastic shouts of *Viva Pio IX*. This so enraged the Garibaldian party, that violence was about being used, when the police were ordered to clear the Piazza, which they did with some difficulty, and aided by the soldiers before mentioned. The faithful, the most of them were obliged to retreat into the church, and found an exit in the rere from the apse. The mob dispersed themselves through the adjacent streets, having lost their leader, *Silvestro Tognetti*, who was arrested with a few others. They re-assembled, and went in force to the barracks of St. Martha, demanding to have Tognetti set at liberty. Thence they marched to Piazza San Silvestro, to the Questura, shouting "Down with the Questor," and still demanding Tognetti. They were asked to have patience, and his liberation was promised for the following day; but all in vain. They made an attempt to invade the Questor's office; the guard was turned out in defence; a serious conflict ensued, in which several pistol shots were heard. A company of the 40th regiment of the line arrived on the scene, and only after a hot encounter did they succeed in dispersing the rioters, wounding several, arresting many others, and killing one man. This latter was a cook in a restaurant, at the Via Bocca di Leone. He was a Tuscan, and came into Rome with the heroes of the 20th of September last year. His name was Ferrero, and his wound was inflicted by a

musket shot from one of the 40th regiment. He was brought off to the hospital of St. James on the Corso, and only lived four hours, but those four hours were full of blessings for him. He confessed most penitently, received Extreme Unction and the Holy Viaticum, asked pardon of the Pope, and expired with the names of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph on his lips. A great Garibaldian demonstration was being prepared for his funeral, but hearing that he died a good Catholic, the idea was abandoned. Thanks to the measures taken by the authorities, having all the military and National Guards under arms, the Triduum was continued the two remaining evenings without disturbance, and the faithful, nothing daunted by the occurrences of the 24th, crowded the temple of God on both occasions.

3. The Government, by way of atoning to the Garibaldian party for the harsh measures they were compelled to adopt against them in the cause of public order, seized several of the Catholic journals published in Rome, but especially the *Voce Della Verita*, the organ of the Society for Catholic Interests, which, just now, because of its great success and splendid organization, is a great eye-sore to the Liberal party, and they are clamouring for its suppression. The *Unita Cattolica* had another seizure made on it lately, this time followed by a prosecution, which resulted of course in its being found guilty, and condemned to a thousand francs fine, and four months' imprisonment for its responsible agent. So much for Liberty of the Press in free Italy.

4. Another method of replying to the Triduums of the faithful is the seizure of the convents. The *Official Gazette*, number 230, published two royal decrees appropriating the following religious houses:—1. The convents of SS. Dominick and Sixtus on the Quirinal, Dominican nuns. 2. The monastery of St. Anthony, abbot, near St. Mary Major, Carmelite nuns. 3. The convent of St. Chrisogonus, in Trastevere, Discalced Trinitarian Fathers. 4. The monastery of Santa Croce, in Gerusalemme, Cistercian monks. 5. The convent of San Francesco, in Ripa, founded by St. Francis himself, who passed some time there, and belonging to the Minor Conventual Fathers. Within fifteen days from the publication of the decrees, these buildings must be rid of their present occupants. Thirty-four other religious houses are marked to be visited by the Commissioners of the Government. As soon as they are seized on we will give the list.

5. What appeared at first to be a good opportunity for the Italian Government to pick a quarrel with France, has, thanks to their traditional cowardice, settled down into an apology, whether sincere or not, which leaves the ladies of the Sacred

Heart in undisturbed possession of their beautiful convent of the *Trinita de Monti*. The municipality of Rome addressed a note to the superioress, informing her that an architect, deputed by them, would visit the convent to take the plan of it preliminary to its appropriation for civil purposes. The superioress replied in the following terms:—

“EXCELLENCY,

“I received, this evening, at 5 o'clock, your notification of the 18th, in which you apprise me that on to-morrow, the 20th, at seven o'clock in the morning, the engineer, Mancini, will present himself, with his assistants, to take the plan of the convent garden. In reply to your communication, I have the honour to notify to your Excellency that we cannot admit any one into our convent without a written order from the French Ambassador. I am, therefore, sending on your letter immediately to the Ambassador. If the said letter had been forwarded to me three days sooner, as the messenger of the municipality asserted on Friday evening, there would have been time to complete the necessary formalities. It only remains for me to beg your Excellency to suspend the order, as I repeat I cannot admit any one.

“I remain, with the most distinguished consideration,

“C. DE BONCHAUD, Superioress.

“Trinita de Monti, 20th August.”

The newspapers, both French and Italian, gave different versions of the affair, but the *Univers* considers the account furnished by the *Journal de Florence* the most authentic, according to which it was all confined to the exchange of letters between the municipality and the superioress. The convent having all the privileges of national French property, as it belongs to the ladies of the Sacred Heart, in virtue of a gift of Louis XVIII., it is impossible for the Italian Government to appropriate it. The Count D'Harcourt interfered most effectually, and asserted his right to defend French interests at Rome.

6. By note of the Secretary of State, His Holiness has nominated Monsignor Vitelleschi, Bishop of Osimo, Secretary of the Holy Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, in place of Monsignor Saegtiati, deceased. Monsignor Vitelleschi at the same time resigning his canonry of St. Peter's, the Pope named Monsignor Casali, previously canon of St John Lateran, and Monsignor Bisogno succeeds the latter in his stall at St. John's. These two prelates discharge the duties of domestic chamberlains to His Holiness.

7. The Pope continues to receive deputations every day. The different parishes in Rome, thanks to the untiring efforts

of the "Roman Society," so often mentioned, are sending deputations and gifts day by day, and the Holy Father replies to each of them in the happiest and most appropriate speeches.

8. The Sacred Congregation of Rites met at the Vatican on the 2nd of September, and decided the following causes of beatification and canonization:—Palermo—Ven. servant of God, Brother Andrew, *a Burgio*, professed lay-brother of the Cappuchin order. Spain—St. Martin of the Ascension, martyr. Dijon—The servant of God, Sister Margaret of the Most Holy Sacrament, professed religious of the Discalced Carmelites. Luçon—Ven. servant of God, Louis-Marie Baudoin, founder of the Congregation of the Children of Mary Immaculate, and of the Society of the Ursulines of Jesus, commonly called *Dames de Chavagnes*. Tourraine—Blessed John-Mary de Maille. Naples—Ven. servant of God, Nuntius Sulpritius. Gape—Ven. servant of God, Benedicta Rencurel, of the third order of St. Dominick. The Sacred Congregation, presided over by Cardinal Patrizi, had to resolve the following *dubium*: "*An et quomodo nomen S. Leonis Episcopi et Martyris cujus corpus olim in Agro Verano apud S. Laurentium colebatur, Martyrologio Romano inserendum seu restituendum sit?*" The Cardinals present were—The Most Eminent Prefect, their Eminences Di Pietro, Sacconi, Barnabò, Panebianco, Bizarri, Pitra, Bilio, Bonaparte, Barili, Caterini, Capalti.

9. Great preparations were being made by the revolutionary clubs of Rome to celebrate with due festivity the first anniversary of the entry of the Italians—the 20th of September. The municipality published the following programme:—"The happy anniversary of the 20th of September will be celebrated as follows:—1. Distribution of brevets to the winners in the rifle contest, which will take place in the Capitol, at ten o'clock, a.m., in presence of representatives of the National Guard. 2. Review of the National Guard by His Excellency the Minister of War, at 4.30, p.m. 3. Illumination of the city, especially of the Corso and the Capitol. 4. Military bands in Piazza Colonna, Piazza Agonale, Piazza di Santa Maria in Trastevere, Piazza di Spagna, Piazza di Venezia, Piazza Pia in Borgo, Piazza della Madonna de Monti, Piazza del Campidoglio. 5. Opening of the Communal Theatre.

"From the Capitol, Sep. 17th, 1871.

"For the Syndic Senior Assessor.

"G. ANGELINI."

A citizens' committee organized a procession to Porta Pia, and we copy from the *Unita Cattolica* a detailed account of the day's actual proceedings. "The city from early morning was sparsely decorated with tricolor flags, except the Corso,

where the decoration was '*de rigueur*,' and such houses as the Chigi, Torlonia, and the *blackest* of the *blackest* in Rome were forced to hang out flags; in the other streets they were few and far between, and some had not even one. In compensation, however, for this indifference of the real Romans, our self-styled heroes during the night posted large placards on the houses and shops of persons notoriously devoted to the Pope, bearing inscriptions such as '*Viva Vittorio Emanuele*,' the royal arms, portraits of Garibaldi, and '*Viva il 20 Settembre*.' The pillars of Palazzo Massimo, near San Pantalano, were tapestried in this fashion, and the poor fools never imagined that in this way they were only manifesting the weakness of their party in Rome. At eight o'clock in the morning the working men's associations, clubs, &c., &c., assembled with their banners, according to the orders of Pianciani, in Piazza Navona, with the exception of the Cavour and Bernini circles, and the banners of all the Rioni of Rome but one. After violent and prolonged efforts to gather a sufficient number of people to march after each banner, the procession started at 8.45, preceded by a band of the National Guard. There were nineteen groups, headed by so many banners; and if one was inclined to be very generous in his calculations, he might look on each group as averaging about 100 individuals—1,900 in all; but this calculation is decidedly wide of the truth. The procession moved in silence as far as the Quirinal; and there the band struck up the royal hymn, which narrowly escaped being hissed, the processionists clamouring for Garibaldi's hymn, which was immediately given and uproariously applauded. Meanwhile down came the rain in torrents, and processionists and spectators all betook themselves to the neighbouring churches and convents for shelter. As soon as the rain lightened a little, the procession re-formed, and marching along the '*Via Porta Pia*,' now baptized '*Via 20 Settembre*,' it reached the spot of the famous breach about ten o'clock. There in the restored walls there is inserted a marble slab, at the expense of the municipality, bearing the following inscription:—

L'esercito Italiano
Entrava vittorioso da queste mura
Il XX Settembre MDCCCLXX
Compiendo i lunghi voti dei Romani
Ed assicurando all' Italia
Il possesso della sua capitale

Il Comune
A ricordo perenne del fatto
Pose
Il IV giugno MDCCCLXXI.

“ This slab was ornamented with the national and municipal colours ; on the ground there was a carpet of natural flowers, arranged to form the words—‘ *Onore e gloria all' esercito italiano, Roma, 1871.*’ The processionists hung up on the walls several wreaths of flowers and laurel. Then came the speeches. Pianciani was first, mounted on a ladder, which served as platform. After him came two young students, one a Roman, the other had an accent of the Romagna. You can readily imagine the burthen of their discourses ; imprecations on priests and religion largely interwoven. The third orator went a little farther, and observed that all was not over yet. He spoke of the universal alliance of peoples, and reasoned his speech with a plentiful mixture of red republicanism. In fine, both the demonstration and the demonstrators smelled of petroleum. The speeches over and the garlands hung up, the procession returned as far as Piazza Barberini, where it quietly dispersed. Simultaneously, the Syndic distributed brevets in the Capitol ; there, too, there was a little music and a few people, but nothing important. At four o'clock General Ricotti passed in review the troops and the National Guard ; the soldiers feared the rain, which did not come. The people assembled was rather numerous, but not a single cheer or applause of any kind ; they say this was the order from the ‘ *Roman Centre*’ of the ‘ *International*.’

“ The illumination of the city, which is just commencing as I write, is wretched in the extreme. No disturbance up to the present—7.45, p.m.”

Thus we have celebrated in Rome the first anniversary of the imprisonment of Pius the Ninth. How long is he to remain a prisoner ? We may answer in his own words, replying to an address presented on the 17th of June last : “ This state of things,” said the Holy Father, “ cannot last always ; it may not change, perhaps, to-day or to-morrow, but change it will ; we must be tranquil. The Lord has permitted that I never should lose for a single instant my confidence in Him.”

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,
OR,
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT
MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF CORK.

monastery of Cregan, but that the M'Carthy's translated it to Timoleague in 1390,^e and that a castle belonging to the Morils stood here, which M'Carthy Reagh took from them and placed the Franciscans in it; this account, however, must be erroneous, for a manuscript which did belong to the friary of Timoleague expressly says, that William Barry Lord of Ibaun, and the first founder of this monastery, died on the 17th of December, 1373, and that his wife, Margaret de Courcey, died on the 24th of January that year.^f This house, which was founded for friars of the order of St. Francis, was given to the friars of the strict observance in 1400.^g

John de Courcey, a monk of this house, and a person well skilled in divinity, was made bishop of Clogher 18th June, 1484, and September 26th, 1494, he was translated to the see of Ross; he died on the 10th of March, 1518, and was interred in this monastery; with the assistance of James, Lord Kingsale, his nephew, he built the library, belfry, dormitory, and infirmary, and bequeathed liberally to it.^h John Imurily, bishop of Ross, died on the 9th of January, 1519, in the habit of St. Francis, and was interred here,ⁱ as was Patrick O'Fehely, a Franciscan of the strict observance, in 1552.^k Provincial chapters of the order were held in this house in the years 1536 and 1563.^l

At the suppression there were but four acres and an half of land found to belong to this friary, which were then in the possession of the Lord Inchiquin.^m

The Roman Catholics repaired the monastery A.D. 1604.ⁿ The walls are yet entire, though unroofed; they enclose a large choir with an aisle formed by arcades on the south, which lead to a lateral wing; there is an handsome Gothic tower, about 70 feet high, between the choir and aisle, and

^e War. Mon. Allemande. ^f War. Mss., vol. 34, p. 152. ^g Id. ^h War. Mss. and Mon. ⁱ War. Bps., p. 588. ^k War. Mss. sup. ^l King, p. 310. ^m Smith, vol. 1, p. 251. ⁿ Cox, vol. 2, p. 10.

on one side of the aisle, is a square cloister arcaded, with a platform in the middle; this leads to several large rooms, the chapel, the chapter house, the refectory, and a spacious apartment for the father guardian, besides a hall, dormitory, &c. Here is a monument of the O'Cullanes, and on the right a ruined one of the Lords De Courcey; M'Carthy Reagh's is in the midst of the choir.^o

Tracton; two miles south of Carigaline, in the barony of Kinalea. An abbey, called the abbey de Albo tractu, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary,^p was founded here A.D. 1224, by M'Carthy,^q who furnished it with monks of the Cistercian order from the abbey of Alba landa, or Whiteland, in Carmardenshire, in Wales.^r

A.D. 1031. In this year, the 29th of the reign of King Edward I., the abbot was indicted for receiving and protecting his nephew, Maurice Russell, who had committed a rape on a English woman, he was found guilty, and fined in the sum of 40 pounds.^s

1311. Owen was abbot.^t

1350. Richard Brayghnock, the prior, was indicted for the murder of John Cardigan, one of his monks, but was acquitted.^u

1363. Richard Graynell was abbot; but he was deprived this year.^w See Dunbrody in the county of Wexford.

1375. King Edward III. confirmed the several possessions that were granted to them;^x and on the 1st of May he took the abbey into his especial protection.^y

1380. It was ordained by parliament, that no mere Irishman should be suffered to profess himself in this abbey.^z

Great numbers of pilgrims resorted hither on every Holy Thursday, to pay their devotions to a piece of the Holy Cross preserved here, and said to have been presented to them by Barry Oge.^a

The abbot sat as a baron in parliament.^b Queen Elizabeth granted this abbey to Henry Guilford and Sir James Craig, March 20th, 1568, on their paying a fine of £7 15s. sterling; Sir James Craig assigned it to Richard, Earl of Cork, who passed a patent for it March 23rd, 7th of James I.^c

In 1781, James Dennis, Esq., Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was created Baron Tracton of Tracton abbey.

Inquisition, 10th September, 20th Queen Elizabeth, finds, that David Barry, long after the statute of mortmain, had granted to St. Roddium of Tracton, three carucates of land in this county, called Ballinspaly, annual value 3s.—*Chief Rem.*

^o *Smith, vol. I, p. 252.* ^p *War. Mon.* ^q *Allemande.* ^r *War. Mon.* ^s *King, p. 93.* ^t *Id.* ^u *Id.* ^w *Id.* ^x *War. Mon.* ^y *Id. p. 411.* ^z *Id. p. 93.* ^a *Smith, vol. I, p. 218.* ^b *War. Annal.* ^c *Smith, Id.*

Tuaim Musgraighe; The bishop St. Domangan, a disciple of St. Carthag mochuda, was venerated here, and his festival observed on the 29th of April.^d It is supposed to be in Muskerry, but is now unknown.

Tulach Mhin;³² In Feara muighe feine, now called the barony of Fermoy. St. Molagga, who was living A.D. 664, founded an abbey here, where his festival is held on the 20th of January.^e This place is also unknown.

Tullelash; in the diocess of Cloyne and barony of Duhallow. Matthew M'Griffin founded a priory here for canons regular following the rule of St. Augustin; it was afterwards united to that of Kells, in the county of Kilkenny.^f

Weeme;³³ near Cork. Here was another abbey of the same canons, which was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist.^g

Thomas was abbot in 1311.^h

Thomas, the abbot, being deposed, a licence was granted, dated the 22nd April, 1350, to the convent to proceed to elect an abbot; Michael, the prior, made a return, that they had elected Altan O'Nullanagaly.ⁱ

Gilbert was abbot; he was immediately succeeded by David,^k who, according to King, was abbot in 1339.^l

Thomas succeeded him.^m

Richard O'Tenewir was abbot, but the time is uncertain.ⁿ

Youghall;³⁴ a seaport and a borough town sending burgesses to parliament.

^d Act. SS. p. 631. ^e Id. p. 148, 149. ^f Harris Tabl. ^g Id. ^h King, id. 148. ⁱ Id. ^k Id. p. 141. ^l Id. ^m Id. ⁿ Id.

³² *Tulach Mhin*.—St. Molaga of *Tulach Mhin* is thus commemorated in the Festology of *Aengus C le De*, in the *Leabhar Breac*, at 20th January: "Molaga, i.e., at Land Bechuire in Bregia he is; or that he was Lachine, son of Dubhdlige, i.e., from *Tealach-min Molaga*, in Fermoy, in Munster." The ancient lives of St. Molaga contain some interesting accounts of his relations with this place and the surrounding country.

³³ Allan, on account of his infirmities, resigning, Brother Gilbert O'Brogdy was elected Abbot in 1334 (1354).

³⁴ Youghal Inquisition, 10th September, 44 Q. Elizabeth, finds that a close called John Mahony's Park, near Youghall, was parcel of the possession of this friary. Rot. Chancery.

Inquisition taken 31st March, 1604, finds that Sir Walter Raleigh, Knt., was seized in fee of this friary and of all its possessions spiritual and temporal.

This friary had ten acres of land of the small measure, with the chapel of St. Anne, near Youghall, with an acre of land. The townlands of Rathmolane, Knocknagippaghe and Carraghmoneoore, in said county, containing one carucate and a-half; townland of Balling, in said county; half a carucate in county Limerick; townland of Englandstown, one carucate; Liscarrell, three-quarters of a small carucate in county Mayo; Knockfarrin, near Ballinrobe, half a quarter. In county Waterford, the great burgage of Lismore, half a carucate; in Fereguilie a carucate; townlands of Bally-McPatrick and Curraghbal-livorough, two carucates. In county Cork, townland of Garran-James, one carucate; Kilbrie, near Kilbolane, one carucate;—All granted to George Isham and his heirs, at the annual rent of £8 17s. 10d.—(Chief Remem.)

Ward's MS. History of the Irish Franciscan Convents, written in 1632, gives some further details regarding the house of that order in Youghal: "The convent of Youghal, which was called the Mother of the Irish Franciscan Province, was built in the year 1224. In the year 1583 it was destroyed and depopulated, some of the friars having been taken and put to death by the English Protestants. It remained desolate till the year 1627, when a residence was built in the town, and Father Francis Mede was appointed its first superior. The first founder of the convent was Maurice Fitzgerald, from whom sprung the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, the Barons of Lixnaw, and several other most noble families. He was for many years Lord Justiciary of Ireland, and headed an army against the Scots in aid of the King of England. The war being victoriously concluded, he returned home, distributed his possessions to his children, and became a Franciscan friar. He lived till the year 1257, distinguished for profound humility and holiness of life, and died, and was buried in the convent. There are, from ancient times, the tombs of the Earls of Desmond, the Lords of Desies, and several other nobles of the same family and country. At the right hand side of the altar in the convent, a certain friar is buried whose tomb is illustrated by miracles: and also another friar, who was put to death by the heretics, lies buried in the same place."

From Hayman's "Ecclesiastical Notes and Records," and other authorities, we glean the following additional particulars regarding the religious foundations of Youghal:—

1542.—3 Aug. The Lord Deputy and Council agreed that a Commission should issue to James, fifteenth Earl of Desmond, and others, to take inventories for the King's use of all the religious houses in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and Desmond, to dissolve the said houses, and put them into safe custody. (Smith's Cork. vol. ii. p. 40). When the Franciscan brethren were removed from their house, they withdrew to Curraheen, county Waterford, three-quarters of a mile from Aglish, and about eight from Youghal, a lonely and retired spot among the mountains, where they were protected and re-established by the Fitzgeralds of Dromana. At Curraheen they erected a new Friary.

1578.—10 Sept. By an Inquisition taken at Cork on this day it appeared that William White, long after the statute of mortmain, granted to the Church of the Holy Trinity, Cork, the rectory of Clere in that county, which rectory at the taking of the Inquisition, was in the possession of the guardian of the Franciscan Friary of Youghal, and was of the annual value of 12 pence.—(Inquisitions of Record in Exchequer).

1585.—Among the MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is a collection of "Maps and Charts relating to Ireland," one of which is a very interesting pictorial Plan of Youghal of this date. The Franciscan Friary is well represented; it is called "The Abbey on the So. West of ye Town," and, by the scale, it is distant 200 paces from the south gate. In its outward presentment it rather resembles a feudal fortress than a Friary.

1597-8.—24 Jan. This Friary was granted, by letters patent, to George Isham, gent., along with the following: Ten acres of land of the small measure, with the Chapel of St. Anne near Youghal, and one acre of land; the townlands of Rathnolan, Knocknagippae, and Curraghmonevore, in said county, containing one carucate and a half; with other grants in the counties of Waterford and Limerick, at the annual rent of £8 17s. 10d.

1602.—10 Sept. By an Inquisition taken at Youghal, the Monastery of St. Francis, near the town of Youghal, commonly called Le Grey Friary de Youghell, was found to belong to the Queen.

1603.—13 Sept. The site, circuit and precinct of the late Monastery, or religious house of the Friars Mendicant or Begging Friars, commonly called The Grey Friars near Youghal, with one park or close, called John Mahowne's Parke, containing arable 2 acres, near Youghal, rent 12d. Irish, was granted to James Fullerton, gent.—(Calendar of Patent Rolls: 1 Jac. I. p. 7).

1603.—7 Nov. Sir James Fullerton disposed of his title to the premises included in the foregoing grant, as well to the Abbey of Molana, for £219 6s. 8d. Irish money, to Sir Richard Boyle.

1605.—20 June. The site and precinct of this Friary, with 10 acres small measure thereto belonging, were granted by the King to Donagh, Earl of Thomond.—(Calendar of Patent Rolls, 3 Jac. I. pp. 79, 80).

1665.—21 July. This Friary was leased by Richard, second Earl of Cork, to Samuel Hayman, Esq., a Somersetshire gentleman. The demise conveyed "all that messuage or tenement lately erected and built by the said Samuel Hayman, with the yard, orchard, and garden thereunto belonging, and also the severall houses, &c., and one plott of enclosed ground conteyning by estimation six acres. Together with the dissolved Nunnery or Chappell called St. Anne's Chapell, with the appotements, as the same are all now in the tenure of the said Samuel Hayman, situate, lying and being in and neere the scite, circuit, ambite and precincts of the dissolved Monastery of St. Francis: All the South Abbey of Youghall." Among the covenants is the following, which declares too plainly the unsettled state of public affairs—"And keeping always resident on the premisses, for every tenement, one able English footeman with a pyke or muskett well and compleately armed and furnished; and therewith all shall and will answer and attend the said Earle, his heires or assignes, in all musters and in the service of the Crown and defence of the country, being thereunto reasonably warned and summoned during this lease."

1680-81.—1 Jan. "Elinor, ye daughter of Mr. Thomas Vniacke Esquire in ye South Abby, Buryed."—[*Church Register*]. From this entry, and from similar ones of the same date, we learn that the graveyard of this Friary was used for burials so late as this period; but it appears to have fallen into disuse about the close of this century.

The Dominican Friary, commonly called the North Abbey.—1268. Thomas FitzMaurice FitzGerald, surnamed *nAppagh*, founded a Friary for Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, at Youghal. This House was first placed under the Invocation of the Holy Cross, but it was subsequently dedicated to St. Mary of Thanks (*S. Maria Gratiarum*), on account of a miraculous image of the B. Virgin preserved here.—(*Hib. Dom.*, p. 272).

1281.—A General Chapter of the Dominicans was held here.

1296.—Thomas *nAppagh* FitzGerald, the Founder of this Friary, was here interred, in the middle of the Choir.—(*Grace's Annals*). Marleborough's *Chronicle* makes his decease two years later.

1303.—22 Oct. Robert de Percival, an eminent benefactor to this House, having been slain, along with William de Wellesley, in a battle with the Irish, was interred in this Friary.

1304.—A General Chapter of the Dominicans was held here.

1450.—The Image of the Madonna and Child, for which this Friary was famous, is of Italian workmanship of this period. It is of carved ivory, about three inches high. The circumstances of its discovery, as detailed in 1644, by the French traveller, M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, are sufficiently curious:—"In the Dominican Convent (at Youghal) there was an Image of the Virgin, formerly held in the greatest reverence in Ireland, which arrived there in a miraculous manner. The tide brought a piece of wood on to the sands opposite the town, which several fishermen tried to carry off, the wood being rare in this country, but they could not move it; they harnessed ten horses to it without effect, and the reflux of the tide brought it near the Dominican convent. Two monks raised it on their shoulders and put it in the court-yard of the convent; and the prior had in the night a vision that the image of our Lady was in this piece of wood; which was found there. So say the citizens, who have still a great devotion towards it; but the Dominicans, having been persecuted by the English settlers, carried it elsewhere."

1493.—This Friary was reformed by Bartholomew Comatius (*Bononiensis*), 23rd Master of the Order, as appears from the register of Joachim Turrianus, 35th Grand Master, where are contained these words: "Approved: The Reformation of the Monastery of Joachia (*i.e.* Jocalia or Youghal,) made by Master Bartholomew."

1501.—Vincentio de Bandello was appointed to reform the houses of the Dominicans, and for this purpose was armed with Apostolical authority. He addressed himself to the work with zeal; but, being unable to visit Ireland in person, he deputed John de Baufremez, of Holland, to represent him. The Friaries of Cork, Limerick, and Youghal were pre-eminent in desiring to subject themselves to regular observance; and are specially mentioned and lauded in the Bull issued to Baufremez, in 1504, by Pope Julius II.—(*Archiv. Apost. Lib. L. fol. 201.*)

1518.—At the General Chapter of the Dominicans held at Rome this year, Garzia de Loaysa, a Spaniard, 39th Grand Master of the Dominicans, and subsequently a Cardinal, issued an approval of the reformation of this Friary, absolving from his office the Vicar General appointed by Vincentio de Bandello, but permitted him to be re-elected.

1542.—3 Aug. Order from the Lord Deputy to dissolve this house.

1543.—28 June. The King granted the custodiam of this Friary to Maurice, brother of the Earl of Desmond, for three years, by the following letters :—

“Henry VIII. etc. To all whom etc. greeting. Know ye that, on the security and pledge of Edward Russell and Richard Liston, gentlemen, We have granted to Maurice of Desmond, brother of the Earl of Desmond, the custody of all the possessions, spiritual and temporal, of the late House of Friars Preachers of and near Youghill, with its appurtenances : To said Maurice and his Assigns, to have and to hold said custody from the day of ratification to the end of three years following fully completed, Paying thence to Us annually into Our Court of Exchequer in Ireland, Thirty Six Shillings and Eight Pence Sterling, at the feasts of St. Michael, the archangel, and Easter, in equal portions. In testimony whereof etc. Witness our beloved and faithful William Brabazon, Sub-treasurer of our said Kingdome. Given at Dublin, this 28th day of June in the 33rd year of our reign.”—[Memor. Roll. 33 Henry VIII. m. 24.]

1550.—21 April. The oldest, dated, tombstone now to be found in this burying ground, is of this time. It is thus inscribed : “Here lyeth ye Body of Darby Kareen, who Departed This Life ye 21 Aprill 1550, Aged 35 years.”

1581.—28 April. This Friary, with six gardens within the liberties of Youghal (the tithes excepted) was granted for ever, *in capite*, to William Walsh, at the yearly rent of 22 pence sterling.—[Auditor General]. From him it passed for a term of years to John Thickpenny, gent.—[*Hib. Dom.* p. 273.]

1585-86.—3 Feb. The Friary was granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, at a rent of £12 19s. 6d., payable at Easter and Michaelmas; with a proviso, that the Act passed at Limerick, anno 33 Henry VIII., for lands given by the King, shall not be prejudicial to this patent. Signed, A. St. Leger.—[MS. at Lismore.]

1587.—Dr. Burke, quoting from a work, entitled *Theatrum Catholicæ et Protestanticæ Religionis*, p. 435, gives an account of the demolition of the Dominican Friary in this year, with the fate of those concerned in the work. A “certain Englishman named Poer, while destroying the monastery of St. Dominic, in the northern part of Youghall, fell from the top of the Church and broke all his limbs. Likewise, three soldiers of that town, who had cast down and thrown into the fire the Sacred Cross of that monastery, were dead within eight days from the perpetration of their crime. The first died of madness. The second was eaten by vermin. The third was slain by the Seneschal of the Earl of Desmond.”

1603.—17 Dec. By an inquisition taken this day at Youghal respecting the estates which had been conveyed by Raleigh to Boyle, the jury made the following report about this Friary : “Lastely, wee finde that the Abbie of Molana and the late Howse of Observant Fryers of Youghall, with their possessions, does now lye utterly wast, and have soe remayned ever since the leases made of them to John Thickpenny, gent. deceased, upon the expiration of which leases granted to the said Thickpenny, Sir Walter Rawleighe’s estate [tooke] his beginninge.”—[Inquisitions in Exchequer.]

1604.—31 March. By an Inquisition taken this day at Cork, it was found that Sir Walter Raleigh lately attainted of high treason, was seized in fee (among others) of the Priory or House of Friars Observant, near Youghall, called “The Black Ffreers neere Youghall, with the appurtenances, together with its scite, circuit, ambite and precinct; and all buildings, edifices, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, rents, services, tithes, alterages, oblations, obventions, and all other its possessions and hereditaments, spiritual and temporal.”

1604.—10th May. The Priory or late House of Observant Friars near Youghall, called the Black Friars of Youghall with all their possessions, spiritual and temporal, was granted to Sir Richard Boyle.—[Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.]

1617.—The Lady Honor FitzGerrald of the Geraldine Family, presented the Dominicans of Youghall, with a silver-gilt Shrine for the Image of the Madonna in their possession. This relique is about 4 inches in height, by 1 in width. Its sides

are richly chased with floriated ornaments, and its summit is surmounted by a Cross. It opens with two folding doors which, thrown back, display the Image within. The reverses of these doors bear a Crucifixion, and a figure of a Saint in prayer, respectively. On the outside is this inscription in Roman letter: "ORATE . PRO . ANIMA . ONORIE . FILLÆ . IACOBI . DE . GERALDINIS . QAE . ME . FIERI . FECIT . ANNO . DNI . 1617."

1644.—A Most General Chapter, held this year at Rome under Thomas Turk of Cremona, 56th Master of the Order, passed the following decree, respecting the offerings made in this Friary: "We apply all alms, which are offered at the most venerated Image of the B. V. Mary of Yoghel, to the use of the Monastery of Yoghel itself, nor may the Provincial in future dispose of them in any other way."

1661.—From the *Liber Tenurarum* in the Exchequer Record Office, it appears that Richard, Earl Cork, was this year tenant of the late Monastery, or House of Friars Preachers Observant, near Youghall, with 6 gardens (the tithes thereof excepted), held of the King *in capite*, at 15*s.* per annum.

1698.—1 May. An Act having been passed, which commanded the departure of all Monastic Orders out of Ireland, never to return on pain of death, the Dominicans of Youghall were constrained to leave: and they deposited their Madonna Shrine with Sir John Hore, of Shandon Castle, co. Waterford.—[O'Heyne's *Epilogus Chron.* p. 15.]

1756.—The brethren in this year were Thomas O'Kelly, the Prior, Dominican Houlaghan, and James Flynn. They had their venerated Shrine again in their keeping. *Hib Dom.* pp. 273, 274.]

Saint Mary's Church, Youghal. In the northern part of the town of Youghal, on the slope of a hill, then as now called *Knock-na-Vauriagh* (*i.e.* Mary's Hill), a Church dedicated to the Virgin, was founded in the eleventh century. That earlier religious edifices preceded the building on the same site, there is little doubt. Indeed, we might almost infer, from considering how important the seaport at the mouth of the Blackwater had already become, that such was necessarily the case. Nor should we stumble at the fortuitous circumstance of our inability to trace, with certainty, the more ancient foundations. When churches would successively arise on the same spot, each exceeding its predecessor in size, it would happen that, in some cases, the lesser building would be incorporated with the larger so as to lose all its distinguishing features; and, in others, would be wholly cleared away, in order that space might be obtained for the new structure. In the doorway of the square massive Tower of the present building, enclosed between two pointed arches, is the moulded circular entrance of this Church, and on the right hand as you enter, the wreck of the base-mouldings belonging to the columns that supported it. From the drip to the arch, and from the mouldings of the bases, we can easily tell that this door formed the South Entrance to the ancient Church, which lay east and west across the present site of the Tower. The foundations of the western wall were uncovered a few years since by workmen excavating for a vault, and were found to lie about six feet to the west of the Tower. The visitor sees the time-worn stones of this portion of the destroyed building used again as materials in the lower half of the west side of the Tower, and will readily contrast them with the fresher stones in the upper portion and in the other three sides. But the most interesting fragment of the Norman church is preserved in the North Transept Aisle of the present building, which appears to have been formed out of part of the old, ruined Choir. It is a moulded, circular sepulchral arch, resting on two low moulded columns, with capitals and bases. Immediately near it, have been found more of the tapered tomb-slugs, popularly called stone-coffin lids, than in any other part of the building. Most of these were monuments in the older church. Some two or three belong to the thirteenth century, and should be assigned to the present edifice. With a single exception, all our tapered tomb-slugs were wilfully broken in pieces centuries ago; and the existence even of their fragments was unknown, until recent researches brought them to light.

This ancient Church continued in existence during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but we have been unable to recover its records. There are some grounds for believing that it was dismantled by the great tempests of 1192, which, the Irish Annalists tell us, threw down many houses and churches in Munster, and

destroyed much cattle. Nearly on the same site, a new and splendid pile arose in the commencement of the thirteenth century. The founders were Richard Benet and Ellis Barry his wife, of whom (save their Memorial in the South Transept) we know nothing. Both names, however, are those of distinguished Anglo-Norman families. The founders set apart for themselves the South Transept, called the Chauntry of Our Blessed Saviour, as a mortuary Chapel; and largely endowed it with lands in the neighbourhood of the Town, for the maintenance of the officiating priest. St. Mary's, as now established, soon reached a well-ascertained pre-eminence over the other churches of the district. The taxations of Pope Nicholas IV., in 1291, and of Pope Boniface VIII., in 1302, declare it to be the richest benefice of the whole diocese of Cloyne. The bishopric itself is entered in these documents, as rateable at 185 marks, or about £123. The prebend of Glenowyr (Glanore or Glanworth) is valued at 28½ marks, or £19; while the church of Yoghel, or Yoghull, is set down at £25. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas, Youghal is entered, under the head of '*Taxacio Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum de Omakylle*,' in these terms:

"Ecclesia de Ygohel, cujus rector est hoc anno Nicholas de Cler,
vicarius Robertus de Halywell, taxatur ad xxvli.decima Ls."

That of Pope Boniface is of the same import. In the rural deanery of '*Omakyll*,' appears:

"Ecclesia de Yoghull, xxvli.decima Ls."

Nicholas de Cler, who, when the former taxation was made, enjoyed the wealthy rectory of Youghal, was of the Norman house of Hertford; and at this period his family owned the town, and presented to the living.

On the foundation of the College, 27 Decem. 1464, by Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, the Church became Collegiate, and was served by the Warden and Fellows. The Earl, in 1468, re-edified the building, a special Indulgence being granted for this purpose by Pope Paul II.

When Commissioners of Queen Elizabeth made inquisition, 31 August, 1590, respecting the diocese of Cloyne, they returned the '*Guardianatus Villæ et Collegii de Yoghall*' as rateable at 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), while they valued the '*Episcopatus*' at but £10 10s. 0d. But the time had come, when its revenues were to be alienated from the Collegiate Church for ever. Nathaniel Baxter, chosen Warden in 1592, was obliged, 25 Aug. 1597, to pass his bond of 1,000 marks, which was to be forfeited in case he did not, in 40 days after demand, resign his office into the Queen's hands, and did not suffer her agents to take possession of the same. The College and its revenues eventually passed into the hands of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork. In 1608, if we are to receive Boyle's own testimony, he expended above £2,000 in re-building the Church and College; and, in a MS. preserved at Lismore, entitled '*Copie of a Particular of part of the first Earl of Corke's Commonwealth Workes*,' we find, first in order, mention of his doings here:

"Imprimis, The Earl of Corke hath re-edified the great decayed church of Yoghall, wherein the townsmen in time of rebellion kept their cows, and hath erected a new chappel there in, and made it one of the fairest churches in Ireland."

The Earl of Cork was not one who, to judge from his *True Remembrances*, was likely to allow his good deeds to be hidden under a bushel; and these statements about his 're-edifying' and 'erecting' at Youghal, we are constrained to receive with no little scepticism. They are contradicted by proofs yet existing in the Church itself, as well as by the stern voice of contemporaneous history. The Earl could not have 'erected a new chappel' at St. Mary's; for his own Transept—that, to which reference is made—preserves in all its details the exact architectural features of the original structure, reared four centuries before his time; nor was his 're-edifying' of the Church of any general character, as we may easily discover by an examination of the several portions of the edifice. We have also the testimony of his contemporaries, from which we shall offer one proof, namely in reference to the Choir or Chancel. In 1641, the Protestant Bishop of Cork and Ross addressed to the Earl of Cork a severe letter, yet extant, 'charging him with having stripped the Vicars Choral, and left the Chancel of Youghal, the revenues of which college the Earl had gotten into his hands in a state of ruin.'—[*Fasti Eccles. Hib.*, Vol. I., pp. 226, 227, 2nd ed.]

1603.—7 Nov. The wardenship of the College, or Chantry, of Yoghall, with all the lands, tenements and hereditaments to the same belonging, and the advowson and patronage of said wardenship, called The Wardenship of Our Lady's College of Yoghall, being the estate of Gerald, late Earl of Desmond attainted, were granted to James Fullerton, gent., rent 3s. 4d. Irish.—[Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1 Jac. I., part 2, p. 8.]

1604.—31 March. By an Inquisition, taken this day at Cork, it was found that Sir Walter Raleigh, lately attainted of high treason, was possessed (among others), for a term of 45 years yet to come or thereabouts, of the New College of the B. V. Mary of Youghall, and of all its buildings, edifices, orchards, fruiteries, gardens, impropriate rectories, vicarages, churches, tithes, glebes, etc., rendering therefor to the warden £13 6s. 8d. yearly.

1604.—3 April. Grant to Sir George Carew, Knt. In Yoghall town. Two messuages and gardens, and all the lands and hereditaments, spiritual and temporal, of the New College of the B. V. Mary of Yoghall, rent 2s. ; with the advowsons, presentations, etc., of the wardenship, and all churches, rectories, vicarages and chapels of all other benefices belonging to said wardenship, rent 3s. 4d. ; parcel of the estate of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, attainted : demised in fee farm to Sir James Fullerton, Knt., 7 Nov. 1603, at a rent of 4s.

This patronage he sold to Sir Richard Boyle, who obtained a new patent.

1604.—10 May. In Sir Richard Boyle's patent of this date, is the acknowledgment that Sir Walter Raleigh, at the time of his attainder, was lawfully possessed for the term unexpired of the lease, by mesne conveyance from Sir Thomas Norris, of all the hereditaments, spiritual and temporal, of the New College of the B. V. Mary of Yoghall, as granted to said Norris for 60 years by the warden and fellows, 28 Sept. 1588 : which interest, as conveyed to the said Boyle, 7 Dec. 1602, the King now ratifies and confirms.

1609-10.—8 March.—Grant to Donagh, Earl of Thomond. The College, or tenement within the walls of Yoghall, called The New College of the B. V. Mary of Yoghall, with all its hereditaments.—[Calendar of Pat. Rolls. p. 159.]

1609-10.—23 March.—Grant to Sir Richard Boyle. The advowson, patronage, and presentation of the wardenship of the New College of clerks of the Church of the B. V. Mary of Yoghall, and of all the churches, rectories, vicarages and chapels, and the nomination of the several curates, and all other spiritual benefits to the said wardenship belonging. The patent now granted recites previous patents, bearing date 29 Nov. 1603 and 10 May 1504. respectively, and confirms them.

1641. The Earl of Cork, being ordered by the Lord Deputy of Munster to maintain Youghal in person, against the troops of the Confederation, took up his residence at the College, which he strongly fortified. He also built five circular turrets at the angles of the park, and raised platforms of earth on which he placed ordnance to command the town and harbour. Several interesting letters, written by him from the beleagured town, are printed with the *State Letters* of his son Lord Orrery ; and his Diary, full of minute records of passing events is preserved, it is understood, at Lismore. Here he closed his eventful career, dying within the walls of the College, 15 Sept. 1643.

Saint John's House of Benedictines, Youghal—1360.—Saint John's House, situated in the Main or High-street of Youghal, was founded at this period. It was a dependency of the wealthy Benedictine Priory of St. John the Evangelist, at Waterford, established in that city in 1185 by John, Earl of Morton.

1366.—The Escheator accounts for 16s. 8d. of the rents and issues of a messuage with its appurtenances, in the town of Yoghill, co. Cork, now in the King's hands, because the Prior of St. John's, near Waterford, had acquired it contrary to the statute of mortmain, and granted it to Walter Kenneford and Isolda Hore. [Escheator's Roll, 39 to 41 Edw. III.]

1590.—31 Aug. It was found, that a messuage in the town of Yoghall county of Cork, commonly called St. John's House, of the annual value of 8d., was parcel of the possessions of the Priory of St. John the Evangelist, near Waterford. [Chief Remembrancer.]

Of this Chapel, the chief remains are the gables and South side-wall. The East end, through which was the entrance, is to the street, and still retains its pointed doorway with its moulded jambs and ornamented spandrils.

(To be continued.)

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1871.

THE PASSION PLAY AT OBER-AMMERGAU.

“I will hear that play ;
“ For never anything can be amiss
“ When simpleness and duty tender it.”

Midsummer Night's Dream.

PART I.—INTRODUCTORY.

IN a pleasant valley of the Highlands of Bavaria is a picturesque village, situated on the banks of the river Ammer, just where it issues from a deep and narrow gorge. The inhabitants, who are simple and primitive in their ways, depend for their livelihood chiefly on the art of wood carving, to which they are greatly devoted, and in which they have attained a high degree of perfection. This little village, which, from its position, is called Ober-Ammergau, is the last resting-place in Germany, and, I may almost say, in Europe, of a kind of religious drama that was common enough in times gone by.

It happened, in the year 1633, that a fearful pestilence swept over the districts of Southern Bavaria. For some weeks the secluded valley of the Ammer was free from its deadly breath. All ingress and egress was rigorously forbidden by the local authorities, and every pass was carefully guarded, to shut out the dreaded contagion. At length, however, a native of the place, who had been working in a neighbouring district, wishing to return to his family, eluded the vigilance of the sentries, entered the valley by a secret path, and unconsciously carried the infection with him. In two days he was a corpse. The contagion spread: and, before the end of three weeks, eighty-four of the villagers, about one-tenth of the whole community, had been laid in their graves.

The terrified survivors, having lost all hope in human aid, met together and bound themselves by a solemn promise to

God, if He would stay the plague, to give a representation every ten years of the Passion and Death of Christ. From that moment, as the story goes, the pestilence was arrested in its course; and they who were already infected quickly recovered. Faithful to their vow the grateful villagers gave the first representation in the following year, 1634: and, ever since, when the ten years have gone round, the Passion Play has been repeated, with constantly increasing taste and skill, and without any diminution of that reverent religious spirit in which it first began.

But the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau has not been without its vicissitudes. More than once its very existence was threatened; and for its preservation we are chiefly indebted to the pious zeal of the inhabitants. The history of this matter is well deserving of notice.

There are many reasons why the religious drama of the middle ages should be found ill-suited to the condition of modern society. First of all, it is scarcely reverent to expose the most sacred things to the ridicule, or even to the indifferent criticism of free-thinkers; and we all know there will be many free-thinkers, at the present day, amongst a large audience in a public theatre. Besides, many of these religious plays were mixed up with profane and grotesque associations; and, though they may have been looked upon with reverence in ruder times, they would be more likely now to excite feelings of repugnance and disgust. Again, there is the danger of such representations being turned to account, by ingenious speculators, as a means of making money. And, lastly, there is the temptation to intemperance and riot which is always present when large and promiscuous crowds of people are assembled together.

Influenced by these, and other such considerations, the Archbishop of Salzburg, in the year 1779, issued a manifesto with a view to the general suppression of religious plays. The civil power lent its aid; and, during the next ten years, vigorous measures were taken for their extinction in the various towns and villages of Southern Germany. But the people of Ober-Ammergau urged the religious obligation of their vow. They represented, too, that their Play, which had been conducted under the careful guidance of the Benedictine monks attached to the neighbouring monastery at Ettal, was free from the abuses that existed elsewhere. Their prayer was heard, and a special exception was made in their favour.

In the year 1810 the Passion Play seemed once again on the point of extinction. The monastery at Ettal had been unhappily suppressed some years before; and when the monks

were gone, there seemed to be no longer any sufficient guarantee that the religious character of the Play would be upheld. A decree was accordingly passed by the authorities at Munich forbidding its further celebration. The energetic villagers, however, sent deputies to the capital, to plead their cause before the king; and their Play was spared. From that time it has been left unmolested, and it now remains, tolerated rather than encouraged by the civil and ecclesiastical rulers, a solitary example of the ancient Christian drama.

In addition to the constant revision which the play received, for many generations, from the hands of the Benedictine monks, it has been greatly improved and embellished within the present century. When the monastery at Ettal was suppressed one of the monks, Dr. Ottman Weis, was made Parish Priest of Ober-Ammergau. By him the design of the Play was recast, and a great part of the text was written anew. About the same time the music which is now in use was composed by Rochus Dedler, the village organist and schoolmaster. Previous to the performance of 1850 the text was again revised by another Parish Priest, Anton Aloysius Daisenberger. This venerable man, after a quarter of a century spent in the active work of his parish, has retired upon a small stipend. But he still lives amongst his people; and during the preparations of the past year he was always ready to encourage them by his presence, and to assist them with his counsel. Neither the text nor the music has ever been published; and they are known only to those engaged in the performance.

As the first representation took place in the year 1634 it will naturally be asked how the decennial repetition has happened to fall on the year 1871. The answer to this question is easily given, and is not without interest. In the year 1680 it was deemed expedient that each recurring representation should correspond with the beginning of each successive decade of the century. To attain this end the time for the next performance was anticipated by four years; and the year 1680 was made, as it were, a new starting point, from which the successive periods, of ten years each, were thenceforth to be reckoned. The Play was, therefore, really due in 1870; and, in point of fact, it had been carefully prepared for that year, and five representations were given. But suddenly the war broke out: the call to arms rung through the peaceful village; and the players had to leave the stage for the battle field.

Some of the principal performers were, by royal authority, exempted from active service, and reserved for garrison duty. Joseph Mair, who represented Christ, had an interview with

the king, and obtained special leave to retain his long hair, that he might be ready to resume his part when the war should be over. The post assigned to him was in one of the military depots of Munich. But the bulk of the able-bodied villagers had to face the horrors of actual war. Seventy went out to fight; and of these, eight have not returned. Two are sleeping in the deep trenches of the blood-stained fields of Sedan; five died in the hospitals of France; and one has not been heard of, but his fate is scarcely doubtful.

As soon as the war was over the first thought at Ober-Ammergau was to continue the series of representations which had been so rudely interrupted. In each decennial celebration the practice is to give a performance once a week, for about three months of the summer: and if, on any occasion, the crowd should be so great that all cannot find a place in the theatre, an extra performance is given on the following day. This year, accordingly, the Play was acted, for the first time, on June the twenty-fourth; and it was repeated once or twice each week until the close of September.

Those who witnessed it early in the season came away greatly impressed with the religious spirit and artistic skill that marked the performance. The news spread abroad that a Highland village in Bavaria was giving to the world such a living picture of the great drama of Redemption as had never before been seen. The name of Ober-Ammergau became famous in the fashionable assemblies of great capitals; and, soon, crowds of eager tourists, and pious pilgrims, were hurrying over the highways of Europe to see the Passion Play of 1871.

My first impressions of Ober-Ammergau and its people may be of some interest to those who have not been there. I find them thus recorded, in my note book, at the time:—

“This is a wonderful place the day before the Passion Play. Though little better than a mountain hamlet, of, perhaps, a thousand inhabitants, it is suddenly inundated with a crowd of tourists, more than five times that number, who have been pouring in, for two days, from all parts of the world. Englishmen are here, of course, and Americans, in abundance. France is in mourning, and has sent but few representatives. But there are Italians in great numbers, and Russians, and even, it is said, some Jews. The bulk, however, of the visitors are Germans; and of these the greater part seem to have come to the Passion Play as to an act of religious worship. Among the English there are many of great note, and high title; peers, and peeresses, and members of Parliament, and dignitaries of the Church.

“Happy are they who, with wise foresight, wrote, weeks ago, to Madame Sebastian Veit, or Madame George Lang, or to Johann Zwink, or to one of the other village magnates, to engage rooms and tickets for the Play. When they arrive, travel-stained and weary, they are met with a cordial smile of welcome, they give their names, and, at once, an attendant is at hand to lead them off to some neighbouring house, where rooms have been neatly set in order, and religiously guarded for them. Those who come late, and have made no provision, must be content to wander about by day, and, at night, to lie in the hall or on the staircase of some hospitable dwelling, after the more fortunate lodgers have gone to bed.

“I had not written beforehand; but I arrived at mid-day on Saturday, and the Play was not to come off until Monday. So, being early in the field, I set to work at once, and, after some hunting about, got shelter and a welcome in the house of an humble family. Speaking comparatively I may say that I am luxuriously lodged. I have four clean, whitewashed walls, all to myself; a bed, a chair, a dressing table; and a second table, for writing at, which has been generously supplied by my hostess, not, I fear, without some sacrifice of her personal convenience. The room is lighted by two rustic windows. Over the bed is a crucifix with the inscription ‘Praised be Jesus Christ.’ My portmanteau rests on a large and venerable stove. And, when every thing is tidily stowed away, I have just room to move about without coming into collision with my furniture.

“After taking possession of my lodgings, I went out for half an hour to see the town; and on my return I found my table adorned with a bunch of wild roses in an earthenware mug. A lovely boy of three years old, and a pretty little girl of eight, were playing about in their bare feet. They were the children of my hostess, and are both to appear in the Play. We soon made friends, and, ever since, they have been my constant and most welcome visitors.

“This was Sunday morning. The Masses began at three o’clock in the Parish Church, and went on without intermission until ten. The Parish Mass, called the *Hoch Amt*, was at half-past eight. It was a Missa Cantata, with Organ, Orchestra, and Choir. The music was simply magnificent. I cannot say if it would entirely satisfy the critical taste of musical scholars. But it seemed to me to rise above the domain of criticism. It burst forth from the lofty organ gallery like a song of joy and triumph coming from a higher and a purer sphere. It swelled through the ample nave; it found its way into every heart; and few, I think, who heard

it, were disposed to weigh its merits according to the nice laws of musical science.

“Then the devotion of the people was something beautiful to see. Men, women, and children, all had their prayer books and their beads. Except for a very few minutes they knelt during the whole time of Mass, and were evidently absorbed in earnest, thoughtful prayer. It could not be that a people who had produced such music, in a secluded valley, were insensible to its influence. But they did not come to hear it as a fine display of art. It seemed rather to enter into their souls, and to blend with their prayers, as they knelt before the altar of God. Never before had I witnessed such a combination of refined art with simple and earnest devotion.

“After the Gospel the music was hushed for a time, and one of the priests gave a short practical sermon. The people, apparently out of respect, stood until he had finished the exordium of his discourse, and then sat down. When the sermon was ended the whole congregation joined in prayer aloud. It was a sort of recitative. The rich baritone of the men alternated with the contralto of the women; all the voices on each side being pitched in the same tone, and keeping perfect time. Mass was then resumed, and the organ again pealed forth. That such a service should have been given in a village Church and by the village people themselves is certainly wonderful: and it is not less admirable that, in the presence of so many strangers, it should have been performed with an entire absence of ostentation and display.

“Many English Protestants were there, and a large sprinkling of regular English tourists, a class not generally remarkable for good behaviour in Catholic Churches abroad. But here they seemed all deeply impressed with the religious character of the scene. They retired, for the most part, to the rere of the Church, and looked on with attention and respect. What the Play may be to-morrow it is hard to anticipate; but, from what I have seen to-day, I cannot doubt that it will be solemn and impressive.”

At daybreak on Monday, the 14th of August, every one was up and stirring in the village of Ober-Ammergau. Though it was not a festival of the Church Masses were celebrated from a very early hour; for the good people of Bavaria think it a duty to prepare themselves for the spectacle of the day by prayer and Holy Communion. Indeed, if one were to see only what went on within the walls of the Church, he would easily suppose that the crowd which, for two days, had been flocking into this mountain hamlet, were come on a pilgrimage

to worship at the Altar of God, and to say their beads before the colossal statue of our Lady.

The *Hoch Amt*, or Parish Mass, began at half-past five. When it was over, the band went playing through the village. This was the signal for the theatre to open: and a long stream of people, eager and enthusiastic, but singularly well conducted, poured down the winding street into the green meadow beyond, where, close to the clear waters of the Ammer, stood a clumsy looking wooden structure of gigantic size. At half-past six the doors were thrown open; and at seven the theatre was full; excepting that part where the seats were numbered and reserved. All the tickets for these seats had been secured a fortnight before; and they who had the good fortune to possess them would be time enough in another hour, for the Play was not to begin until eight. Not being amongst the fortunate few I went early with the crowd; and was rather pleased than otherwise at having a little time to look about me, and to glance over a programme of the Play, which I had picked up on my journey to Ammergau.

The theatre, though plain and simple in its construction, is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is intended. Between two rows of poplars, in the open meadow, a large space is enclosed by common timber planking. It is in shape an oblong rectangle. At one end is erected a stage of ample dimensions, 120 feet in breadth, 170 in depth. The rest of the enclosure is occupied by the spectators. Plain deal benches are laid straight across, which rise, one above another, from the stage to the extreme rear, and afford accommodation to about 5,000 people. The foremost part of the stage, to a depth of about fifty feet, has no scenery or decoration of any kind. It is here that the chief part of the action takes place. The back is divided into three compartments. That in the centre, which is much the largest, is itself a complete stage of the ordinary kind, with a dropscene in front, and scenery that changes according to the occasion. To the right of this central compartment, or inner stage, as it may be called, is the house of Annas, to the left, the house of Pilate, each with a balcony in front. These balconies, as will appear in the sequel, have a prominent part in the performance. Beyond the houses, on either hand, are the side compartments. They are provided with fixed scenery, which represents the streets of Jerusalem stretching away in the distance; and are much used for the various processions introduced throughout the Play. The theatre is open to the sky, except the inner stage, and about one-third of the benches, which are covered with a scantling of timber.

From every part of the theatre there is a good view of the stage. But, for the convenience of visitors, it has been railed off into various divisions. The scale of charges for admission is excessively low, ranging from ten pence to about five shillings: for the high-minded villagers have no thought of making money of their play. Out of the proceeds a small sum is paid to the principal performers; which is, however, scarcely sufficient to compensate them for the time expended in preparing their parts. Whatever surplus remains at the end of the season, after all expenses have been defrayed, is devoted to works of charity, or of public utility.

And here I cannot help observing that the same praiseworthy spirit prevails throughout every department of business in this primitive village. There is no disposition to extort money, notwithstanding the temptation offered by the enormous influx of visitors. At the inns and private houses the charges for accommodation are singularly moderate: and the beautiful carvings in wood, which have been wrought, in the long winter nights, with infinite labour and surprising skill, are sold at prices that but ill repay the artists.

It was a curious sight that vast audience of 5,000 people, as they sat waiting, in eager expectation, for the play to begin. Artists and critics, poets, historians, and philosophers, statesmen and soldiers, church dignitaries and men of science, people of noble rank and people of boundless wealth, were gathered together from the ends of the world, to witness the Drama of Redemption represented by the untravelled peasants of a mountain village. Yet these were but a handful, compared to the more humble pilgrims who had come from the neighbouring districts of Bavaria and the Tyrol, and from the various towns of Catholic Germany. Great numbers appeared in the peculiar costumes of their respective countries, which, by their bright colours and picturesque character, added not a little to the liveliness and variety of the scene. Perfect good humour prevailed; but there was no levity of manner, and any disposition to treat the Play with derision was sure to meet with instant and effective reproof.

Beyond this crowded mass of human beings, and beyond the wooden walls that bounded the enclosure where we sat, the green meadows of the valley were distinctly visible, shut in by a glorious amphitheatre of hills. At first the hills and valley were bathed in mist; and the pretty village of Unter-Ammergau, two miles away, was scarcely discernible as it lay sleeping in the gray light of morning. But, little by little, the mist cleared off, and the sun began to creep down the slopes of the mountain, giving to the corn fields a more golden

hue, and to the meadows a brighter green. The trees, waving in the wind, cast their long shadows down the valley towards the west; the cattle grazed lazily over the rich pastures; while at intervals, as if to heighten by contrast the beauty of the scene, large patches of cloud darkened, for a moment, the landscape as they flitted across the sky. It will be easily believed that a scene like this, together with the pure fresh breeze of the mountains, lent a very peculiar and picturesque charm to the rustic theatre of Ober-Ammergau.

The design of the Play is to represent, in living reality, a striking picture of our Lord's Passion, beginning with His triumphal entry into Jerusalem on the Sunday before He suffered, and ending with His Resurrection, and final Ascension into Heaven. All the events of the gospel narrative are portrayed with perfect fidelity: but the gospel narrative is expanded, and, so to speak, interpreted, by means of dialogue and dramatic action. This was, no doubt, a difficult and delicate task to undertake; but it has been accomplished with judgment and skill. The several narratives of the four Evangelists have been blended together into one complete history, the apparent contradictions or inconsistencies, with which every one is familiar who has made a special study of the Passion, have been admirably adjusted; and, in the dramatic additions which have been made, every word, every movement, is in beautiful harmony with the tone and spirit of the Sacred Text.

With a view to make the representation more impressive, and to bring out the intimate connexion between the Old Covenant and the New, the successive events in Our Lord's Passion are preceded by one or more types from the history of the Old Testament. These types are, perhaps, to an ordinary spectator, the greatest charm of the Play. They are represented on the inner stage by *Tableaux Vivants*, which display an artistic taste, and a skill for effective grouping, not unworthy of the most cultivated city in Europe, and certainly wonderful to discover among the peasantry of a mountain village.

There is a third element in the Passion Play which contributes, not a little, to its dramatic effect. At stated intervals, on the front stage, appears a bright robed train of choristers, whose part it is to explain, sometimes by monologue, but generally by song, the Tableau which is disclosed to view at the same moment, and to interpret its typical signification. They suggest appropriate sentiments, and express, in beautiful and touching poetry, the anxieties, fears, and hopes

which may be supposed to fill the breast of a spectator. Sometimes they pray to God to deliver Christ from the hands of His enemies; sometimes they expostulate with the Jews; sometimes they call upon the audience to walk in the footsteps of the suffering Redeemer.

It will be observed that the function assigned to this band of singers is almost exactly the same as that which belonged to the Chorus in the classical plays of ancient Greece. And yet, curiously enough, there is reason to believe that this feature in the Passion Play is not the result of any conscious imitation, but has been developed rather, in the course of time, by the exigencies of the performance, and the dramatic taste of the Highland peasantry. The German text of the choral odes has been published, and occasional specimens will be given in the following pages, from which a good idea may be formed of their general character and spirit.

PART II.—THE PERFORMANCE.

PROLOGUE.—*Illustrated with two Tableaux.*

Exactly at eight o'clock the boom of a cannon was heard, and the music of the Orchestra began. At first it was faint and low; but the vast audience was hushed into perfect stillness, and every note was distinctly heard. Gradually the music swelled in volume and power; and, as the first great bursts of harmony sent a thrill through every frame, the choristers entered from either side of the front stage, clad in white, embroidered, tunics, over which were gracefully flung brilliant mantles of scarlet, green, or blue. They moved across the stage with a singular grace and majesty of deportment, and formed in a line facing the audience. The leader was in the centre, and the rest, eighteen in number, ten men and eight women, were ranged at either side, according to height, the lowest being placed at the extremities of the line.

It was a lovely picture as they stood there in the morning sun, with their long flowing hair, and their brilliant robes, and their sandalled feet. Accompanied by the Orchestra they proclaim in song the great drama about to be represented. The human race, bowed down under the curse of God, is doomed to death. But mercy comes from Sion. The Eternal is not always angry with His people. He will redeem them in the blood of His only Son.

TABLEAU I. *Adam and Eve expelled from the Garden of Eden.—Gen. iii. 23, 24.* As they sing of "Man's first disobedience, and the fruit of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste brought death into the world," the curtain of the inner stage slowly rises behind. The Chorus, dividing in the middle, fall back, right and left, so as to

form a line on either side, stretching outwards from the extremities of the drop scene towards the front of the stage; and the first Tableau is disclosed to view. It is the Garden of Eden, with the tree of Life in the middle, and, at a little distance, the tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Flowers and fruits are blooming around, and all looks fair and pleasant. But an Angel stands in front, and guards the entrance, with his bright sword lifted aloft and gleaming in the sun. Adam and Eve are seen on the right, in the act of retiring. They glance at the Angel, and seem to start back with a look of awe and shame. After a few minutes, during which the figures remain motionless as statues, the dropscene falls, the Chorus form again into a single line, and announce the coming of a Redeemer.

TABLEAU II. *The Symbol of Redemption.*—As the curtain rises on the second Tableau the Chorus again divide and fall back as before. A large Cross is seen erect in the background. Around it are grouped a number of children on their knees, and an Angel points to it as the Symbol of Redemption. To complete the picture the choristers, too, fall upon their knees; and, with the accompaniment of plaintive music, the following chant is sung:—

„Sw'ger, höre deine Kinder Stammeln,
Weil ein Kind ja nichts als stammeln kann;
Die beim großen Dpfer sich versammeln,
Betten Dich, voll heil'ger Ehrfurcht, an.“

The curtain falls, and the chant is then addressed to the audience in words which admirably express the moral of the Play.

„Folget dem Versöhner nun zur Seite,
Biß er seinen rauhen Dornenspad
Durchgelaufen und, im heißen Streite,
Blutend für uns ausgekämpfet hat.“

These two pictures—Man fallen by Sin, and Redeemed by the Cross—together with the chant of the Chorus which reaches the hearts of all, constitute a beautiful introduction to the drama of the Passion. The effect is immediate and universal. Every one is impressed with the solemnity, the religious spirit, the good taste, that mark the performance. Prejudice, if it existed, is disarmed; the apprehension of irreverence or profanation is dispelled. When the chant is ended the Chorus withdraw behind the scenes on either side, and the First Act of the Passion Play begins.

ACT I.

TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

Joyful shouts are heard in the distance: presently, winding down the streets of Jerusalem, a motley crowd is seen of men

and women, youths and maidens and little children. They are clad in oriental dresses; they carry green branches in their hands, and cry out, as they move along, "Hosannah to the Son of David." In the midst of the throng is a striking figure, seated on an ass, and clothed in a long flowing purple robe, with a crimson cloak. This is Joseph Mair who represents the Christ. He is about six feet in height, of graceful form, and calm dignified deportment. His features have an olive tint, and convey the idea of serious thought and patient endurance. In his manner there is a wonderful combination of majesty with gentleness and simplicity. His jet black hair is parted down the middle and falls loosely over his shoulders. Around him are grouped the twelve Apostles, dressed in similar robes, but of plainer material and more gaudy colours. Each carries a staff in his hand: and already, in their looks and bearing, one may detect the traces of those various characteristics which are developed as the Play proceeds.

Meanwhile the Chief Priests and Scribes approach from the opposite side of the stage, and confront the Christ. They question him with haughty arrogance, and hear, with ill-disguised rage and jealousy, the shouts and applause of the people. At this time there could not have been less than two hundred people on the stage; and all, even to the little children led by the hand, performed their parts with simple good taste, without any apparent effort, or any straining after theatrical effect.

While all eyes are fixed on the great Central Figure, for the first time brought face to face with his enemies, the curtain of the inner stage is uplifted, and before us is the temple, where money-changers are driving bargains, and dealers are buying and selling. Christ enters amongst them, with great dignity, as one who has power. He overturns the tables of the money changers, and, making a scourge of small cords, he drives out of the temple those who were buying and selling, using the words of Scripture: "It is written, 'My house is a house of prayer': but you have made it a den of thieves."

An uproar ensues. The Pharisees, instigated by wounded pride, and the money changers by avarice, make common cause together. They charge Christ with rebellion against the law of Moses and the Prophets. The Chief Priests try to excite a rising among the people, and cry out: "With us all that belong to Moses; Moses is our Prophet. Revenge! Revenge!" Mildly, but with an air of authority, Christ rebukes their hypocrisy; and then, taking leave of the crowd, turns away in the direction of Bethania.

ACT II.

THE HIGH COURT OF THE JEWS IN COUNCIL.

TABLEAU. *The Brethren of Joseph conspire against him.—Gen. xxxvii. 18—24.* The Chorus, entering as before, introduce by song the story of Joseph. They tell how his brothers, instigated by jealousy, conspire together for his destruction; and then they explain how the Scribes and Pharisees were driven by the same evil passion to conspire against our Lord. Meanwhile the curtain of the inner stage rises; they fall back in two lines, right and left; and the Tableau appears. It is the wilderness of Dothain. The pit is there into which Joseph has been thrown. Two of his brothers are looking into it: the rest are standing about in groups. All is motionless, and the Chorus sings:—

„Sehet dort, der Träumer kommt,
 Er will, schrei'n sie unverschämt,
 Als ein König uns regieren.
 Fort mit diesem Schwärmer, fort!
 Ha! in der Cisterne dort
 Mag er seinen Plan ausführen.“

The curtain falls, and the significance of the type is explained by the Chorus.

„So nach des Gerechten Blut
 Dürstet jene Natterbrut;
 Er ist, schrei'n sie, uns entgegen;
 Unfre Ehre liegt daran—
 Alles ist ihm zugethan—
 Wandelt nicht nach unsern Wegen.
 „Kommet, lasset uns ihn tödten,
 Niemand kann und mag ihn retten.
 Laßt uns fest darauf besteh'n;
 Fort, er soll zu Grunde geh'n.“

As the Chorus retires the curtain of the inner stage is drawn up, and before us, sitting in council, is the Sanhedrin, the great High Court of the Jews. Annas, with snow-white beard, and Caiphas, a much younger and more vigorous looking man, of commanding aspect, occupy the principal seats, in the centre of the background. The Chief Priests and the Pharisees are ranged around on elevated benches, and the Scribes are seated at desks, in the middle of the hall. They make a brilliant show with their varied and gorgeous costumes, which, in shape and character, are designed, as far as may be, according to the evidence of Scripture illustrated by archaeological research.

The debate begins; and it soon becomes evident that their

hearts are filled with pride and envy. "The whole world runs after him," they say. But they know how to cloak their evil passions under a mantle of virtue. It is not their pride that is hurt, no; it is religion and the people that are in danger. "The Romans will come and take away our place and nation." Many speeches are made, but they all tend in the same direction; and the words of the High Priest are echoed from every bench, "It is better one man should die and that the whole nation perish not."

It only remained to discover some means by which they may get possession of Christ without exciting a tumult among the people. They call in the aid of the money changers, whose counters were overturned by our Lord in the Temple. One of these men is acquainted with Judas. He eagerly enters into the wicked designs of the Court: he engages to test the fidelity of Judas, and, by promises of gold, to induce him to deliver up his Master. With this the debate is closed, and the curtain falls.

ACT III.

CHRIST IN BETHANIA BEFORE HIS PASSION.

TABLEAU I. *Young Tobias taking leave of his Parents.—Tob. v. 20—28.* This Tableau and the one that follows are intended to typify the parting of Christ from his Blessed Mother and His friends in Bethania, when the hour of His Passion had arrived. The young Tobias appears in the freshness of youth, with a sorrowful and dejected countenance. One hand he gives to the Archangel Raphael, who stands by his side; the other is held in the grasp of his weeping mother and of his old, blind, father. In the background is the paternal dwelling, and the maid servants are weeping at the door. As the curtain rises the Chorus sings:—

„Freunde, welch' ein herber Schmerz
Folterte das Mutterherz,
Als Tobias an der hand
Raphaels in fremdes Land
Auf Befehl des Vaters eilte!

„Unter tausend Weh' und Ach
Ruft sie dem Geliebten nach:
Komme, ach! verweile nicht,
Meines herzens Trost und Licht,
Komme, komme, bald zurück!“

TABLEAU II. *The Bride of the Canticles laments the absence of her Beloved.—Cant. v. 8—17.* The scene is a garden in fairest bloom. The Bride is there in her bridal robes. Around her are grouped the daughters of Jerusalem, arrayed in white, with girdles of blue, and adorned with wreaths of flowers. In the midst of all this

show of joyousness the Bride is sad and disconsolate. She looks to the maidens for comfort, and they return her look with glances of sympathy. All the figures remain fixed as marble statues while the choral ode is sung.

- „Wo ist er hin? Wo ist er hin,
Der Schöne aller Schönen?
Mein Auge weinet, ach! um ihn
Der Liebe heiße Thränen.
- „Ach, komme doch! ach, komme doch!
Sieh diese Thränen fließen:
Geliebter, wie? Du zögerst noch
Dich an mein Herz zu schließen?
- „Mein Auge forschet überall
Nach Dir auf allen Wegen;
Und mit der Sonne erstem Strahl
Eilt Dir mein Herz entgegen.“

The Chorus retires and Christ appears with his twelve Apostles, in the village of Bethania, discoursing with them on his approaching Passion. He is met by Simon, who invites him to come and sup at his house. The invitation is graciously accepted, and they all go out together. A moment after, the curtain of the inner stage rises, and we are shown a great hall in the house of Simon.

The supper table is laid. Our Lord enters with his Apostles, and they take their seats. Martha waits upon the guests: while Mary Magdalen, bearing in her hand a box of precious ointment, softly enters the hall, and glances hastily around. As soon as her eyes fall on the figure of Christ she throws herself prostrate before him, and then rising, pours the ointment over his head. Afterwards, breaking the box, she anoints his feet and wipes them lovingly with her long and flowing hair.

Judas complains of the waste with an earnestness that half reveals his secret lust of money. He argues, with an air of piety, that the ointment might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and given to the poor. Some of the other Apostles, too, though with greater composure of manner, condemn the waste, and murmur against Mary Magdalen. Then follows the gentle rebuke of Christ in the words of Scripture, "Why trouble ye this woman? She hath wrought a good work upon me. For the poor you have always with you, but me you have not always."

Going out from the supper room, Christ meets his mother, who has come, attended by some faithful friends, to bid him a last farewell. The overwhelming grief of the mother, the tenderness and dignity of the son, were portrayed in this scene

with taste and feeling. Nevertheless I could not help thinking that the performance was here, for the first time, inadequate to the occasion. Indeed the task was too much for human powers: and it is scarcely a censure to say that Franzisca Flunger, who acted the part of our Blessed Lady, failed to express fully that singular combination of love, and grief, and reverence, which must have filled the heart of Mary when she stretched out her arms to embrace, for the last time, Him who was at once her Son and her God.

ACT IV.

CHRIST'S LAST JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM.

TABLEAU. *Queen Vasthi rejected by Assuerus; Esther chosen in her stead.*—Esther i. ii. This Tableau, which symbolizes the rejection of the Jews and the call of the Gentiles, is chiefly rendered effective by the beautiful chant of the Chorus.

„Jerusalem, Jerusalem!
 Verkehre dich zu deinem Gott!
 Verachte nicht mit Frevelspott
 Den Mahnungsruf der Gnade;
 Daß nicht, Unsel'ge, über dich
 Dereinst in vollen Schalen sich
 Des Höchsten Grimm entlade.

„Doch, ach!—ach, die Propheten=mörderin—
 Sie taumelt fort in ihrem bösen Sinn.
 Darum, so spricht der Herr,
 Dieß Volk will ich nicht mehr.“

At this point the curtain rises. King Assuerus, seated on his throne, and surrounded by his courtiers, is seen in the act of choosing for his Queen the humble Esther, instead of Vasthi, whom he spurns for disobedience. Meanwhile the choral ode continues.

„Seht Vasthi, seht! die Stolze wird verstoßen!
 Ein Bild, was mit der Synagog der Herr beschlossen.

„Entferne dich von meinem Throne,
 Du Stolzes Weib! unwerth der Krone!
 So spricht Assuerus ganz ergrimmt.
 Dir, schöne Esther! dir sei heute,
 Zu herrschen an des Königs Seite,
 Hier dieser Königsthron bestimmt.

„Die Zeit der Gnade ist verfloßen;
 Dieß stolze Volk will ich verstoßen,
 So wahr ich lebe! spricht der Herr.
 Ein besser Volk wird er sich wählen,
 Mit ihm auf ewig sich vermählen,
 Wie mit der Esther Assuer.“

The choristers retire, and Christ is seen approaching with his Apostles, on his last journey to Jerusalem. When he comes in sight of the unhappy city, he laments over it, and bewails its future desolation. Peter and John get instructions to go before and prepare the Passover. They set forth at once, having first, on their knees, received their Master's blessing. As the Saviour touches on the subject of his impending Passion, Judas impudently asks if he will not make some provision for his disciples; and harps again on the wasteful expenditure of the three hundred pence. The other Apostles look at him with an expression of surprise and indignation; the Saviour administers a gentle and tender rebuke.

Meanwhile they approach the city: but Judas lags behind. His fingers clutch the almost empty money bag that hangs from his girdle; and he murmurs at his hard service and scanty reward. Avarice and discontent are gnawing at his heart. While he is dallying with his thoughts, the money changers sent by the Chief Priests come to tempt him. First one, then another, appears upon the scene. For a time he is undecided. A conflict of good and evil is going on within him. He is restless and uneasy: one moment he listens to the insidious promises of the tempters; in the next, he seems to drive them away. He resolves and he changes his mind. In the end he becomes desperate: he gives his word, appoints a time to appear before the Sanhedrin, and then hurries after his Divine Master to the supper room. This scene is admirable in every way; in the conception of the author, as well as in the performance of the actor. It traces very intelligibly the headlong fall of Judas; and presents a fearful picture of the power which passion exercises when it once becomes dominant in the soul.

A C T V.

THE LAST SUPPER.

TABLEAU I. *The Manna in the Desert.*—*Exod.* xvi. 4—15. The people of Israel are seen gathered together in the wilderness of Sin. Manna is coming down upon them from Heaven, and they are looking up in wonder and thankfulness. Men, women, and children, to the number of about three hundred, clad in every variety of costume appropriate to their condition in life, take part in this living picture; which is not less remarkable for the perfect stillness of each individual figure than for the artistic effect of the whole group. While the spectators gaze upon the scene with admiration a choral ode explains the type, and reminds the audience that, whereas they

who ate of the Manna in the desert are dead, they who eat of the Living Bread in the New Covenant shall live for ever.

„Das Wunder in der Wüste Sin --
Zeigt auf das Mahl des neuen Bundes hin.
Gut ist der Herr, gut ist der Herr!
Das Volk, das hungert, sättigt er
Mit einer neuen Speise
Auf wunderbare Weise.

„Der Tod doch raffte alle hin,
Die aßen in der Wüste Sin
Dieß Brod im Ueberflusse ;
Des neuen Bundes heilig Brod
Bewahrt die Seele vor dem Tod
Beim würdigen Genuße.“

TABLEAU II. *The Great Bunch of Grapes carried home from the Land of Chanaan.*—Numb. xiii. 24. The inner stage is again crowded with the people of Israel; while, through their midst, a monster bunch of grapes is borne on a lever by two of the spies from the Land of Chanaan. This type is explained in like manner by a choral ode.

„Gut ist der Herr, gut ist der Herr!
Dem Volke einstens hatte er
Den besten Saft der Reben
Aus Kanaan gegeben.

„Doch dieß Gewächse der Natur
War zum Bedarf des Leibes nur
Bestimmt nach Gottes Willen.
Des neuen Bundes heil'ger Wein
Wird selbst das Blut des Sohnes sein,
Der Seele durst zu stillen.“

The reality quickly follows on the type. Peter and John, who were sent forward to make ready the Passover, now appear in the streets of Jerusalem. They meet the man "carrying a pitcher of water." They accost him; and he takes them to his master. The supper room is already laid out; and in a few minutes Christ arrives with the rest of the party. When he meets the good man of the house he gives him his blessing, "Peace be with thee and with thy whole house." He then sits down to table with his twelve Apostles.

The scene that follows exhibits, perhaps, more than other in the Play, the deep Scriptural learning, and the rare artistic taste, which seem to have found a home in the valley of Ammergau. Not to speak of the dramatic difficulties that surround such a subject, every one knows that the mere arrangement of the incidents which cluster round the Last

Supper has been a puzzle to commentators from the beginning. It was necessary to make a choice between a great variety of conflicting opinions : and the choice which has been made shows good judgment and a minute knowledge of the Sacred Text. First comes the Paschal meal : towards the close of it, a strife arises among the Apostles which of them should seem to be greater : then follows the Washing of the Feet, in which our Lord gives a signal example of humility : next the Institution of the Eucharist : afterwards, the announcement is made that "one of you will betray me," but so that the Apostles remain uncertain which of them it is : lastly, the sop is given and Judas goes out.

Nothing could be more admirable than the air of majesty and solemn reverence with which the chief part in all these incidents was enacted by Joseph Mair. When he took the bread in his hands, and, rising from the table, lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and pronounced those sacred words so familiar to all Christians, the audience was hushed into breathless silence. He distributed the Eucharist to the twelve, beginning on his right hand, and going round to each in succession, until he came back again to his own place. The Apostles, though they remained sitting, received it with extraordinary reverence : and, when the Christ had passed by, each of them was seen with his head bowed down and his hands clasped in prayer. Judas alone was an exception ; who acted his part in the ceremony with a cold formality and a look of conscious guilt.

Soon after the distribution of the Eucharist followed the words of Christ, "Amen, I say to you, that one of you is about to betray me." Grief and alarm are depicted on every face. One after another, they ask, stretching over the table, "Is it I, Lord?" He answers, "One of the twelve, one who dippeth his hand with me in the dish." Even Judas tries to assume an air of concern, and asks, though not with the same earnestness as the rest, "Master, is it I?" The answer is given to himself, and is not perceived by the other Apostles; at least not by all of them, "Thou hast said it." Then John, leaning on the bosom of Christ, asks, at the suggestion of Peter, "Who is it, Lord?" He receives, but only for himself, the answer, "It is he to whom I shall give the sop when I have dipped it." And the sop is given to Judas with the words, "What thou dost, do quickly." Judas receives it, and hastens out of the room, with a desperate resolve depicted on his countenance to finish the deed of evil he has begun.

The Apostles, still uncertain who the traitor is, are startled at the sudden departure of Judas, and their suspicions are aroused. Thomas at once asks, "Where is Judas gone?"

Various suggestions are made, but the subject is not pursued ; for Christ takes up the discourse with the words, " My little children, yet a little while I am with you. You shall seek me, and, as I said to the Jews, ' Whither I go you cannot come, ' so I say to you now. A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another as I have loved you. By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, that you have love one for another." Then Peter cries out, with great earnestness, " Lord, whither goest thou ?" The Saviour answers, " Whither I go thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow hereafter." Hereupon Peter protests, " Why cannot I follow thee now ? I will lay down my life for thee." But Christ replies, with a look of admonition, " Thou wilt lay down thy life for me ! Amen, amen, I say to thee, before the cock shall crow thou wilt deny me thrice." After these words they say a prayer in common, and all go out together on the way to Gethsemani.

ACT VI.

JUDAS SELLS HIS MASTER FOR THIRTY PIECES OF SILVER.

TABLEAU. *Joseph sold by his Brethren to the Ismaelite Merchants from Galaad.*—Gen. xxxvii. 25—31. The wilderness of Dothain is again before us. Joseph has been drawn out of the pit, and is standing in the background, imploring for mercy by his looks. But he implores in vain: he has been sold by his brothers for twenty pieces of silver;—a fitting type of the Saviour of the world sold for money by his chosen disciple. The Ismaelite merchants are seen in the act of paying down the price of blood. On one side are their camels laden with merchandise ; on the other, some of Joseph's brothers are staining his many-coloured coat in the blood of a kid. The chant of the Chorus is simple and touching.

- „ Was bietet für den Knaben ihr ?
 So sprechen Brüder, wenn euch wir
 Ihn käuflich übergeben ?
 Sie geben bald um den Gewinn
 Von zwanzig Silberlingen hin
 Des Bruders Blut und Leben.
- „ Was gebet ihr ?—wie lohnt ihr mich ?
 Spricht der Iskariot, wenn ich
 Den Meister euch verrathe ?
 Um dreißig Silberlinge schließt
 Den Blutbund er, und Jesus ist
 Verkauft dem hohen Rathe.
- „ Was hier sich uns vor Augen stellt
 Ist ein getreues Bild der Welt :
 Wie oft habt ihr durch eure Thaten
 Auch euren Gott verkauft, verrathen !"

When the music has ceased the curtain rises, and we find ourselves again in the presence of the High Court of the Sanhedrin, with the Chief Priests and the Pharisees assembled in Council. Judas is brought before them. After some debate a bargain is agreed to; and he engages to deliver Christ into their hands for thirty pieces of silver. Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus raise their voices against this iniquitous proceeding. But they only bring down upon themselves the angry maledictions of Caiphas: and finding that their protest is of no avail they leave the Court.

In the meantime the money is brought in by one of the Scribes, and counted out to Judas. Nervously he clutches each coin as it drops on the table; and counts the whole over again, with an eagerness that forcibly portrays the absorbing passion of his soul. A time and place are appointed for the deed of treachery, and the wretched man, buckling on his money bag to his girdle, hurries away from the scene of his guilty compact. The Pharisees, however, too wise in the wisdom of the world to trust a traitor's word, appoint one of their number to keep him in sight. Congratulations are now exchanged between the members of the Council on the success of their plans for the capture of Christ; and, as the curtain falls, the cry is raised on every side, "To death with him, to death with him, the enemy of our fathers."

ACT VII.

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN.

This Act, which is preceded by two distinct Tableaux, is introduced by a choral ode calling on the audience, in a plaintive strain, to come and witness, "first in figure, then in truth, the mournful tragedy of Gethsemani."

„Bald ist vollbracht, bald ist vollbracht
 Die schrecklichste der Thaten;
 Ach! heute noch, in dieser Nacht
 Wird Judas ihn verrathen.
 O kommet Alle, — kommet dann
 Und sehet mit die Leiden an;
 Im Schatten erst und bald im Lichte
 Erscheinet sie
 Die traurigste Geschichte
 Von Gethsemani.“

TABLEAU I. *Adam toiling for his Bread in the Sweat of his Brow.*—
 Gen. iii. 17—19. This picture is intended to shadow forth the
 Agony of our Lord on the Mount of Olives. As Adam was

condemned, in punishment for sin, to eat his bread in the sweat of his face, so too, in punishment for sin, the Redeemer was covered with a sweat of blood in the Garden of Gethsemani. When the curtain rises Adam, clothed in sheepskins, is seen laboriously tilling the earth. In one hand he holds a spade; with the other he wipes the sweat from his forehead. Eve sits mournfully by with a baby in her arms. Two of her children, in the background, are tearing up thorns and thistles; two others, of more tender years, are playing with a lamb; and one holds an apple in its hand. The Chorus interprets the type and points the moral of the scene.

„D wie sauer, o wie heiß
 Wird es Vater Adam nicht!
 Ach! es fällt ein Strom von Schweiß
 Ueber Stirn und Angesicht. —
 Dieses ist die Frucht der Sünde,
 Gottes Fluch drückt die Natur;
 Darum gibt bei saurem Schweiß,
 Und bei mühevolem Fleiße,
 Sie die Früchte sparsam nur.

„So wird's unserm Jesus heiß,
 Wenn er auf dem Delberg ringt,
 Daß ein Strom von blut'gem Schweiß
 Ihm durch alle Glieder dringt.
 Dieses ist der Kampf der Sünde;
 Für uns kämpfet ihn der Herr,
 Kämpfet ihn in seinem Blute,
 Zittert, bebet; doch mit Muthe
 Trinkt den Kelch der Leiden an.“

TABLEAU II. *Joab, on pretence of embracing Amasa, Plunges a Sword into his Body.*—II. *Kings* xx. 8—10. Joab, captain of the host of David, is seen near the rock of Gabaon, greeting Amasa with a kiss, while at the same time, he basely murders him—a striking type of Judas who, by a kiss, delivers up Christ into the hands of his enemies. This Tableau gives occasion to a highly poetic address to the rocks of Gabaon.

When the choral chant is ended the garden of Gethsemani is disclosed to view on the inner stage. From behind the scenes Christ advances with his Apostles, and the Agony begins. Leaving the rest of his Apostles behind he takes with him Peter, James, and John, and he says to them, “My soul is sorrowful even unto death: stay you here and watch with me.” Then going to a little distance he prays, “Father thou canst do all things: if it be possible let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless not my will be done but thine.” Three times he repeats this prayer, and three times he falls

to the earth, worn out with suffering and fatigue. In the depth of his bitter agony an Angel comes from Heaven to comfort him. But when at length he rises from the earth, drops of blood stand out upon his face and trickle down on his purple robe. All this time his chosen Apostles sleep, and when awakened they sleep again.

But Judas, who sleeps not, comes now with a crowd of soldiers and attendants, and saluting his Divine Master, betrays him with a kiss. The soldiers are seized with a sudden awe: at the sound of the Saviour's voice they start back, and fall prostrate to the ground. Peter, with characteristic impetuosity, draws his sword and cuts off the ear of Malchus. For this he is reprov'd by Christ, and the wounded man is made whole. Then the soldiers, gathering courage from the gentle words and looks of the Saviour, surround him, bind his hands behind his back, and lead him off captive to the city. The terrified Apostles fly in all directions: but, after a little, Peter and John cautiously venture back, and follow the procession at a distance.

This scene, in which the figure and face of Joseph Mair presented, in a surprising degree, that air of serene majesty and patient resignation which has been already noticed, brought home to every mind the utter loneliness and desolation of our Lord in the Garden of Olives. The vast audience was deeply and sensibly affected. None could behold without emotion that sad pale face bedewed with blood, and that stately form bowed down to the earth from intensity of suffering. For a few minutes the time and place were forgotten; the theatre and the stage disappeared from view; and the sad reality itself was alone present to the mind, and pictured on the imagination.

At this point an interval of an hour was allowed for rest and refreshment. It was a quarter to twelve o'clock: and the Play had gone on continuously for nearly four hours without the slightest hesitation or failure on the part of the performers, without any symptom of lassitude or inattention on the part of the audience. A change of scene was welcome to every one, and a release from the hard benches of the theatre. In a few minutes the streets of the village were filled with busy groups of men and women, greetings were hurriedly exchanged, and many availed themselves of the opportunity to snatch a hasty repast.

THE CHURCHES OF IRELAND—THEIR STORY AND THEIR LESSON.¹

“*Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine Virtutum.*”—*Ps. lxxxiii. 1.*

THE Festival which the Church calls on us to celebrate to-day is one which unites the sacred memories of the past with the zeal and activity of the present. It is the Feast of the Dedication of all the Churches of Ireland. It commemorates all the homes of the Most Blessed Sacrament—all the shrines wherein the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass has ever been celebrated—every Church throughout the length and breadth of the land, that from the first planting of the Christian Faith to this day has been erected to the honor and glory of God. For all these we are to thank the goodness and mercy of Almighty God. In other words, we are to thank Him for the foundation and the conservation of the Christian religion in Ireland, as manifested in all those places that once were hallowed by the blessing of the Church, and wherein the Divine praises were chanted, and the Word of God taught, and the people of God edified. Certainly, this Feast takes a very wide range. It goes back to the primitive days of St. Patrick and St. Brigid, and it extends even to our own times. To do it justice would be to give a history of the Catholic religion in Ireland from its beginning until now. But without entering upon so wide a field, I will select two periods of that eventful history, and I will offer to you a few remarks—(1) on the early Churches of Ireland, and (2) on the Churches of the present day.

1. And, first with respect to the early Churches of Ireland: I need not remind you, who live so near the Vales of Glendalough, of what kind were the very old Churches of our land. All over the country the ruins still exist of these early churches. Small in size, built of huge massive stone, often grouped together in numbers from five to seven, their round towers silently pointing to Heaven, they form venerable memorials of days that have passed away. You find these Churches at Glendalough, at Clonmacnoise, at Kildare, at Clondalkin, at Kells, at Cashel, at Monasterboise, sometimes with, and sometimes without, the round tower. They vary in age from the fifth era of the Christian religion to the eleventh. For the most part, they stand in solitary places, in lonely valleys, in the recesses of the mountains, or where once, as at Kildare and Derry, existed extensive forests. There they still remain desolate and alone. They have defied the ravages of time;

¹ A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Ovoca, on the Feast of the Dedication of the Churches of Ireland, 1871. By William Gowan Todd, D.D.

they have outlived many a revolution; they have escaped even the wantonness of destruction. They have done their work, and in their ruin they remain a witness and a memorial of the past. Those who built them once offered the Holy Sacrifice within their walls, sang the Divine Office, and taught the Christian Doctrine. And even now, they "being dead yet speak;" these silent relics of the past still teach and preach: and I want you, dear brethren, to attend with care to the lesson that, with the eloquence of religious silence, they are continually inculcating upon us.

The lesson may be stated in a few words. If you wish to sanctify others, you must begin by sanctifying yourself. The early saints of Ireland who built these ancient Churches, were men whose hearts were filled with the love of God, and whose souls burned with a holy zeal for the salvation of others. They lived, too, in the midst of a people who, at that time, had no knowledge of the truth. The darkness of heathenism reigned over the land. These great saints saw thousands of souls perishing before their eyes, unable to shake off the dominion of Satan, groping after God, and not successful in finding Him. They were their own race and people; and is it possible that they, as Christians, could have looked on the mass of Paganism that surrounded them, without a desire to rescue their own flesh and blood from an ignorance so fatal? Yet, what did they do? They quitted the world which they wanted to save. They sought silence and loneliness; or, rather, they went after God into the deepest forests and into the wildest solitudes. There they lived in prayer and in penitence. They made satisfaction for the sins around them by their own austerities. And it was in this way that they converted the nation. They tried to hide themselves from men that they might live more entirely in severity of penance, and in contemplation of God. And yet they could not remain unknown. Everywhere the sweet odour of their sanctity diffused itself around. The air was filled with it. A powerful attraction acted upon all who came within reach of those holy servants of God. The world was conquered by those who had spurned and forsaken it, and the more thoroughly they forsook it, the more completely its influence was undermined. As multitudes followed our Blessed Lord into the desert places, so multitudes likewise followed these His servants. They scarcely knew why they did so. The fascination of a supernatural sanctity overawed them. A story is told of the son of a great chieftain in Kerry, who, while keeping his father's flocks, was attracted by hearing a bishop and his followers chanting in the forest the Divine Office of the Church. Mochuda,

for so the young man was called, left his flock and followed these holy men at a distance, captivated by the music to which he was listening. The holy servants of God entered their cells, still continuing to sing the Divine praises. Mochuda, not daring to go in along with them, remained outside all through the night—for all through the night these religious kept up their holy song. Nor was this an unusual occurrence; for we have it on undoubted authority, that, at the monastery of Benchor, or Bangor, in Ulster, the chanting of the psalms was sustained by alternate choirs of monks, without ceasing, by day and by night. In like manner, the holy men whose sweet melody attracted Mochuda, continued their sacred song throughout the night. And Mochuda stood listening to them. In the morning his father finding him still rivetted to the spot, gently rebuked him for not returning home with the flock. Mochuda made this excuse: "I did not return home, because I was ravished by the Divine song which I have heard sung by the holy clergy; would to God I were with them, that I might learn to sing as they do." His father pressed upon him to remain with him in the world, and he offered him all the inducements which he thought most likely to attract a youth of noble blood. "I want only one thing," was the young man's firm reply; "I want to learn the chant, which I have heard sung by the saints of God." His father at last consented, and Mochuda became a Christian, and a Monk. This was the way in which souls were gained to God by thousands. The odour of sanctity, and the sacred song of the Church, filled the whole atmosphere, and gently withdrew multitudes from lust and rapine, and the worship of false gods. I do not, indeed, mean to say, that no other means of conversion were adopted. St. Patrick preached to the Leinster King at Tara, and he went from one end of the country to the other preaching and baptising. Other saints walked in his steps. Still these missionaries never forgot the power and efficacy of solitude. St. Patrick passed his Lents on the heights of that grand mountain in the West, which to this day is a station of prayer and penance to the thousands who frequent it. He, and those who walked in his steps, bore testimony against the world by their preaching; but they converted it by their penitence and prayer, and by their secret communing with God.

Nor was this all. Our Lord said, that if He were lifted up from the earth, He would draw all men unto Him; and He fulfilled His words, in His own Person, and through the instrumentality of His saints. They not only drew to Christ the people around them, but thousands came from afar, at-

tracted by the reports of their knowledge and their piety. The schools were famous which the Irish saints founded at Clonard, and Lismore, and Moville. Difficult as it was to travel in those days, we still find that many sought Ireland from distant parts of Europe. The early saints of England almost all studied in Ireland. Men came from the east and the west, from the north and the south, in search of knowledge and religion, penetrating even as far as to the Isles of Aran. And having satiated their thirst for knowledge, by learning Divine science from the lips of the wise men of our country, they went back again into their own lands, to spread the faith, and to dispel the darkness of Pagan error.

And once more. In the natural order around us, the trees bring forth their fruit, and after the fruit comes the seed-time, and when the seed is ripe, it scatters itself on all sides, and soon takes root and springs upward. So it was with the Christians of which our old Churches and towers are memorials. The island became too narrow to restrain that love of God which then burned within their hearts. They carried the faith into the neighbouring countries. They went to Scotland, England, Gaul, and Switzerland. But they still followed the same system. Columba made his settlement at Iona, a desolate island on the western coast of Scotland. Thence his disciples came to the Isle of Lindisfarne, in the east of England; and Columban hid himself in the forests of Gaul, whence he spread the faith of Christ in districts where the Cross had not until then been raised. This is the story, and this is the lesson, which the round towers, and the unadorned Churches of ancient Ireland, tell us, from amidst their ruins and their silence. They tell us of the conversion of whole nations to the faith of Christ. They tell us of missionaries carrying the joyful tidings of the Gospel of Christ even to the cold regions of Iceland. They tell us of a wonderful activity of mind and intellect, drawing to the shores of Ireland multitudes who sought spiritual and other learning. They tell us how all this was achieved, not by noise and clamour, not by feverish utterance and intemperate zeal; but by seeking, before all things, personal union with God, choosing the solitude which brought them closer to Him, in preference to the brightest charms of a world which knew Him not. "This is the victory which overcometh the world, even our Faith."

2. I must pass over the long period of our history, from the Norman invasion to the sixteenth century, and I also pass over the times of persecution, when the Catholic Faith was proscribed throughout this Catholic land, when the inheritance of the Church passed into the possession of strangers,

and when the Holy Mysteries of our religion were offered up in secret, at the risk of the lives of the priests of the Church. These times bring with them sad and bitter memories, and it is not so long since they have passed away. But I come to our own day ; and here there is only one word which expresses the condition of the Catholic religion in Ireland, at present. It is a *resurrection*. The Church is rising again with a vigour, a freshness, and a fruitfulness that strikes us as one of the most marvellous proofs of the strength of the Christian Faith. In no country in Europe is the Church more full of life and energy than it is in Ireland at the present hour. We can all remember the plain and poverty-stricken Churches that, with few exceptions, were the only Sanctuaries of the Blessed Sacrament to be found in Ireland some twenty years ago. Now what do we see ? I could not tell you of one-half of all the great Churches that are rising everywhere throughout the land. I have seen them in almost every quarter of Dublin and its neighbourhood ! I have seen them at Tralee, at Tramore, at Killarney, at Cork, at Rathkeale, at Foynes, at Limerick, at Armagh, at Headford, at Wexford, and I know not where else. And I was informed the other day that the most elaborate altars and altar-pieces are being executed, not merely for the Churches of great cities, but for Churches in the most remote country districts. Side by side with the erection of Churches come the foundation of new colleges, new schools, and new convents, where the holy spouses of Jesus Christ, the Sisters of St. Brigid, and, like to her in their piety and their purity, are making expiation for the sins of many, and are training up the young in those habits of innocence and modesty which have ever been the brightest ornament, and which, I hope, will always be the highest glory of the women of our country.

And there is this remarkable analogy between the ecclesiastical vitality of our own days and the stern asceticism of the primitive times. Now, as then, the life manifested by the Church at home is not restrained within the limits of a small island. As a great river overflows its banks, so the vitality of the Church in Ireland has made itself felt in England and in America. A large proportion of the missionaries in England have come from Ireland. The mass of the Catholics of that country are Irish. And the Church in America which, within our own memory, has diffused itself so widely, and has become in every way so influential and so powerful, is as completely a daughter of Ireland as were the ancient foundations of Lindsarne and Iona.

These are facts recalled to our recollection by the festival

of to-day, for which our most grateful thanks are due to Almighty God. If in the generation now gone, He permitted His Church to drink to the full the cup of sorrow, He did so in order to strengthen her roots, and to give her a more wonderful resurrection. The day of her tribulation has gone by; the time of her fresh growth and her supernatural development has come. It is the fulfilment of the words of Scripture: "And he shall be as the tree planted beside the waters, which shall give its fruit in its own season. And his leaf shall not wither; and whatever he shall do shall prosper." For all this we must give praise to Almighty God, who has guided His Church through the dark night of Persecution to this bright morning of Resurrection. And we may confidently believe, that He who has continued to preserve the Faith in this land throughout so many centuries, and in spite of so many obstacles, will never permit heresy or unbelief to make way against it. The lapse of fourteen hundred years has witnessed the decay of Catholic Faith and Catholic piety in many a fair region of the world. It witnesses in Ireland that same Faith and piety more vigorous and more fruitful than ever. I say it once more—for all this we must lift up our hearts and give praise to the goodness and mercy of God, who has not only preserved to us the Faith, but who has also given us the will to keep it, and to spread it.

At the same time, dear brethren, it is our duty to take heed lest, through neglect of opportunities, or through want of correspondence with grace, we interfere with that Providence of God which has protected the Church in our land for so many centuries, and which is even now enabling us to do such great things for the salvation of souls. I know, indeed, of only one enemy from which the Church has cause to dread injury, and I would earnestly ask you to engage in a determined league against this enemy. No other foe, I am persuaded, can do her any harm. The powers of the world become virtually powerless when they assail the Church of God. This enemy, therefore, is no political combination, having for its aim the repression of the Catholic religion. Nor is it any false system of belief, raising itself up in antagonism to the true Church. No, my brethren. It is an enemy far more subtle, and, therefore, far more dangerous. That enemy is ignorance. It is ignorance which makes men disloyal to the Apostolic See. It is ignorance which exposes them to be led away, flattered, and seduced by erroneous opinions and by corrupt doctrines. It is ignorance which is the parent of all crime. It is ignorance which leads to intemperance. It is ignorance which causes Catholics, emigrating from Ireland to London

and New York, to keep away from the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, to give up the practice of their religion, and to waste the hours that ought to be given to the worship of God in those public houses and palaces of drink which initiate so many of our countrymen into the darkest mysteries of vice and profligacy. This is the enemy which alone can mar the beneficent designs of God ; and against this enemy I would have you contend until it be completely banished from amongst us. It is the destiny of our race to spread the faith ; to be missionaries of the Church, even to the most distant parts of the earth. Who ever heard of missionaries steeped in ignorance ? who could expect that such instruments would do ought except repress the faith they were intended to diffuse ? Join, then, dear brethren, as one man, and drive away all vestiges of this fearful enemy of the truth. Unite with your good pastor, and co-operate with him heartily in all his efforts for the education of the young amongst you. Do your very best, that not one little Irish child be allowed to grow up, without an intelligent knowlege and a dutiful observance of his religion. See that they grow up good practical Catholics, so that when they pass over into other lands, as so many of them will necessarily pass over, they may be such intelligent, steady, and faithful missionaries of the Cross, as to be most fitting instruments in the hands of God to diffuse the faith, and to convert unbelievers in heathen and schismatical countries "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." Then, dear brethren, great as was the Christian glory of those early days, of which the ruined towers and Churches of Ireland still stand as memorials, greater far will be the fruitfulness arising from the resurrection of the Catholic Church in our own day, and our own land. Then, what was prophesied of the Temple of Jerusalem may be fitly applied to the Church of the present age. At the beginning He said to her "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth ;" and this Divine benediction was never inefficacious. But trouble and persecution kept her down for a time, and almost succeeded in stamping her out. Now she wakes up again, "like a giant refreshed with wine." She goes forth to do the work of God in all the strength of a Divine Faith that cannot be conquered ; and when you, her children, have rooted up and banished all the vestiges that remain of the only enemy she has reason to fear, the prophecy will have received a new fulfilment, and "the glory of the latter Temple" will once more be seen to be greater than "the glory of the former."

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF ST. BRENDAN.

II.—*St. Brendan at the School of St. Erc.—Many Saints of the name of Erc.—St. Erc, of Slane, the tutor of Brendan.—Sketch of his life.—St. Brigid and the Disciple of St. Erc.—St. Brendan and the wild deer of Sliabh Luachra.—His affection for his sister.—Angelic visions.—Penance imposed on St. Brendan.—Miracle performed by him.—St. Brendan studies the Rules of the Saints of Erin.—Words of St. Ita.—St. Brendan and St. Farlathe of Tuam.—Poem composed by them.*

FROM the fostering care of St. Ita, Brendan passed to the school of St. Erc. He was not, however, at once admitted among the disciples of that holy bishop—their duties were too arduous for his tender years; but he at once entered on a course of preparation for that higher state of perfection, and for five years ‘read the Psalms with fervour,’¹ being at the same time diligently trained to walk in the paths of piety and learning.

It was thus that, in the early ages of Christianity, the duty of training up youthful aspirants to the sanctuary devolved on the bishops themselves. St. Augustine, in Hippo, instructed his own clergy, and so, too, did St. Ambrose in Milan, and many similar instances are registered in the lives of the sainted bishops of our island.

The life of St. Brendan affords us no clue for determining which of the holy bishops who bore the name of Erc was thus privileged to train the youthful mind of our Saint. “The Martyrology of Donegal” has four entries referring to saints of the name of Erc. Thus, at 17th September, it commemorates “Erc, bishop of Domhnach-mor Maighe-Damhairne:” again, at October 2nd, it has the simple entry, “Erc bishop:” at October 27, “Erc, bishop of Domhnachmor Maighe-Luadhat, in the north of Ui-Faelain. This may be Erc, bishop, son of Fergna, son of Folachta, who is of the race of Bresal Breac, from whom the O’Sraighi are descended:” in fine, at November 2nd, “Erc of Slane, bishop of Lilcach and of Fertafer-feig, at the side of Sidh-Truim, to the west. The age of Christ, when he went to heaven, was 512.”

The Martyrology of Tallaght also commemorates each of these festivals, with the sole difference, that at the 17th of September, instead of *Erc, bishop of Domhnachmor Maighe-Damhairne,* it reads, “Erc, bishop, from Domhnach-mor Maighe-Coba.”

¹ Irish Life in R.I.A., and Clarendon MS.

It is possible, indeed, that more than one of these festivals may refer to the same saint Erc, for sometimes the same saint was honoured on different days in various churches of our island. However, St Ængus removes all doubt on this head, for he expressly states, in his curious Tract on the Episcopal Saints of Ireland, that there were five saints of the name of Erc, who adorned our island by their sanctity.¹ The same great hagiologist, in his *Felire*, which commemorates only the most remarkable among our saints, makes mention of two distinct saints of that name. Thus, on the 27th of October, "St. Erc of Domhnach-mor-Maineach," where the gloss adds: "*i.e.*, in Magh-Luadath, in the north of Uibh-Faelan." Again, on the 2nd of November, the feast of St. Erc of Slane, we have the following sweet strophe:—

"The chief Apostle of our land—
Patrick, the illustrious Pillar,
Bestowed a gifted Blessing
Upon Bishop Erc of Slane."

Colgan, more than once, refers to this last-named St. Erc, of Slane, as the tutor of St. Brendan, and Lanigan has adopted the same opinion. This is further confirmed by the fact, that St. Erc of Slane was united by close family ties with the south-western districts of our island.²

St Erc of Slane, "the sweet-spoken Judge," as he is styled by our annalists, was one of the royal household of Leoghaire, and was present when that monarch summoned our apostle St. Patrick to give an account of his mysterious preaching. It was on this occasion enjoined on all the courtiers to show no sign of respect to the stranger. Erc alone disobeyed the order. He arose from his seat when St. Patrick entered, and, reverently saluting him, received his benediction in return. The blessings of Faith accompanied the benediction of our apostle, and St. Erc was soon reckoned among the most illustrious of his disciples.

The monastery of Slane was, in after years, founded by St. Erc, and under his wise rule became famed throughout our

¹ *Hercus quinquies*. St. Ængus, in Tract "Nomina Episcoporum Hibernorum," in fragment of Book of Leinster, St. Isidore's, Rome.

² Colgan, *Trias*, page 544, note 43, writes: "licet Sanctus Ercus fuerit de regia Ultoniae regum stirpe, nempe de semine Fergusii Rogii Ultoniae regis, tamen majores ejus habitabant in Momonia . . . Fuit autem S. Ercus ut in Sanctilogio Genealogico habetur ex posteris Corbi cognomento *Ulom*, filii praedicti Fergusii, qui in Momonia habitabant et ex quibus etiam erant S. Brendanus Birrensis, S. Caimanus, S. Leathan et Sanctae sorores Criada, Derusia et Sincha, filiae Ernani et proximae cognatae S. Brendani."

island as an abode of sanctity and learning. His labours, however, were not confined to that district. Thus, we meet with him at the Synod of Magh-Femyn, in Tipperary, where he recounted the praises of St. Brigid, and the miraculous powers with which she was enriched by the Almighty. His name is also mentioned among those who assisted at the consecration of St. Conleth of Kildare. Towards the close of his life he erected a small hermitage on the banks of the Boyne, where, in the deepest solitude, he, by prayer and penitential deeds, prepared himself for eternity. This hermitage of St. Erc is still to be seen on the northern bank of the Boyne, and a more romantic or enchanting spot can scarcely be imagined. "The old walls, clothed in ivy, are situated at the foot of a swell of ground which gradually rises until it reaches the hill of Slane, and are almost washed by the blue waters of the Boyne, which sweep by the southern basement. A rich grassy plain stretches along the south of the river, and the horizon is bounded on the one side by the castle of Slane, on the other by the gray walls of Fennor church, and by the green hills and woods which rise in the distance. Near the hermitage is a large sculptured stone, having figures of the crucifixion and the twelve apostles. It is difficult to conjecture now what may have been its peculiar use, but it is held in great respect; for, pilgrims after performing their stations at our Lady's Well, which is near, usually repeat the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*, twelve times around the stone."¹ The monumental stone, here referred to, probably marks the spot where St. Erc's remains were at first deposited. They were, after a little while, translated to Slane, and Probus, in his "Life of St. Patrick," writes that in his day they were held there in the greatest veneration: "Hercus, filius Dago, cujus reliquiae nunc venerantur in civitate quae vocatur Slane."²

The Four Masters record the death of St. Erc on the 12th of November, in the year 512, and add: "This Erc was judge to St. Patrick." It was in his praise that Patrick composed this quatrain:—

"Bishop Erc,—
 Everything he judged was just;
 Every one that judges justly
 Shall have the blessing of Bishop Erc."

The Martyrology of Donegal, at 2nd of November, styles St. Erc "the Brehon of St. Patrick:" the curious tract of St.

¹ *The Diocese of Meath*. By Rev. A. Colgan, vol. i., p. 64.

² *Colgan*, "Trias," p. 150.

Ængus, "On the Saints of Similar Life," published in the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD for last June, page 405, states: "In his habits and life St. Erc of Slane was like unto St. Martin of Tours."

The connection already referred to of St. Erc of Slane with the great patroness of Ireland, St. Brigid, serves to identify him with the Bishop Erc who is mentioned in the following passage of the Irish Life of St. Brigid; and, perhaps, we may be permitted to conjecture that the disciple of St. Erc introduced there was one of the companions of the youthful St. Brendan: "A certain time Brigid and Bishop Erc were in Leinster: Brigid said to Bishop Erc, 'a war has broken out among your people, and they are at this moment engaged in deadly strife.' A clerical student, disciple of Bishop Erc, said: 'this cannot be true.' But Brigid blessed the eyes of the student, and he then exclaimed: 'behold, my brothers are even now being slain:' and he did great penance for his incredulity."¹

Only a few facts have been handed down to us connected with the life of St. Brendan whilst in the school of the holy bishop, St. Erc. We will mention them as they are narrated in the ancient records of his life. On one occasion, whilst the tutor and his disciple were at the foot of Sliabh Luachra, Brendan asked for a little milk, but the holy bishop "had no milch cow, for he always refused to accept any gifts, except some trifling offerings from religious people." He could not, therefore, satisfy the desire of Brendan. He said, however: "God is able to give milk to thee, my child," and as he spoke a wild deer, with her fawn, coming down from the mountain, stopped to be milked for Brendan: "thenceforward, each day, the wild deer hastened to that spot, and when milked, again returned to the mountain."

Among those who were companions of Brendan under the care of St. Erc, is especially mentioned his own sister, St. Briga, who, like her brother, soon attained great eminence in sanctity, and we will hereafter meet with her presiding over the great monastery of nuns at Enachduin. The ancient writer adds, that "great was the affection of Brendan for St. Briga; for he saw, in a vision, the angels ministering unto her; and whilst the face of his tutor seemed bright as the radiance of the summer sun, her countenance shone with the mild effulgence of the moon."

Some reader, imbued with rationalistic ideas, may smile, perhaps, at the frequent mention that is made of the vision of angels accorded to our early saints. And yet there is nothing in such visions not fully conformable to true Christian philosophy.

¹ *Life of St. Brigid*, "Book of Lismore," fol. 53, seqq.

Physical science teaches us that there are waves of material light so small that the human eye is insensible to them, and that myriads of organized beings may exist imperceptible to our vision, though we are in the midst of them. Even so, angels may be present in the midst of us without our knowing it, and the air around us may be musical with the melody of heavenly voices, though our human faculties are too material to apprehend it. It was thus that the Prophet's servant could not see the angelic hosts which guarded his master until his eyes were supernaturally opened; and we do not read that the vision vouchsafed to St. Stephen, at the time of his martyrdom, was visible to his persecutors. So, too, as St. Chrysostom writes: "each time the holy Sacrifice of the Mass is offered up, the choirs of angels chaunt their heavenly anthems and prostrate themselves in adoring love around our altars." Yes, thanks to the "Communion of Saints," mercifully granted to us by Providence, the angels are no strangers to their brethren of the Church militant; we know that they are present to us, and when it pleases God, He can purify the earthly grossness of our faculties which hides them from our view.

When Brendan had attained his tenth year he was permitted to accompany St. Erc when the holy bishop journeyed from district to district to break the bread of life to those entrusted to his care. On one occasion, whilst St. Erc was engaged in preaching, Brendan remained in his chariot chanting the psalms alone. A fair-haired child, daughter of royal parents, happened to pass by, and attracted by his chant and the sweetness of his countenance, stopped to play with him. Brendan, however, would not permit her to enter the chariot, and when she persisted in doing so, he took the whip and gave her several strokes with it. Crying, she ran to her parents, who complained to St. Erc of the conduct of his pupil. St. Erc, when reprimanding him, said: "Why didst thou thus strike this pious child, whose heart is free from every guile?" Brendan replied: "Indeed, it was not through anger that I drove her away from the chariot, but merely to free myself from being distracted whilst engaged in sacred reading." He added, however, a request that St. Erc would impose a penance on him commensurate to the fault he had committed. St. Erc enjoined on him to pass the coming night in prayer, in a neighbouring cave, which the holy bishop himself frequently chose as a place of silent retreat. Brendan joyously hastened to the cave, and till the following morning remained there absorbed in contemplation or chanting psalms and sacred hymns. St. Erc, who had imposed this penance only as a trial of obedience, himself kept vigil

at the entrance of the cave, and throughout the night he saw the glory of heaven descending upon the cave, and choirs of angels repeating those psalms and canticles before the throne of God.

Another time, whilst the holy bishop and his pupil were journeying on, a poor fugitive, who was pursued by a band of enemies, joined them, hoping to find protection in their company when the pursuers were at hand. The youthful Brendan told his doomed companion to fly to a rock which stood close by, and at the same time raising his hands in prayer, blessed both the rock and the fugitive. When the pursuers approached, the rock appeared to them as the man they sought, whilst the fugitive appeared to them as the rock. They at once rushed on their victim and bore away his head as a trophy of their vengeance. When they had gone away a good distance, St. Erc said to them: "O wretched men! see how God has played with your sinfulness: you listened not to the voice of His servants, but He has blinded you in your wickedness, and it is a mere lump of stone you have carried off as a trophy of your folly." At these words the eyes of the wicked men were opened, and recognising the miracle which had been wrought, fifty of that band entered on a life of penance, and devoted themselves to the service of God under the rule of St. Erc.

The "Irish Life" next tells us, that "when Brendan had read the Canons of the Old and New Testament, he was filled with a holy desire to learn the rules of the great saints of Erin: and bishop Erc, recognising the inspiration of God in this desire, permitted him to go visit the saints of Ireland and to learn their rules; and he said to his disciple:—'When you have learned these rules of holiness, return to me again that you may receive your grade (*i.e.*, ordination) at my hands.'

The first visit of Brendan was to his own foster-mother, St. Ita. She, too, commended his pious purpose, but added the admonition: "Be careful that your visits to the virgins of Christ be not too frequent, lest your good name be lost, and the honour of God be blasphemed by men."

The only one of the great founders of religious rules mentioned in the ancient records as at this time visited by St. Brendan, is the patron of Tuam, St. Jarlath. The "Irish Life" thus writes:—"Brendan went into Connaught, for he had heard of a certain pious man who was there, named Jarlath, son of Loga, son of Tren, son of Fiach, son of Iomchadha, son of Breasal, son of Fiacha Finn:¹ and Brendan learned with him all the rules of the saints of Erin."

¹ According to O'Cleary's "Genealogies of the Saints," this would be the parentage of St. Jarlath, Archbishop of Armagh.

St. Jarlathe had been trained to piety by St. Benen, disciple of St. Patrick, and hence no happier choice could have been made by Brendan of a master in the rules of perfection. The great monastery at *Cluain-fos*, *i.e.*, "the plain of retreat," was as yet the most celebrated in Connaught: and here I may be permitted to remark, that throughout these pages the word "monastery" is to be understood, according to the usage of our early Irish writers, not in its strict modern acceptance, but rather as corresponding for the most part with the collegiate institutions of the present day. The sanctity and penitential deeds of St. Jarlathe are commended by all our ancient chroniclers. St. Cuimin, of Connor, thus commemorates him:—

"Jarlathe the illustrious loved—
A cleric he who practised not niggardliness—
Three hundred genuflexions each night,
Three hundred genuflexions each day."

It was at Cluainfos that Brendan became the disciple of St. Jarlathe, and before taking his departure thence he said to his holy master:—"It is not here your resurrection shall be." Then Jarlathe said (thus runs the "Irish Life"):—"O fervent youth, why dost thou seek to conceal the divine grace of the Holy Ghost, and the wondrous power of God, abiding in thy undefiled soul. Thou hast come to me to be my disciple: henceforward I will be thy disciple for evermore." Brendan said:—"You shall have a chariot made, and when you make a journey in it, where its shafts shall break there shall be the place of your resurrection, and the resurrection of countless souls to a blessed life." This was verified in after times: for having entered his chariot, its shafts broke at a short distance at a place called *Tuain-da-Ualann* (the modern town of Tuam). It was on the above occasion that they both composed the following poem whilst viewing at a little distance the *Reilig* (*i.e.*, the church and cemetery) and the ministrations of the angels around it. The first five quatrains were composed by Brendan, the remainder was spoken by St. Jarlathe:—

"The high church of *Reilig-na-n-Aingel*,
Bright is its splendour before my eyes;
Hell's torments shall not be endured
By those who are interred in its clay.

"It was the Archangel who marked it around with crosses,
And consecrated the green little sod:
It is not the abode of the hideous demon
That shall be made known to us therein.

“ It shall be a noble church : numerous its congregations,
 There great synods will be held,
 It will be a refuge for the great and the poor ;
 It will be a place for subduing sins.

“ Should your faithful forsake your church,
 Their time will be a time of tribulation ;
 Evil customs will prevail in it ;
 It shall be changed from Paradise to hell.

“ When in future time your brethren shall come
 Summoned to the judgment seat,
 It is you that will pronounce their sentence :
 They shall be subject to your will.”

Then St. Jarlath added as follows:—

“ As long as they live obedient to me,
 And while the cross remains,
 They will banish the enemies afar ;
 They will shine like the sun.

“ As long as they live in obedience to me,
 I speak the truth, it is no falsehood,
 Their sons shall survive them ;
 They will not suffer pain in the world to come.

“ Happy he who takes the cross
 On the hill of the rich yews :
 He will not be hell-doomed after judgment,
 Whosoever shall be buried in its clay.

“ Be not vengeful, O Mac Duach !
 I will give you its full price,
 Heaven and abundance without loss,
 And my *cuile* without end.

“ The gift of heroes, the gift of clerics,
 So long as they are obedient to me,
 No man shall beard their hostages ;
 They will overcome every assailant.”

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE IRISH MARTYR AT TIEN-TSIN.

[In preceding numbers we published some important documents connected with this interesting subject. The present invaluable document is a letter addressed by the Superioress of the Sisters of Charity, Peking, to the brother of the martyred Sister Louise O'Sullivan. A report was circulated by some newspapers, not too friendly to Ireland, that Sister Louise had fled from the hospital the morning of the massacre, and thus had been deprived of the crown of martyrdom which was granted to the other Sisters of Charity. The present letter of the Superioress of the Sisters of Charity is an authoritative contradiction of that false report.]

“PEKING, *June 21st*, 1871.

“REVEREND SIR,

“May the grace of our Saviour be with us for evermore. Two days ago I received your esteemed letter of the 10th April. I must suppose that you did not receive my sorrowful letter of July, 1870. Your silence induced me to presume so, and I was grieved, because my affection for my good and well-beloved little sister, Louise (O'Sullivan), would not permit me to imagine, without sincere regret, that her worthy brother should be without tidings from the distant country which she has sprinkled with her blood.

“The misfortunes of our poor France have occasioned the long delay of my letter.

“To-day, 21st June, the anniversary of this sad and awful tragedy, is a day well adapted to speak of this dear beloved. No, no; what they have told you is untrue. Sister Louise did not abandon her post. Like her companions, she suffered herself to be slaughtered as a tender lamb. It is said that she was treated with great cruelty, but it is difficult to ascertain with accuracy how much these dear martyrs suffered. The infuriated populace inhumanly butchered them, and this flatters our hope that they had not long to suffer. They were, indeed, cut in pieces, and when, after the storm, the English Consul ordered the remains of our dear victims to be gathered up, only some scattered members were discovered, and these scorched by the fire. The dear remains have been deposited in six coffins, and interred in the French Consul's inclosure, where a monument has been erected to the glory of our martyrs and to the eternal disgrace of the ungrateful country which thus suffered them to be slaughtered.

“The fact which you have heard has occurred, but not to your

sister. It happened to a French lady, Madame Shallemaison, who escaped, and was recaptured in the evening, as you are aware. The mother of this lady is the only one in the town of Tien-Tsing who endeavoured to succour our good sisters. Her husband was among those who fell victims to the fury of the pagans : may heaven recompense his charity. Gratitude renders it imperative that I should recommend him to your prayers.

“The Bishop ordered that the scene of the massacre should be diligently searched ; and in the ruins of the house the sacred vases, which had been concealed the very morning of the massacre at the moment the rumour was circulated, have been found. They found also a small piece of our sister’s habit : we look upon it as a relic, and I have much pleasure in forwarding you a portion of it.

“The sojourn of your sister at Tien-Tsing was so decidedly marked by Providence, and so much against my will, that I see a convincing proof in it, that this dear sister obtained the favour of being martyred that she might the better expiate any little infirmities inseparable from our poor human nature. But she was so straightforward and good that she could not but be acceptable to God. She was so amiable on this earth, how much more so must she be in heaven. I have often besought her to give me some proof of her happiness. I hope that some signal favors will console us in the assurance that they are in heaven.

“For the past year we have had to suffer many anxieties and troubles, both because of the dangers that have menaced ourselves, and of the situation of France. Be pleased to assist us by your prayers while you profit by our trials. I also recommend to you our poor and ungrateful mission. The Bishop is at Tien-Tsing, where he is reconstructing the church and the houses which were consumed. At his return I shall not fail to execute your commands.

“I have the honor to be, with most profound respect, your most humble and obedient servant,

“SR. IAURIAS (*of the Sisters of Charity.*)

- “The Rev. M. O’SULLIVAN, C.M.,
“St. Vincent de Paul’s, Cork, Ireland.”

DOCUMENTS.

I.—LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL CULLEN, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

“PIUS PP.

“Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem Mirum profecto est, Dilecte Fili Noster, populum diuturnis afflictum oerumnis jugique laborantem rerum angustia sic propriam posthabere inopiam in communis fidelium parentis levamen, ut affluere videatur divitiis. Profecto una Catholica religio, una divina caritas hujusmodi portenta potest edere; et utraque luculenter adeo testatur vividissimam fidem, et incensum erga hanc Petri cathedram affectum, ut isti terrae vetus elogium insulae Sanctorum perspicue confirmet. Gratulationes igitur a Pastore et grege sic comparatis exhibitae, sicuti suavissimae contingunt Nobis et acceptissimae, sic pergratos excitant animi Nostri sensus. Nec dubitamus, quin Deus, qui corda novit hominum, fidei hujus populi non modo concessurus sit, quod ipse cum universa fidelium familia sine intermissione postulat pro gloria nominis ejus et Ecclesiae utilitate, sed etiam misericordia sua, quae speciosa est in tempore tribulationis, quasi nubes pluviae in tempore siccitatis, eum consolari velit, erigere, et ad pristinam relevare gloriam. Haec certe Nos ipsi ominamur et adprecamur; supernique favoris interim et coelestium munerum auspiciem ac praecipuae Nostrae benevolentiae pignus tibi, Dilecte Fili Noster, universoque Clero et populo tuo Benedictionem Apostolicam peramanter impertimus.

“Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die 14 Septembris anno 1871.

“Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimosexto.

“PIUS PP. IX.”

II.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, at a meeting held in the Presbytery, Marlborough-street, on Tuesday, the 17th October, and the following days:—

“I.—We hereby declare our unalterable conviction that Catholic education is indispensably necessary for the preservation of the faith and morals of our Catholic people.

“II.—In union with the Holy See and the bishops of the Catholic world, we again renew our often-repeated condemnation of mixed education as intrinsically and grievously dangerous to faith and morals, and tending to perpetuate dissensions, insubordination, and disaffection in this country.

“III.—Recent events, known to all, and especially the acts of secret societies and of revolutionary organisations, have strengthened our convictions, and furnished conclusive evidence that Godless Education is subversive not only of religion and morality, but also of domestic peace, of the rights of property, and of all social order.

“IV.—As religious equality, which, according to the constitution of this country, is our inalienable right, is incomplete without educational freedom and equality, we demand, as a right, that in all the approaching legislation on the subject of education, the principle of educational equality shall be acted on.

“V.—We repudiate the pretensions of those who, holding different religious principles from ours, seek to violate the civil rights of our Catholic people, by forcing upon us a system of education repugnant to our religious convictions, and destructive alike of our temporal and eternal interests.

“VI.—In the present efforts to force Godless Education on this country we recognise another phase of persecution for conscience sake. Hence, following the example of our fathers, who sacrificed all earthly interests, and life itself, rather than imperil their faith, we shall never cease to oppose, to the utmost of our power, the Model Schools, the Queen’s Colleges, Trinity College, and all similar institutions dangerous to the faith and morals of Catholics.

“VII.—We call on our Members of Parliament, as representatives of the feelings and interests of their constituents, to sustain the principles embodied in these resolutions in Parliament and elsewhere, and to oppose any political party that will attempt to force upon this country any Godless scheme of education, or refuse to redress our admitted educational grievances.

“VIII.—In future elections of Members of Parliament and other representatives, we pledge ourselves to oppose the return of any candidate who will not uphold the principle of denominational education for our Catholic people.

“IX.—Knowing the zealous attachment of our people to the Catholic faith, we invite them to hold meetings and sign petitions in their respective parishes, under the guidance of their clergy, making known their determination to accept no

system of education except in conformity with the principles here announced.

“X.—We request his Eminence Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, to take immediate steps towards the establishment of a Central Training School for the training of Catholic Teachers, and we pledge ourselves to assist his Eminence by our subscriptions and by our best influence in our respective dioceses.

“XI.—Contemplating with deep concern the melancholy wreck in other countries of all order, moral and social, mainly caused by the wide diffusion of a literature immoral and hostile to religion and society—we, the divinely constituted guardians of the spiritual interests of our people, solicitous, moreover, for their temporal welfare, and following the example of the Father of the Faithful, emphatically warn our flocks to abstain from the perusal of all publications, in whatever form, in which the maxims of our holy religion and its ministers are misrepresented and assailed, and principles inculcated subversive of social order and Christian morality.

“XII.—These resolutions will be read on the first convenient Sunday at one of the public Masses in each of the Churches and Chapels of this kingdom.

“Dublin, 20th October, 1871.

“Signed,

“ * PAUL CARD. CULLEN, Archbishop of Dublin.

“ * GEORGE CONROY, Bishop of Ardagh, } Secretaries.

“ * JAMES M'DEVITT, Bishop of Raphoe, }

ROMAN CHRONICLE.

I. *Anniversary of the Roman Plebiscite.*—2. *The Plebiscite at the Vatican.*—3. *Munificence of the Holy Father.*—4. *Waste of Public Money.*—5. *Invasion of Convents and Eviction of the Nuns.*—6. *The Oath of Allegiance in the Roman University.*

I. The Plebiscite, which modern Romans call *Plebicida*, was, amongst the ancients, a plebeian command required by a plebeian magistrate, emanating from the plebeian order only, liable to be annulled without the formalities of soothsayers or *senatus consulti*, and binding only the plebeians, as we read in Gellius (15-27). How it has come to pass that plebiscites, which formerly were something less than a law, are now become something more than the foundation of Italian jurisprudence, perhaps their inventor, from

his tranquil repose in Chislehurst, the third of his name, the second *de facto*, and first *by right of plebiscites*, could explain to us. If he fell, it was not for want of plebiscites; and if he remain a fallen hero, plebiscites will not perish with him, for they have this peculiarity about them, that they are adaptable to all circumstances, and they are always unanimous. But to be unanimous, it is necessary that they should be preceded by some fact *really* accomplished, in haste, *qua nova non putatis*, very early in the morning, the usual hour for the accomplishment of some of the most celebrated facts on record, *cum gladiis, lignis fustibus, lanternis, facibus et armis*; and taking care to approach in such a manner as that it may appear that you come *ut osculetur eum*, to save either France or Italy or the Pope, or to establish a reconciliation, or with some such other pious intention. Our readers are painfully aware that on the 2nd of October, 1870, a rehearsal of this European farce was seriously gone through in the ancient city of Rome, and that when the urns were opened, it was discovered that upwards of 40,000 of the denizens of the Eternal City were found to welcome the strangers that entered through the breach made at the Porta Pia, and but forty-six (46) to side with their time-honoured sovereign, the Pope. Such a triumph as this deserved a celebration, and, consequently, it was decreed by the powers that be, that on the 2nd of October, 1871, the first anniversary of this remarkable event, the people of Rome should hold high festival. Let us see how this fact was accomplished. The telegrams suppressed the qualification *indescribable* usually prefixed to the word *enthusiasm*, when employed to convey an idea of how festivals under the new government are celebrated in Rome. A correspondent goes on to say:—"The first preparations were made during the night by dashing, with great varnished placards and papers with a huge '*viva*' inscribed, the houses and doors of the '*Neri*,' or those notoriously devoted to the Pope, so that a stranger going through Rome could calculate to a nicety the number to which the forty-six of last year had increased, beating hollow the command in Genesis, and likely to upset the cleverest calculations of Bishop Colenso, for it has been estimated that close on 10,000 houses were thus embellished, and by this new method of census volunteered by the devotees of the new regime, that the 46 of last year have grown to the number of 40,000, allowing four residents to each house. I think all the Romans devoted to the Pope might legitimately cry, '*Viva il Plebiscito*.' The Corso, where no house dare remain without hanging out at least one flag, was poorly decorated. In the

afternoon there was a solemn distribution of prizes to the children attending the Government schools. The distribution took place in the Piazza of the capital. A wretched poetaster, Biagio Placide, wrote poetry (?) for the occasion, of which the two concluding lines of each stanza gives a fair idea:—

“ ‘ *Viva dunque il Plebiscito
Margarita e suo marito.* ’ ”

Lucilla set it to music, and it was executed by several little boys and girls. Then speeches were made to the children, in which they were reminded of Cornelia and Tiberius and Cassius, and the mother of the Gracchi, and, in fine, of all the old Romans, and then the prizes were distributed. Unfortunately, the names of the successful competitors were published, and the *Unita Cattolica*, in its usual felicitous manner, discovered that nine-tenths of the recipients of municipal honours bore the significant names of Samson, Elias, Jonas, Emmanuel, Judith, Esther, Rachel, etc., etc., unmistakably smelling of the Ghetto, and proving, to the honour of the Romans, that the Jews enjoy exclusively the advantages of government training. A wretched illumination at night, and a few military bands playing in some of the more frequented Piazzas, made up the *tout ensemble* of this great anniversary; let us turn to the other side of the picture.

2. The 46 of last year thought well to renew their vote this year, and give additional proofs of their devotion to the Holy Father, and though the vast majority of the aristocracy are absent from Rome, still a considerable number, headed by the Count de Wimpffen, presented an address to the Holy Father, to which he vouchsafed a gracious and appropriate reply, encouraging them to renewed prayers, and reminding them that “the ark of the covenant was carried six times round the walls of Jericho, and yet they were not moved, but at the seventh round the walls fell to the ground, and the people of God entered in triumph.” Meanwhile, as the *Osservatore Romano* relates, an immense gathering of young men was assembling in the “*Sala Ducale*,” the large hall outside the Sistine Chapel. We say young men, because by reason of the immense numbers that sought an audience, the Holy Father was compelled to confine the honour to the youth of Rome. Nevertheless, the ample hall was barely sufficient to contain the assemblage which, the moment the Holy Father made his appearance, burst into loud and repeated *evvivas*. When silence was restored, one of them read an address, which we here give in full.

“MOST HOLY FATHER,

“On this inauspicious day of the past year a crime was accomplished, whether more abominable because of the sacrilege it implied, or because of the perfidious falsehoods employed in its perpetration, we cannot say; a crime which sought to legalize violence and the injustice of usurpation. Our hearts burned with indignation when we witnessed the impudence of your enemies, who dared to lie on parchment and marble, representing as a vote of the Roman people that ridiculous plebiscite, which was nothing but the vote of a horde of emigrants, strangers, public criminals, and of those few cowards who allowed themselves to be drawn over by threats and promises. To this atrocious insult we, to-day, the young men of Rome, your children and subjects, come to express a solemn protestation of fidelity and devotion, unalterable unto death, to your sacred person, and to the inviolable rights in virtue of which you are Sovereign Pontiff, and our only sovereign. Yes, Most Holy Father, the desire of expressing the wishes of our hearts has brought us to your feet on this day of mourning. Your presence alone diminishes the sadness of this bitter remembrance; for in looking upon you we have evidence of the protection which Providence extends to you, and we gain certainly in the belief that, like our Divine Redeemer, for you are also his vicar, the way of Golgotha will be the way which will lead you to the triumph of the resurrection. We are proud to have a share in the chalice of your passion, and we regard with mingled contempt and pity those few unfortunates who have approached their lips to the chalice of the new Babylon. We are proud not only of our fidelity to your sacred person, but also that we make public profession of it, despising the insults and the mocking laughter of those who fix their glory in iniquity. We are gratified, moreover, in the thought that though our protestations may be but a trifling homage to the august majesty of your person, nevertheless the magnanimity of your paternal heart will deign to accept them as a pledge of our ardent desire to bring some solace to your affliction.

“Bless us, Most Holy Father, and may your blessing confirm and increase in our hearts those sentiments which to-day form our glory, and which ever and always shall be our rule of conduct for the future.”

The reading of this magnificent address, which none of the Italian Catholic journals dared to publish, visibly affected the Holy Father, and in his touching reply he most happily introduced the vision of the prophet Zachary, where the Lord says, “I am angry with a great anger with the great nations; nevertheless, I will return to Jerusalem in mercies,” applying it to

the present state of Rome, and inspiring them to hope that God will return to Rome in mercy. An influential address from the city of Tivoli was also presented ; and, lastly, a very numerous deputation, with an address and offerings from the seven parishes of the Monte in Rome. The Holy Father continues to enjoy excellent health.

3. The Holy Father, being made aware of the great distress ensuing upon the destruction of the San Salvatio quarter in Turin by fire, forwarded a donation of 1,000 francs for the relief of the sufferers.

4. It has finally dawned upon the benighted intelligences of the Italian rulers, that convents and monasteries are not the most suitable places for public offices and Government bureaux. After enormous expenditure on the Minerva, St. Augustine's, and the Sancto Apostole, to adapt them for the several ministers of Marine, Finance, and War, it has been discovered that they would not suit, and now it is believed that several millions are to be expended on constructing entirely new edifices for those departments. To preserve appearances, they are determined for the present to utilize San Silvestro in capite, for the Ministry of Public Works, and for this purpose they will have to spend much more than if they built it up new from the foundations. Upwards of a hundred thousand francs had been previously expended on it by Commissary Gadda, to adapt it for the Ministry of the Interior ; but Lanza found it too uncomfortable, refused to have it, and the Palazzo Braschi had to be purchased for him. So much for their economical wisdom.

5. However, these lessons of experience, so dearly purchased, have in no way lessened the ardour of the Government in the appropriation of the religious houses in Rome. "It was worth the trouble," writes the *Riforma* of the 28th of September, "to withdraw from the control of the 'Congregation of Charities,' the Hospice of Termini. If it be true, it is horrible. But report has it that the Municipality sent into that portion of the Hospice, set aside for the female children of the poor, several dancing and music masters, who went away very much disgusted with the little disposition evinced by the children for the Terpsichorian or musical arts. However, the dancing masters charged the nuns of the Hospice to put shorter clothes on the children, in order that, at a future visit, they might be better able to judge of their abilities. This fact has given rise to innumerable protests and reclamations." We quote from a revolutionary journal. Of course the next step will be to turn out the nuns and hand over the children to the care of the dancing masters.

Notice has been given to the Jesuit noviciate in "Sant' Andrea Sul Quirinale" that their house and beautiful little church are required for purposes of public utility, and so they are preparing to leave. Similar notices were forwarded to the nuns of St. Teresa, on the Porta Pia road, and of St. Anthony, at St. Maria Maggiore. The religious received strict orders from the Pope to keep their enclosure, and yield only to force. Wherefore, on their refusal to admit the Government officials peaceably, a number of gendarmes and workmen, with public notaries to record the fact, were brought up; they made short work of breaking in the door, and, finding the nuns in choir, forcibly ejected them. Those of St. Teresa retired by an underground passage to the Barberini nuns on the other side of the way, who, living on Prince Barberini's property, are protected by him against the Government. As for those of St. Anthony, no sooner was it made known that they were about to be driven out of their convent, than numerous equipages of the nobility were at once placed at their disposal, and crowds of the populace, with tears and every expression of sympathy, escorted them to the provisional refuge got ready for them. Their furniture was packed on an open cart by the police, and disclosed appointments of the plainest kind; and a second cart followed, bearing two capacious jars filled with — oil—the only condiment their rule allowed them to use with their daily repast of undressed vegetables. This little procession created no slight sensation, and men devoted to the present order of things were heard to execrate the Government for this their latest barbarity.

6. In order to get rid of a number of professors in the Roman University, who were known to be good Catholics, Correnti, minister of Public Instruction, obliged them to take an oath of allegiance in the following terms:—"I, ——— swear to be faithful to his Majesty the King, and his royal successors, to observe loyally the constitution, and the other laws of the state, and to discharge the duties of . . . with the solitary scope of advancing the inseparable welfare of the king and the country." In the faculty of theology, *all* refused the oath and lost their appointments; in jurisprudence, *four* refused; in the surgical faculty, *three* refused; in veterinary science, *one*; in mathematics, *four*; and *three* in philology. As a consequence of this behaviour on the part of the professors, the faculty of theology is suppressed. The other professors, some are nominees of the present government, appointed since the 20th of September last year, and others contend that it was illegal to compel them to take an oath, and mean to fight it out before the tribunals.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1871.

THE PASSION PLAY AT OBER-AMMERGAU.

(Continued from page 71).

ACT VIII.

CHRIST IS BROUGHT BEFORE ANNAS.

AT half-past twelve the great multitude was again pouring into the theatre, and before the hour had expired all were in their places, as eager and attentive, under the fierce glare of the meridian sun, as they had been, six hours before, when his first joyous rays shone out above the hills on the east. We had not long to wait. In a few minutes the booming of a gun announced that the second division of the Play was about to begin; and, while its echoes still lingered among the mountains, the chorus advanced from either side, and sang a plaintive ode, bringing back to our recollection the last sad scene of Gethsemani.

„Begonnen ist der Kampf der Schmerzen,—
 Begonnen in Gethsemani;
 O Sünder, nehmet es zu Herzen,
 Vergesst diese Scene nie!
 Für euer Heil ist das geschehen.
 Was auf dem Delberg wir gesehen:
 Für euch betrübt bis in den Tod
 Sanft er zur Erde nieder.
 Für euch drang ihm, wie Blut so roth
 Der Schweiß durch alle Glieder.“

TABLEAU. *Micheas, the Prophet, struck on the Cheek for speaking the truth before King Achab.*—III. Kings xxii. 10—24. The curtain rises, and a Royal Court is disclosed to view. Achab and Josaphat are seated on thrones, and clothed in royal apparel. Before them is a crowd of courtiers and false prophets. The chief of these, Sedecias, is seen in the act of smiting on the cheek Micheas, a prophet of the Lord, because he had ventured to speak unwelcome truth. This picture aptly foreshadows the coming scene in which the Saviour is smitten on the cheek before the tribunal of Annas.

As the curtain falls, shouts are heard in the distance. Annas appears on the balcony of his house, impatiently looking out for his expected victim. Judas enters hurriedly, with a guilty and unquiet air : he pauses before the house of Annas : looks up for a moment, and hears from the old man words of commendation which must have fallen on his heart as the sentence of his doom : " Thy name shall stand for endless ages at the head of our annals."

Judas passes on, and the shouts of the populace are heard nearer and more violent. Presently Christ is dragged in by a band of soldiers, surrounded by an infuriated rabble. He is at once conducted into the house of Annas, and immediately after appears on the balcony in the presence of his judge. His bearing is calm and dignified as before ; his face still wears the same expression of patient endurance.

The crowd from below make their accusations against him with great uproar and violence. His enemies are determined not to be satisfied ; when he is silent he is blamed for not answering ; when he answers he is struck on the cheek by a time-serving attendant. In the end, Annas, worn out by his patience, resolves to send him to Caiphas. As he is led away by the soldiers, Peter and John are seen in the distance still timidly following their master.

ACT IX.

CHRIST BEFORE CAIPHAS.

TABLEAU I. *Naboth stoned to Death on the Testimony of False Witnesses.*

—III. Kings'xxi. 8—13. The innocent Naboth is here represented as a figure of our Lord before Caiphas. For, like Him, he was wrongfully accused of blasphemy, and like Him, too, he was condemned on the evidence of hired witnesses. He is seen on his knees in the middle of the stage. Round about him the people stand in various attitudes : one, with his arm uplifted, is in the act of throwing a great stone at the innocent victim's head ; another is picking up a stone from the ground ; others are preparing to lend their aid ; others are looking on with approval.

TABLEAU II.—*The Sufferings and the Patience of Job.*—Job is seen seated on a dunghill—the living picture of human misery and of patient submission. His friends are close by, deriding him for his misfortunes ; even his wife is scoffing at him, and seems, with parted lips, on the point of telling him to " Bless God and die."

Christ is now arraigned before Caiphas, who is seen enthroned in the hall of his palace, surrounded by the chief priests and the elders of the people, with the Scribes in attendance. Witness after witness comes forward to give evidence

against him. But they contradict one another, and seem to agree only in declaring at the end, with great vehemence, "He has blasphemed God, he has deserved death." At length Caiphas adjures him, in the name of the living God, to say who and what he is. The Saviour answers with serene dignity: "I am Christ the Son of God." Then the high priest rends his garments and exclaims, with ill-suppressed delight: "What need have we of any further witnesses? You yourselves have heard the blasphemy. What think ye?" And they all declare, with one accord, "He is guilty of death."

As soon as the judgment is passed the Redeemer is led away, and, by a change of scene, the outer court of the palace is before us. Two maids have kindled a fire, and some of the soldiers are gathered round it warming themselves, and talking over the events of the night. Peter and John come timidly from without towards the entrance of the court: John goes in first, and, after a short conference with one of the servants, comes back and brings in Peter. The soldiers make room, and Peter, with a stealthy and suspicious air, takes his place at the fire, which is now burning feebly, and tries to warm himself.

While he is leaning over it, one of the maid-servants comes up behind, and scrutinizes him all over, with a look of something more than curiosity. She goes round a little to get a better view; she whispers for a moment with her companion; they exchange significant glances; and, at last, she comes up boldly and asks him if *he*, too, was not "with Jesus of Galilee." This little bit of acting may be noticed as an example of the conscientious care expended even on the most minute parts of the Passion Play. The maid-servant who identifies Peter appears but a few minutes before the audience: she has but a few words to say. And yet her part is performed with as much dramatic skill as if the success of the Play depended on it alone.

After the third denial of Peter the cock crows. At the same moment Christ is led out from the inner hall, bound in fetters. He casts a look of mild reproach on Peter, who remembers his Master's warning, and turns away from his glance, full of shame and sorrow. Just before the scene is brought to a close, Judas, tortured by a guilty conscience, comes to the house of Caiphas, to find out how the dreadful affair that he has set in motion is going to end. When he sees his Master in bonds, a mockery and a sport for the Roman soldiers, he is filled with remorse, and is heard muttering to himself, as the curtain falls, "Accursed be the deed I have done."

ACT X.

DESPAIR OF JUDAS.

TABLEAU. *Abel killed by his Brother Cain.*—*Gen. iv. 3—16.* In the middle foreground Cain, with a club in his hand, is standing, conscience stricken, over the dead body of his murdered brother. The chorus deploras the crime of the murderer, and depicts the tortures of his guilty conscience. Restless and unhappy he flies from place to place : but he cannot fly from himself. Within his soul the image of his sin is always present as in a mirror : and it is the contemplation of this image that constitutes his ever enduring anguish. So is it now with Judas,

“Who rushes wildly here and there,
 Until at last in wild despair,
 He flings away the life that he no more can bear.”

What has been foreshadowed in the Tableau, and portrayed in graphic language by the Chorus, is now presented to the audience in its vivid reality. On the inner stage the High Court of the Jews is sitting once again in council, confirming the sentence of death pronounced on our Lord by Caiphas. Judas, in an agony of remorse, rushes into the midst of the hall, and wants to have the judgment revoked. His vehement expostulations are received with cold indifference by Caiphas and the Priests. When he exclaims, “I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood,” they scornfully ask him, “What is that to us ?” adding that he has had his reward, and that his guilty conscience is his own affair. The miserable man, no longer able to bear the thought of his crime, seizes the money bag which hangs at his side, flings it violently on the floor at the feet of the High Priest, and rushes headlong from the hall.

A change of scene now brings us to the open country. Judas is there alone. He cannot venture to approach his Divine Master again : he has been ignominiously spurned by the Chief Priests : he has no friend to comfort him : he is alone with his guilty conscience, the very picture of despair. As he wanders restlessly about his wild ravings fall distinctly on the ear, in the perfect stillness that now prevails throughout the audience, and bring out with great force the significance of the Gospel saying, that Satan had entered into his soul. Again and again he groans under the torture he is suffering, and repeats the words, “For me there is no hope, no pardon, no redemption.” A tree in the distance attracts his notice : he comes nearer to it : glances uneasily upwards : and, as the curtain falls, he is seen in the act of loosening his girdle to make the fatal noose.

ACT XI.

CHRIST AT THE JUDGMENT SEAT OF PILATE.

TABLEAU. *Daniel condemned to be cast into the Den of Lions.*—*Dan. xiv. 27—30.* The King of Babylon is on his throne. Around are the heathen priests, who accuse Daniel of impiety towards the gods, and demand that sentence of death be passed. The king, who, at first, had sought to save him from their malice, yields to their wishes when they threaten to destroy himself and his house. He is seen in the act of handing over Daniel to be cast into the lions' den. This picture is set forth as a figure of Christ before the tribunal of Pilate. He is accused of blasphemy by the Jewish Priests, who call for the sentence of death. Pilate for a time resists their clamorous demands; and would save Christ, if he could do so without loss to himself. But, when he hears the threat, "If thou settest this man free thou art not Cæsar's friend," he yields, and delivers up Christ to be crucified. The Chorus, as usual, explains the figure and adds a moral.

„D Neid! satanisches Gezücht;
Was unternimmst, was wagst du nicht,
Um deinen Groll zu stillen?
Nichts ist dir heilig, nichts zu gut;
Du opferst Alles deiner Wuth
Und deinem bösen Willen.

„Weh dem, den diese Leidenschaft
In Schlangenfetten mit sich rafft!
Vor neidischen Gelüsten,
D Brüder! bleibet auf der Hut;
Nie lasset diese Natternbrut
In euren Busen nisten.“

A procession is seen advancing down the streets of Jerusalem. As it comes near we recognise the Saviour in fetters, conducted by a band of soldiers, and followed by a motley crowd of people. Conspicuous in the crowd are the Chief Priests, the Scribes, and the money changers. Pilate comes out, with his attendants, on the balcony of his house, and looks down with an air of haughty indifference, almost approaching contempt, on the surging multitude below. A conference ensues, in which the calm dignity of the Roman Governor is brought out in striking contrast with the wrath and fury of the Jews. The Chief Priests recite the list of their accusations: "We found this man perverting our nation; forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar; calling himself a King." Pilate turns to Christ and says, "Hast thou nothing to answer to these charges? You see in how many things they accuse

thee." But the Saviour is silent: and Pilate, wondering at his silence, and struck by the majesty of his deportment, desires an audience with him in the judgment hall.

The audience over, he comes out again on the balcony and declares that he finds "no guilt in this man." This announcement is received with fierce clamour by the people. A tumultuous scene ensues. The Chief Priests repeat their charges, saying "He stirretlr up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee even to this place." When Pilate hears of Galilee he asks if "this man is a Galilean:" and being told that it is so, he sends him to Herod, the Governor of Galilee, who has come up to Jerusalem for the Feast of the Passover.

ACT XII.

CHRIST AT THE COURT OF HEROD.

TABLEAU. *Samson in the House of Dagon, the Sport of the Philistines.*

Judges xvi. 23—30. Samson, the deliverer of his people, having fallen into the hands of his enemies, is brought up, in their midst, at a great feast in the house of Dagon—an object of mockery and derision. He is seen in the act of grasping the pillars which support the house, and pulling down the building on the princes of the Philistines; thus obtaining a triumph in the moment of his death. So, too, as the Chorus explains, Christ is derided at the Court of Herod, and, like Samson, by his death, he triumphs over his enemies.

Herod is seated on his throne, and is evidently much pleased when the Saviour is brought before him: for he has heard a great deal of the wonders wrought by Jesus of Nazareth. He asks him many curious questions, but the Son of man is silent. He calls on him to work a miracle: but in vain. Then, as if to save his kingly dignity, which has been thus humbled in the sight of his courtiers, he delivers him up to the mockery of the soldiers. They clothe him in a purple garment; they put into his hand a reed for a sceptre; and they hail him, with derisive laughter, as a King. Meanwhile the multitude cry aloud with savage fury, "To death with him, to death with him." But Herod can find in his conduct nothing deserving of death, and sends him back again to Pilate.

ACT XIII.

JESUS IS SCOURGED AND CROWNED WITH THORNS.

TABLEAU I. *Jacob lamenting over the blood-stained Garment of Joseph.*—*Gen.* xxxvii. 31—35. This Tableau brings us back again upon the history of Joseph, whom we have already seen sold to the Ismaelite merchants for twenty pieces of silver. His brethren

now appear in the presence of their aged father, presenting to him the many-coloured coat of his favourite son, stained with blood. Jacob stands in the background, in an agony of grief, while the Chorus sings a lamentation, and discovers in the blood-stained coat of Joseph, an image of the Redeemer bleeding from many wounds under the lash of the Roman soldiers.

TABLEAU II. *Abraham on Mount Moria sees a ram with its head entangled in thorns.—Gen. xxii. 9—13.* This picture is a symbol of Christ crowned with thorns, who is chosen by God as a sacrifice for sin, in the place of mankind, already under sentence of eternal death. Isaac, his hands bound behind his back, is laid out on the altar for sacrifice, whilst Abraham, with an expression of mournful resolution, already holds the knife in his uplifted hand. An angel checks his arm, and points to a ram with its head entangled in a thorn bush.

It must be admitted that, at this part of the Play, the Tableaux Vivants, considered as types of the Passion, are rather fanciful, and sometimes almost puerile. But this is a defect much more striking in the description than in the actual representation. These pictures are very useful to relieve, at intervals, the feelings of the audience, which, in the more tragic scenes, are often strained to an almost painful degree of tension. Besides, however fanciful they may be thought, as types, they are, with few exceptions, beautiful, as pictures, from the artistic grouping of the figures, and are made still more attractive by the graceful music of the orchestra and the religious chant of the Chorus. There is much reason to fear that, in the description, they may be found dull, if not wearisome: but all who have seen them will agree that they help very much to embellish the Play.

As the curtain falls on the second Tableau the shouts of the people are heard behind the scenes, "To death with him, to death with him." Immediately after, Christ is led in, and brought up before the house of Pilate, who again appears on the balcony. A long and stormy scene ensues, in which the Roman governor is divided between his sense of justice and his fear of losing favour with the multitude. At length, in the foolish hope of ending the matter by a compromise, he gives Jesus up to be scourged; and the Saviour is led away amidst the shouts of the multitude still calling for his death.

In a few minutes the sound of the lash is heard behind the curtain of the inner stage: and, as the dropscene slowly rises, the figure of the Redeemer is seen bound to a pillar, with blood trickling down from his many wounds. The scourging being finished he is released from the pillar: the purple cloak is again thrown over his shoulders; the reed is put into his

hand ; and he is derided as a mock King. One thing only is wanting—a crown. So the soldiers make a circlet of sharp thorns, and press it down upon his head, with two crossed sticks, causing the blood to spurt out over his face. Throughout this scene the roughness and insensibility of the Roman soldiers are faithfully represented. But this only tends to make the effect more impressive, and not less devotional : for the spectators have learned to feel, as they never felt before, how great were the sufferings endured by the Saviour of the world.

ACT XIV.

CHRIST CONDEMNED TO DEATH.

TABLEAU I. *Joseph honoured as the Father of his People.—Gen. xli.*

41—43. Seated on a triumphal car, and clad in silken robes, with a chain of gold about his neck, Joseph is surrounded by a countless multitude of people, who hail him with shouts of joy as the saviour of his country. So, too, the Saviour of the world will soon be presented to his people ; to be received, however, not like Joseph, with shouts of joy, but with shouts of hatred and derision.

TABLEAU II. *The Scapegoat set free to wander in the Wilderness.—Levit.*

xvi. 7—10. Moses is kneeling before the altar. The goat that has been slain by Aaron for the sins of the people lies bleeding on one side : while the emissary goat is on the point of being dismissed, to wander free in the desert. In like manner, as the Chorus sing, interpreting the type, Barabbas is set free, and Christ is offered in sacrifice for the sins of mankind. The chant of the Chorus is, at intervals, interrupted by the cries of the populace behind the scenes ; and a fine effect is produced, which may vie with the greatest triumphs of dramatic skill. Some of the words have been turned into English by a distinguished writer.

Chorus : „ Ich höre schon ein Mordgeschrei :

Volk : „ Barabbas sei
Von Banden frei !

Chorus : „ Nein, Jesus sei
Von Banden frei !—
Wild tönet, ach ! der Mörder Stimm' :

Volk : „ Ans Kreuz mit ihm ! ans Kreuz mit ihm !

Chorus : „ Ach, seht ihn an ! ach, seht ihn an !
Was hat er Böses denn gethan ?

Volk : „ Entläßt du den Bosewicht,
Dann bist des Kaisers Freund du nicht.

Chorus : „ Jerusalem ! Jerusalem !
Das Blut des Sohnes rächet noch an euch der Herr !

Volk : „ Es falle über uns und unsere Kinder her !

Chorus : „ Es komme über euch und eure Kinder !“

Chorus : " I hear approach a murderous cry :

People : " Let Barabbas be
From his bonds set free !

Chorus : " Nay, let Jesus be
From his bonds set free !
Wildly sounds the murderer's cry !

People : " Crucify him ! crucify !

Chorus : " Ah, look on him ! Behold the Man !
Oh, say what evil hath he done !

People : " If thou settest this man free,
Cæsar's friend thou canst not be.

Chorus : " Jerusalem ! Jerusalem ! Woe, woe to thee !
The blood of Christ by God avenged shall be !

People : " His blood on us and on our children fall !

Chorus : " Yea, upon you, and on your children all !"

The shouts of the people come nearer and nearer as the choristers retire ; and soon the stage is filled with an angry and excited multitude, clamouring, before the house of Pilate, for the death of Christ. Pilate appears on the balcony, and with him appears the Saviour, clad in his purple robe, with the reed in his hand, and the crown of thorns on his head. Some hope still lingers in the breast of the Roman governor that he may move the multitude to compassion ; and pointing to the suffering, but still majestic, form of the Redeemer, he presents him to the people with the well known words : " Behold the man." But he only provokes the fury of the rabble, who cry aloud with ever increasing violence, " To death with him, to death with him ! Crucify him, crucify him !"

One expedient yet remains. Even a condemned criminal may be released by the people on occasion of the great festival that is now at hand. Surely this clemency may be exercised in favour of Christ. To make the appeal more effective, Barabbas, an outcast of society, is brought up from his prison cell, and set before the people. Poor old Johann Allinger, who represents this character, manages to assume the look and bearing of a low-bred ruffian. As he stands beside the Christ, and the people are called upon to make a choice between them, it is impossible not to feel a new sense of the infinite depth of humiliation to which our Lord descended for the sins of men.

The multitude demand to have Barabbas set free and Christ condemned to death. Pilate hesitates. A message comes from his wife warning him to have no share in this

evil work. But the Chief Priests, who have been busy, all along, among the people, now come to the front, and, with wicked ingenuity, remind him that Christ had set himself up for a king; adding the significant threat, "If thou settest this man free thou art not Cæsar's friend." This is decisive. The refined and courtly Roman, who loves his own ease and dignity more than he loves justice, will not risk the Emperor's displeasure to save an innocent man. Nevertheless, he seeks, by a flimsy sophistry, to clear his soul from the appearance of guilt. He calls for water and a basin: washes his hands in the presence of the crowd; and then pronounces sentence of death, declaring, at the same time, "I am innocent of the blood of this just man: look you to it." And the exulting shouts of the multitude rend the air as they cry, "His blood be upon us and on our children."

ACT XV.

THE JOURNEY TO CALVARY.

TABLEAU I. *Isaac carrying the Wood for the Sacrifice.*—Gen. xxii. 6—8. Isaac, devoted to death, by God's command, is seen climbing the hill of Moria, by the side of Abraham, his father, and bearing on his back the wood for the sacrifice of which he is to be himself the victim. Thus, too, the Chorus tells us, will Jesus carry his cross to Calvary.

„Betet an und habet Dank;
Der den Kelch der Leiden trank,
Geht nun in den Kreuzestod
Und versöhnt die Welt mit Gott.

„Wie das Opferholz getragen
Isaak selbst auf Moria,
Wanket, mit dem Kreuz beladen,
Jesus hin nach Golgotha.“

TABLEAU II. *A Brazen Serpent is raised aloft by Moses in the Desert.*—Numb. xxi. 6—9. The Israelites, encamped in the wilderness of Sin, suffer great torment from the bites of fiery serpents. Moses, by command of God, raises on high a brazen serpent—a type of Christ raised up on the cross for the salvation of men. The Chorus interprets the type in song.

TABLEAU III. *The Israelites look at the Brazen Serpent and are healed.*—Numb. xxi. 6—9. This picture exhibits again the same group of men, women, and children. In the midst of them is a great wooden cross, round the arms of which is coiled the brazen serpent. Moses points to it as the remedy for their sufferings: and the eyes of all the people are fixed on it. So, too, the Chorus sings, they who turn to the Redeemer on the cross will be healed from their sins.

The sound of many voices is now heard from afar: and, presently, a noisy and excited crowd is seen filing down the street, on the right hand side of the stage. At the head of the procession appears the Christ, his pale face bedewed with drops of blood, and his stately form bowed down under the weight of a heavy wooden cross. Around him are the Roman soldiers, men of stalwart limbs, and unfeeling hearts, who urge him on with stripes, when he pauses for a moment, from utter weariness and exhaustion. The captain of the band is on horseback, and bears aloft a standard, the symbol of Roman authority.

Next come the two thieves, attended by their executioners, and laden, in like manner, each with the cross on which he is to suffer. But they are fresh and vigorous, and swagger on with an air of careless indifference. Lastly come the Chief Priests, the Pharisees, and the money changers of the temple, with a countless multitude of men and women, old and young.

At length the Saviour totters and falls to the ground. The Chief Priests are angry at the delay; and Simon of Cyrene, who happens to come up at the time, is roughly seized hold of and compelled to carry the cross. A group of pious women, shortly afterwards, meet the procession with wailing and lamentation. The Redeemer turns to them, with a countenance of love and compassion; and, breaking at last the silence he has kept so long, he says "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children." The voice is low and weak, but so solemn and distinct is the utterance, so still the audience, that every syllable is heard throughout the vast assembly, and silent tears flow fast. As the procession advances, Mary, the mother of Christ, with Mary Magdalen and Saint John, approach towards it from one of the side streets. The mother exchanges glances with her son, and follows in mournful silence. And all move on to Calvary.

ACT XVI.

THE CRUCIFIXION.

As the procession disappears in the distance the choristers enter as usual from either side of the stage. But they have laid aside their brilliant robes, and now appear in garments of deepest mourning. There is no Tableau; but the leader of the Chorus, in a plaintive monologue, calls on the audience to come with hearts full of compassion and gratitude to Calvary where the Redeemer, "silent, patient, and forgiving," is crucified for the sins of men. As he proceeds the dull heavy

blows of a hammer are heard behind the curtain of the inner stage, and he describes the scene which, though out of view, is, by these sounds, made vividly present to every imagination.

Passing at length, almost imperceptibly, from monologue to chant, he sings of Christ's love for man, and then, joined by the whole chorus, he calls on all present, in return for this love, to bring with them love and devotion to the altar of the Cross,

„D bringet dieser Liebe
Nur fromme Herzenstriebe
Am Kreuzaltar
Zum Opfer dar!“

The chorus retires: the curtain rises. . . Two crosses are standing erect, one on either side, to which the two thieves are already bound by strong cords passing round their arms and legs. In the centre of the stage a third cross, on which is seen the figure of the Christ, is stretched along the ground. At a given signal it is raised in the air bearing its victim aloft: with a perceptible jerk it falls into a socket prepared for it; and the scene of the Crucifixion is before us in living reality.

To all appearance the body of Joseph Mair, which is covered with a tight fitting, flesh coloured garment, and has a cincture of white linen, loosely folded round at the waist, is fastened to the cross by large rough nails that pierce his hands and feet. The arms are stretched out almost horizontally, as in the picture of Guido Reni: the feet are placed one above the other, with a slender support beneath, and are fastened by a single nail; the head, which still wears its crown of thorns, is slightly bowed down on the breast. Blood oozes from all the wounds, and trickles slowly to the ground.

All the details of the Gospel history are minutely and faithfully reproduced. The excited and turbulent crowd is there with its blasphemies and shouts of derision. The Chief Priests and the Scribes stand by, full of triumph and scorn. The Roman soldiers, rough and unfeeling, divide among themselves the garments of the Man of Sorrows, and cast lots for his seamless tunic. All this time the three bodies are suspended in the air, and one almost begins to fancy it is a picture or a vision, until, at length, voices are heard from the crosses on either side, above the storm that rages below. One of the malefactors joins in the blasphemies of the crowd: the other rebukes him, and appeals for mercy to the Saviour suffering by his side. Then the Central Figure, in which the sympathies of all are concentrated, is seen to move its lips, and the well-known words are heard: "Amen, I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in Paradise."

As time wears on, the Virgin Mother, with Mary Magdalen and Saint John, comes close up to the cross. When Christ sees his mother standing there, and the disciple that he loves, he says to his mother: "Woman, behold thy son," and to the disciple: "Behold thy mother." And so, one by one, those beautiful sentences fall on the ear which once fell from the Redeemer's lips on Calvary, until, with a great effort, the last words are pronounced, "It is consummated," and his head falls down lifeless on his breast.

A loud crash, as if of thunder, is heard behind the scenes. Presently, a messenger rushes in with the news that the veil of the Temple is rent in twain from top to bottom. The Chief Priests start back in terror and dismay, and, eagerly discoursing among themselves, withdraw from the scene. Then come the executioners to examine the bodies. Finding the thieves still living they strike them violently with clubs on the legs and chest, until they expire. They are coming towards the Christ, when Mary Magdalen rushes forward and, with outstretched arms, presses them back, exclaiming that they have already done enough. Not much do they care for her interference: but seeing that the Christ is already dead they are content. Nevertheless a soldier, coming up with a lance, pierces the left side, and a stream of blood gushes out. The bodies of the malefactors are now quickly uncorded and carried away by the executioners. The crowd gradually disperses: and the Christ, still hanging on the cross, is left to the pious care of his friends.

Joseph of Arimathea, who had sought and obtained the necessary authority from Pilate, proceeds to take down the body and prepare it for sepulture. In this he is assisted by Nicodemus, who has come provided with spices. A ladder is placed in front of the cross, and another behind it. Joseph mounts in front, and having first, with great tenderness, removed the crown of thorns, receives from Nicodemus, who is on the ladder behind, a long roll of stout linen cloth. This he places across the chest and under the arms of the body: the ends are then taken up behind the shoulders, and passed over the arms of the cross, so as to fall down behind to the ground. They are received below and held fast by two men, while the nails are slowly, and, as it would seem, with difficulty, extracted. Then the linen cloth is gradually relaxed, and the body, supported in front by Joseph and reverently lowered to the ground. Here it is received on a large linen sheet, and stretched out at length with the head reclining on the lap of the Virgin Mother, as we have so often seen represented in pictures and statuary. Nico-

demus applies his spices: the linen cloth is folded round the body: it is carried, with great reverence, to the sepulchre at the back of the stage; and as they roll up a large stone to close the entrance, the curtain slowly falls.

This long and affecting scene, considered merely from a dramatic point of view, seemed to be as near perfection as human acting well could be; and they who have witnessed it will probably have carried away, in their minds, an image of the Crucifixion which will take the place, as a gifted writer has said, of all the pictures they have ever seen, and all the descriptions they have ever heard. The figure of the Christ hung upon the cross pretty much as we are accustomed to conceive it; but, as I thought, with a beauty of outline such as I had never seen equalled in painting or sculpture. The means by which it is fastened to the cross are, I believe, not exactly known. To the audience there is no support visible but the three nails, and the small rest under the feet. It is, however, generally supposed that the body is mainly suspended by means of a stout strap passing round the waist and attached to the cross behind; that a small elastic band round each wrist helps to support the arms; and that a similar band bears in part the weight of the legs. The body hung on the cross exactly eighteen minutes; fifteen, from the time that the cross was raised until Nicodemus mounted the ladder, and three more while he was extracting the nails, and arranging the linen band by which it was lowered to the ground.

ACT XVII.

THE RESURRECTION.

It has been said more than once by English critics that the Play should end with the scene of the Crucifixion; for, at this point, the interest of the audience has been raised to the highest degree of intensity. If the object of the Play were simply to produce a powerful dramatic effect this criticism would be perfectly just. But happily the pious villagers of Ober-Ammergau never conceived the idea of turning the Passion of our Lord into a sensation drama. It was their high and noble purpose to impress upon common minds, in a vivid and enduring way, the doctrine of the Fall and Redemption of mankind: and this great lesson would have been incomplete if they left out the final triumph of the Redeemer in his Resurrection and glorious Ascension.

TABLEAU I. *Jonas saved from the Depths of the Sea and cast up on dry Land.*—*Jonas* ii.; *Matt.* xii. 39—40. This Tableau, though not very effective as a picture, presents a type of the Resurrection

which was pointed out by our Lord himself. When the Pharisees arrogantly called on him to work a miracle He rebuked them, and said that no sign should be given them but the sign of the prophet Jonas. As Jonas, after three days and three nights in the depths of the sea, was delivered safe on dry land by the power of God, so, on the third day after his death, would the Son of Man be delivered from the grave. In the background is the troubled sea with a ship sailing away in the distance. Nearer is seen the whale with its vast jaws widely distended; and Jonas is just stepping from the waters on dry land. The choristers, who have resumed their bright robes of many colours, explain the type in song.

TABLEAU II. *The Passage of the Red Sea.*—Exod. xiv. 13—31.

In the foreground stand Moses and the children of Israel, who have passed in safety. Further off, Pharaoh and his hosts are seen struggling with the waves. So, too, the Chorus sings, does Christ come forth triumphant from the grave, and so, too, are his enemies overthrown.

Four soldiers are holding guard round the sepulchre in which the Christ was laid. An Angel appears, shining brightly, and rolls away the great stone from the entrance: the rumbling noise of an earthquake is heard: and Christ, encompassed with light, comes forth from the tomb, passes through the group, and quickly disappears. The soldiers, terrified by the noise and dazzled by the light, fall prostrate to the ground, as dead men. After a little they recover, and hurry off to bring the news into the city. Mary Magdalen and the pious women come to the sepulchre with spices and precious ointments. Finding the tomb empty they are filled with consternation. But an Angel consoles them, announcing the joyful tidings: "Fear not; for I know that you seek Jesus, who was crucified. He is not here, for he is risen as He said. Come and see the place where the Lord was laid. And go quickly, and tell his disciples that He is risen from the dead; and behold he will go before you into Galilee; there you shall see Him." And they went forth quickly with great joy to tell the disciples.

Then the Chief Priests come back with the soldiers, and seeing that, in truth, the stone was rolled away and the body gone, they offered them money, saying, "You must say his disciples came at night and stole the body while you were asleep." The soldiers take the money, and all consent but one, who stoutly holds out and protests, "By my honour I'll tell everything just as it occurred." Next come Peter and John, who look into the tomb and go away. Lastly, Mary Magdalen comes again; and to her the Christ appears. At first she takes Him for the gardener, and scarcely looks at

Him : her eyes are fixed on the empty sepulchre. But when she hears from His lips the single word "Maria," she turns quickly round, glances up for a moment, and sinks down at His feet.

CLOSING HYMN OF TRIUMPH,

WITH ALLEGORICAL TABLEAU OF THE ASCENSION.

The choristers enter for the last time and sing, in joyous strains, a chant of praise and triumph.

„ Ueberwunden, überwunden
 Hat der Held der Feinde Macht :
 Er, er schlummerte nur Stunden
 In der düstern Grabeſnacht.
 „ Singet Ihm in heil'gen Psalmen !
 Streuet Ihm des Sieges Palmen !
 Auferstanden ist der Herr !
 Jauchzet Ihm ihr Himmel zu !
 Sing' dem Sieger, Erde, du !
 Halleluja Dir Erstandner !
 „ Preis Ihm, dem Todesüberwinder,
 Der einst verdammt auf Sabbatha !
 Preis Ihm, dem Heiliger der Sünder,
 Der für uns starb auf Golgotha.“

The curtain rises and a brilliant scene is before us. High in the centre of the background is the Christ encompassed with a halo of light. His glorified face is turned towards Heaven to which he is about to ascend. His right hand is raised as if to bless : in his left he carries the banner of victory. The wounds in his hands, his feet, and his left side are distinctly visible, and shine with a peculiar radiance. Close to him stand his blessed Mother and his Apostles : while around are grouped the saints of the Old Covenant ; the Patriarchs and Prophets, Moses with the Tables of the Law, and David with his harp. At a little distance, on lower ground, are his enemies, humbled and prostrate ; the Chief Priests and the money changers, Pilate and Herod, the soldiers and the rabble.

All the various figures are motionless except the Saviour, who slowly rises in the air, still looking up to Heaven ; and the curtain only falls when he seems on the point of passing out of view. Meanwhile the hymn of triumph proceeds :—

„ Bringt Lob und Preis dem Höchsten dar,
 Dem Lamm das getödtet war !
 Halleluja !
 Das siegreich aus dem Grab hervor
 Sich hebt im Triumph empor !
 Halleluja ! Halleluja !

„Ja laßt des Bundes Harfe klingen,
Daß Freude durch die Seele bebt!
Laßt uns dem Sieger Kronen bringen,
Der auferstand und ewig lebt.

„Lobset alle Himmelsheere!
Dem Herrn sei Ruhm und Herrlichkeit!
Anbetung, Macht, und Kraft, und Ehre,
Von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit!“

And so, at a quarter to five in the afternoon, when the summer sun was already sinking to the west, ended the Passion Play which had begun at eight in the morning. The feelings of the audience, for so many hours carefully suppressed, broke forth in a loud murmur of admiration. But there was no clapping of hands, no noisy applause: for every one seemed instinctively to feel that such demonstrations, however natural and well-deserved, would be at once unsuited to the sacred character of the Play, and unwelcome to the high spirit and the religious earnestness of the performers. The great multitude, as if under the influence of some potent charm, quietly broke up and melted away. A few groups only lingered behind; and, with a sort of awe mingled with curiosity, watched the village actors as they emerged from the rear of the Theatre, and modestly wended their way to their rustic homes.

I have endeavoured, in the foregoing pages, to give, with very little comment of my own, a plain account of what I saw and heard at the Passion Play; believing that my readers would much prefer to learn exactly what it was, than to hear what I thought about it. But now that my task is nearly done, it will not be out of place to record the effect produced on those who were present, and the impression carried away when the Play was over. Nothing is more remarkable than the unanimity with which men of every variety of character, and of widely different positions in society, have expressed themselves on this subject. With very few exceptions they all agree in saying that the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau, as a religious spectacle, is instructive and edifying, while, from an artistic point of view, it is a drama of great power and of absorbing interest.

Here are a few sentences hastily gathered, almost at random, from writers who, to say the least, are free from every suspicion of undue prepossession in favour of the Play:—

The *Times* Correspondent writes: "I have never seen so affecting a spectacle, or one more calculated to draw out the best and purest feelings of the heart. It is, of course, impossible to answer for the feelings of others; but I can say for myself, and for several other spectators of the Play whom I have consulted, that there was nothing from the beginning to the end that need shock the most sensitive religious instinct."¹

An article in *Macmillan's Magazine*, which is commonly ascribed to an eminent Divine, of high position in the Church of England, bears witness that from this Play the "German peasants carry away, graven on their memories, the chief facts and doctrines both of the Old and New Testament, with an exactness such as would be vainly sought in the masses of our poorer population, or even, it may be said, with some of our clergy."²

An Englishwoman writing home says, "The simple grandeur of the Christ was almost awful: I forgot all but the wonderful story of our salvation, and cried all day."³

"The effect upon all who were present," says a writer for the *Graphic*, "was solemn to an extraordinary degree; there was nothing to shock the most sensitive religious instincts, and little for the most critical to disapprove of."⁴

From the same writer we have the following: "There was one figure sitting near us during the day—a well-known face and a well-known name in London society—whose customary place at that hour in the afternoon was the bow window of a west-end club, who was literally bathed in tears."⁵

An Oxonian gives a striking account of the struggle in his mind between the influence of prejudice and the influence of the Play:—"All through the Play I kept repeating to myself, 'This is a primitive mediæval half-civilized peasantry, still sunk in the trammels of priestcraft; it has never known what it is to have an open Bible, and a free press; it is deprived of the blessings of the electric telegraph, and is about three hundred years behind the present age.' But it would not do. I could not but confess that I was witnessing, not only a beautiful, but a most subtle and delicate and thoughtful rendering of the Gospel history."⁶

Even the *Saturday Review* forgets its wonted asperity, and

¹ The Ober-Ammergau Passion Play; reprinted from the *Times*: by the Rev. Malcolm McColl, M.A., pp. 84, 85.

² *Macmillan's Magazine*; October, 1860, p. 477.

³ Quoted by Mr. Blackburn, "Art in the Mountains," p. 143.

⁴ "Art in the Mountains," by Henry Blackburn, p. 141.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 143.

⁶ Impressions of the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play, by an Oxonian, p. 25.

speaks with kindness of the Passion Play, which it regards as "a means of decided moral and intellectual improvement."¹

And a favorite novelist, the author of *Quits*, tells us that her heroine felt that this Play "would take the place of all the pictures and statues she had ever seen, and remain indelibly impressed on her mind for ever."²

To these interesting testimonies I may, perhaps, be allowed to add the evidence of my own experience. I went to Ober-Ammergau with a prejudice against the Passion Play. It seemed to me, though I could not exactly say why, that a certain irreverence was involved in the very idea of such a representation. And moreover, I greatly feared that, from want of skill on the part of village actors, events the most sacred in the eyes of all Christians, would be brought into unpleasant contact with grotesque and ludicrous associations. But no sooner had the Play commenced than my prejudices were dispelled. It became at once manifest that a spirit of deep religious reverence pervaded the performance; and that with this was combined a degree of artistic taste which could not fail to win the respect and admiration of every cultivated mind. I was more sensibly impressed than ever I had been by any sermon however eloquent; and when I left the theatre I felt that the history of our Lord's Passion had been stamped on my mind in a series of vivid pictures, which could not easily be effaced.

Nevertheless I am no advocate for the more frequent repetition of the Passion Play; nor for its extension beyond the village of Ober-Ammergau. The peculiar combination of circumstances which, in the course of many generations, have brought it to its present perfection in this mountain hamlet, could not, I think, be found elsewhere in the world; nor could they long subsist even here without the protection which is afforded by its rare recurrence. The curiosity of visitors would easily degenerate into irreverence; and the simple piety of the people would inevitably suffer from frequent contact with an ever changing concourse of tourists. The most that I can venture to hope is that the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau may long continue to be surrounded by the safeguards which have hitherto protected its religious character, and that as each ten years come round, it may still be repeated in the same earnest spirit of devotion, and with the same artistic taste, from which so many thousands have drawn edification and instruction in the summer of 1871.

¹ *Saturday Review*, September 24, 1871.

² *Quits*, by the Baroness Tautphoeus, vol. i., chap. xviii.

THE PAPAL VOLUNTEERS UNDER GENERAL LAMORICIERE IN 1860.¹

GENTLEMEN,

A glance at the map of Italy will enable you to see, on its eastern coast, which is washed by the Adriatic, a large town called Ancona. It has a spacious harbour, lined with shipping and guarded by strong forts. From the harbour good-sized hills rise like a horse-shoe in shape; their slopes are covered with shabby streets, and from their highest summit frowns a huge fortress bristling with cannon. Here it was, in the year 1860, that General Lamoriciere collected the small but gallant army of the Pope, and made his last stand against the invading legions of Piedmont. Some eight miles south of Ancona, on the Sinigaglia-road, there is a small village called the "Torretta." It has a mediæval castle, and is surrounded by very rich country, carved into neat and highly-cultivated farms. This was the head-quarters of the Piedmontese camp during the siege of Ancona in 1860; and about midnight of the 30th September of that year, the whole Papal garrison of Ancona, after honourable capitulation, were marched prisoners of war into a field here, where they were left to sleep under the open air, and allowed one loaf of black bread, with a moiety of bad wine, in the day to live upon. Among the prisoners were about 500 Irishmen; I was one of them, and on the second day of my captivity a dialogue passed between myself and an officer of the Piedmontese or Sardinian army which I will now relate as faithfully as I can, because it is, I consider, the most suitable form in which to present to you, in its strongest light, the nature of that cause which brought Irishmen to Italy in 1860 to fight under the Papal flag. Early in the day I observed this officer bustling through our quarters as if he were bent on some important mission, and eyeing us apparently with the greatest interest. I had not to wait long to know the object of his mission, for he soon fell in with Captain Russell, and initiated a conversation with him. Hardly were the preliminary compliments spoken when a warm discussion arose which attracted a crowd. The Sardinian was quoting Scripture in the most excited manner to prove that the Pope ought not to be a temporal prince, and Captain Russell kept loudly and angrily asking him to define the word *robbery*. The Sardinian at last began to gesticulate violently, but was groaned and hissed, and at length obliged to retire with a brother officer who came up to his rescue. Nothing daunted by his failure, he

¹ A Lecture delivered before the Catholic Literary Society, in Dublin, April, 1871.

returned after some short time, and having approached close to where I was standing, he politely asked me did I speak Italian, and being answered in the affirmative, he launched into the following dialogue:—

“May I ask you,” he inquired, “why have you come to fight for the Pope?”

“In our country we often answer a question by asking another. May I ask why have you come to fight *against* the Pope?”

“Simply, because the Pope has no right to temporal dominion.”

“And therefore Sardinia has a right to make war against him?”

“Certainly; Sardinia has a most perfect right to release the people of the Papal States from his power.”

“Has Austria the same right? or France? or England?”

“No; why should they? They are strangers; Piedmont is Italian.

“Has Naples? Naples, you know, is not a stranger.”

“No; Naples is ruled by a tyrant who himself must soon fall.”

“Naples is ruled by Francis II.; Piedmont, by Victor Emmanuel. Honestly, now, which is the better type of a tyrant?”

“This is not the question. The question is—Has the Pope a right to a temporal principality? Now, I will prove to you from holy Scripture that he ought not to be a temporal prince. St. Peter, you know, was a poor fisherman, and was ordered to carry neither purse nor scrip.”

“Then you ought to infer that the Pope must not wear shoes; for the text is, neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes, and salute no man by the way.”

“Well, putting aside the purely literal sense—seriously, does not the text show that the Pope ought not to have any temporal power?”

“No; so far as it bears on the question at all, it shows the contrary.”

How! my very dear friend; will you have the goodness to explain?”

“The Scripture shows that the Pope ought to be entirely free and unimpeded in the discharge of the duties of his Apostolic office. Now, as things stand in the world at present, his independence can be secured only by his being left in the undisturbed possession of his temporal sovereignty.”

“Might he not be sufficiently free under a liberal and enlightened government, such, for example, as that of Piedmont?”

“Sufficiently free! Yes, that freedom which Piedmont has guaranteed by seizing the property of convents, and banishing bishops from their sees.”

“Our government has done only what it had a perfect right to do. I will not listen to those attacks on Piedmont.”

“Then the alternative still rests with you. I did not volunteer my remarks.”

After a few more words, not very complimentary to me, he walked away.

From this, Gentlemen, you have inferred the nature of the cause which made Irishmen flock to Rome in 1859, and enlist in the army of the Pope—namely, to secure the successor of St. Peter in the undisturbed possession of his temporal sovereignty, which was given to him by Providence to make him free and independent in the duties of his Apostolic office. Christ taught men truth or faith, that holding it and professing it by an unfailling practice, they would be saved. When He retired from our midst, He did not take this only means of salvation with Him; He left it behind Him, and committed it to such safe keeping as would secure it from change of any kind. He knew it would be assailed, and at once, by man, whose intellect is proud and wayward, and whose will is feeble. It, therefore, became necessary for Him to appoint a guardian of truth, a living speaking authority, to decide controversies and distinguish truth from heresy. This living speaking judge is the Pope, the head of the Church, the centre of unity, and to him Christ gave all the prerogatives, spiritual and temporal, which are required for the proper fulfilment of this office. It is the office of judging what is true and what is false, what is sin and what is not sin, of condemning crime in the prince as well as in the peasant; of keeping the scales of justice evenly balanced between the king and his subject. The Pope, therefore, will have to warn, censure, and condemn; and if the men who are so warned, censured, and condemned, be in power, they will naturally employ all the force, moral and physical at their command, to prevent the Pope from doing his duty. Then, in the discharge of this high office, on which our eternal destiny hangs, the Pope must be placed above all suspicion. Would he be so if he were the subject of any crowned head? You have heard how, in the beginning of this century, England, by her intrigues, sought to have a veto on the appointment of Irish Bishops; if the Pope were a British subject, would his action, though perfectly independent, be above suspicion? The great Napoleon, who himself sought, throughout his remarkable career, to make the Pope subject to his will, has left us his views on this matter.

“The Pope,” he says, “is out of Paris, and it is well ; he dwells not at Madrid, nor at Vienna ; and it is on this account that we submit to his spiritual authority. At Vienna and Madrid the same could be said. Do you believe, that if he were at Paris, the Austrians and Spaniards would consent to receive his decisions ? We are, then, too happy that he resides away from us, and that residing away from us, he does not reside with our rivals ; that he inhabits that old Rome, far from the land of the Emperors of Germany, far from that of France and the Kings of Spain, holding the balance between Catholic Sovereigns, inclined always a little more towards the strong, and promptly raising himself up if the strong should become the oppressor. It is the ages which have done this, and they have done well. For the government of souls it is the best and most fortunate institution that could be imagined.”¹ When, therefore, Christ committed to the Pope the office of guarding and teaching the truth, he must have intended to place him outside the reach of all physical and moral restraint, and above all suspicion ; he must have fixed him in a position in which his hand and his tongue will be as free as his conscience. This independence, as the world is now constituted, can be secured only by an independent temporal sovereignty which will make the Pope as free as any other temporal prince. In the beginning the Popes were not temporal kings, because human malice was then directed to crush the Christian name and not the Christian truth. It was only when the rage for Christian blood had spent itself, and that error and sin began to war against truth, that the office of the Pope required an independent temporal sovereignty. “It was then given,” to use the words of the present Pope, “to the Roman Pontiff in order that not being a subject of any civil government he may exercise, with the fullest liberty and without any obstacle, throughout the whole universe, the supreme office of the Apostolic Ministry which has been confided to him by Jesus Christ.”² It is the result of a particular design of Divine Providence, and not a gift from Constantine or Charlemagne, for the Pope was not a King in the time of Constantine, and Charlemagne only beat back from the Papal Dominions the barbarian hordes from the North. The Providence of God will always surround the supreme spiritual power of the Pope with such means as will effectually secure its free exercise ; it would be useless to give it unless it could be exercised, and it would be worse than useless if its exercise

¹ Thiers' History of the Consulate and Empire.

² Encyclical, 19th January, 1860.

were hampered and controlled by external influence. This sovereignty, though temporal, has also a spiritual side, because of its intimate connexion with the highest and holiest interests of religion, and therefore to assail it is to assail the sacred interests of religion. Religion has always taught that liberty is impossible without order, order impossible without government, and government impossible without the solemn conviction on the part of the people, that authority to govern comes from God, and that they are therefore bound in conscience to obey it. Revolution, on the contrary, teaches—never more actively than at present—that authority to rule comes directly and solely from the people, who can give it and take it away when and how they may think fit; that it is perfectly lawful to plot and conspire against legitimate and proper government; in short, that obedience to external authority is an invasion of liberty—the natural right of man. The Pope, to whom God entrusted the guardianship of religion, has always fixed an unhesitating condemnation upon these destructive principles; but they have grown, nevertheless, because they appeal to the worst passions of the human heart, namely, the pride and self-assertion of man against the duty of obedience. It is not, therefore, matter for surprise, that Victor Emmanuel, the king of Piedmont, who assumed the advocacy of these principles, should have sent his army in 1860 to crush by violence the safeguard of the Pope's spiritual independence. Then it was that the sons of Catholic Ireland joined the noblest blood of France and Belgium to drive back from the Papal States, not barbarians from the north, as in the days of Charlemagne, but those who sought to cripple the Pope's power because he is the supreme guardian of truth. The Pontifical army was a small one. It was under the command of Lamoriciere, a name high in the military roll of France, and higher still in the respect of the Catholic world. When revolution had forced the Pope into the necessity of raising an army to defend the Pontifical territory from the incursions of Garibaldi and Masi, this distinguished French general was asked to assume the command of it. Keen-eyed soldier as he was, he knew the difficulties that awaited him; but the head of the Church had asked him and he regarded his request as a command. The day after he arrived in Rome—the 9th April, 1860—he published the following order of the day:—“Soldiers: Our Holy Father Pius IX., having deigned to summon me to the defence of his disregarded and menaced rights, I have not hesitated for a moment to take up my sword once more. At the echo of that venerable voice, which has already made known to the

world, from the summit of the Vatican, the dangers which surround the patrimony of St. Peter, Catholicity has been stirred, and this movement extends from end to end of the world. Christianity is not only the religion of the civilized world, but it is the source and very existence of civilization. Ever since the Papacy has become the centre of Christianity, all Christian nations show a conscious knowledge of these great truths, on which are based our faith, even in these our days. As Islamism once menaced Europe, so does now the spirit of revolution; and now, as then, the cause of the Papacy is the cause of civilization and of the liberty of the world. Soldiers, have confidence; be assured that God will sustain our courage, and raise it to the height of that cause the defence of which He has committed to our army."

(To be continued.)

LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

XXIII. RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I often wonder very much that as you gave your imagination such loose rein in attacking everything connected with the Catholic dogmas, not forgetting its morality and worship, you had neglected to speak of religious communities, which are a favourite institution of the Catholic Church. Incredulists can scarcely mention Catholicity, without indulging in some attack on religious communities; and, to tell the truth, I have been greatly surprised to find you so moderate. I had no doubt that you professed principles of tolerance and liberty; but as experience has shown me that a rigorous application of these principles is not always made, I was uncertain whether you would make an exception against religious communities, by putting them outside the pale of the law. Fortunately, I have had the pleasure of being deceived; and it has been to me a particular satisfaction to hear from your mouth, that though you do not profess the Catholic doctrines, nor feel inclined to exchange the bustle of

the world for the silence and solitude of the cloister, you can comprehend that other men may be of a different turn of mind, and embrace with sincerity and fervour a system of life totally opposed to worldly ideas and customs.

I also see, with much pleasure, that you recognise the necessity and justice of leaving every one at full liberty to embrace a religious life in the form and manner he pleases. I have nothing to add to the following words I find in your letter :—" I could never comprehend on what the restrictive systems regarding religious life are founded. Those who have money enjoy ample liberty to spend it as they please, and no one interferes with them, though they lead the gayest life in the world ; those who are fond of pleasure enjoy it without more restriction than the limits of their purse, or their sanitary provisions ; the lovers of feasts celebrate them without interference, though the glee of the toasts and the noise of the orchestra disturb the neighbourhood ; those who like to dwell in splendid mansions, and make magnificent displays, do so without more formality than that of consulting the weight of their pockets, or the patience of their creditors ; nor is there a want of liberty for the corruption of morals, and libertinism under different forms is tolerated by the authorities, so that it does not glaringly outrage public decorum. The prodigal scatters ; the miser heaps up ; the restless agitate ; the curious travel ; the erudite study ; the philosopher meditates ; everyone lives conformably to his ideas, necessities, or caprices. There is complete liberty for the whole world : commercial companies are formed ; societies of employers or tradesmen ; mining associations ; societies of beneficence, of science, of literature, of the fine arts ; and shall we not leave some individuals, who believe they are doing a good work, at full liberty to serve God, be useful to their fellow-men, and obey a vocation from heaven, by uniting under determined rules, with these or those obligations, for this or that object ? I repeat, I could never comprehend that strange jurisprudence, which restricts a thing which, if not good, is certainly inoffensive. I can, without difficulty, understand the partial violation to their prejudice of the principles of tolerance and liberty, when the religious communities had not only a great number of individuals, but also possessed great wealth ; but at the present time, when, between ourselves, the dangers of monastic domination are no more than party cries to create confusion, it appears to me not only unjust, but even impolitic, to exercise an oppressive violence, which conduces to no good. The spirit of the age is certainly not favourable to monastic institutions ; and I think the world is more threatened with

dissolution through the love of substantial enjoyments, than with sterility through sack-cloth and fasting." Thus you have saved me the trouble of entering into reflections on this point, and give expression clearly and concisely to the feelings of all judicious men, who are free from a spirit of rancorous partiality. I will, consequently, come to deal rapidly with the questions you put me, about the relations of religious institutions with religion itself and with society in general.

You ask me to throw some light on the debated question of whether religious institutions are a thing so essential in the Church, that they cannot be attacked without shaking the foundations of Catholicity ; " for the variety of opinions which history and experience give us on this point, occasions hot discourses and interminable disputes." There is nothing more easy, my dear friend, than to satisfy your desires on this head, for I believe if we once clear up the ideas connected with it, there can be no more hot discourses, nor interminable disputes, nor questions of any sort.

The unity of faith, the sacraments, the authority of the legitimate pastors, distributed in the proper hierarchy under the primacy of honour and jurisdiction of the successor of St. Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Roman Pontiff, are things essential in the Catholic Church. Among them you do not find religious communities ; and if for a moment we suppose they have all been suppressed, without a single one remaining on the face of the earth, the Church exists still ; she lives with her dogmas, with her morals, with her sacraments, with her discipline, with her admirable hierarchy, and with her divine authority. This is indubitable ; and in this sense it is equally true and indubitable that religious communities are not essential to Catholicity. In this there is neither dispute nor question of any sort. Let us proceed.

In the Catholic Church there is faith which teaches us sublime truths about the destiny of man, some terrible, others consoling ; there is hope which raises us on its divine wings, and bears us towards the celestial regions, inspiring us with fortitude in the momentary adversities we suffer on earth, and infusing a holy moderation in the smooth fortune which, perhaps, may smile on us, exhibiting it in all its littleness and evanescence when compared with the eternal and infinite good to which we should aspire ; there is charity, which makes us love God above all things, ourselves included, and all men in God, and consequently inspires us with the desire of being useful to our fellow-men ; there is the Gospel, in which, besides the precepts, compliance with which is necessary to enter into eternal life, are contained the sublime counsels of selling all

and giving it to the poor; of divesting oneself completely of self-will; of embracing the cross and following Jesus Christ without looking behind, and of leading a life, chaste as angels, in heaven; and there is a vivifying spirit which illumines understandings, masters wills, softens hearts, transforms the entire man, and renders him capable of heroic resolutions, which human weakness could not even conceive. All this is there in the Christian religion; and what is the necessary result? It is this: some men, not satisfied with limiting themselves to the fulfilment of the Divine Commandments, desire to take, as the rule of their conduct, not only the precepts, but also the counsels of the Gospel. Recollecting the words of Jesus Christ in which he recommends prayer in common, and promises to be present in a particular manner with those who practise it; recollecting the august customs of the primitive church, in which the faithful sold their property and brought its price to the feet of the Apostles; recollecting how very agreeable the virtue of chastity is to God, and how very acceptable obedience is to Jesus Christ, who made Himself obedient even unto death—they collect together to animate and edify each other reciprocally; they promise to God to observe the virtues of poverty, chastity, and obedience, offering Him thus in holocaust what man holds dearest—his liberty—and guarding themselves at the same time against their own inconstancy. Some abandon themselves to the greatest austerities; others to incessant contemplation; others dedicate themselves to the education of children; others to the instruction of youth; others consecrate themselves to the ministry of the Divine Word; others to the ransom of captives; others to the consolation and care of the sick—and behold! you have the religious institutions. Without them Religion can be conceived; but they are its natural fruit; they spring up spontaneously in the garden of faith and hope, under the vivifying breath of the love of God. Wherever Religion is planted, there they appear; if plucked off, they sprout again; if broken up, their dispersed members serve as fruitful seed, from which they will spring again under new forms, equally beautiful and verdant.

You now see, my esteemed friend, that examining the matter from this height, the questions above-mentioned disappear. To ask whether there can be Catholicity without religious communities, is to ask whether where there is a sun that sheds light and heat in all directions, where there is a vivifying air, where there is fruitful earth watered with abundant rain, vegetation can fail; to ask whether religious communities can die for ever, is to ask whether the transitory hurricanes, which

devastate the plains, can prevent vegetation from springing up again, the trees from budding anew and producing fruit, and the fields from groaning under rich harvests. So history teaches, and experience testifies. To wish for a Catholicity that will not inspire some privileged men with the desire of abandoning all for love of Jesus Christ, and consecrating themselves to the meditation of eternal truths and to the good of their fellow-men, is to wish for a Catholicity without the warmth of life, is to imagine a sickly tree whose roots do not penetrate into the heart of the earth, and dies at the first heats of summer, or is easily torn up by the rude blast of the north wind.

You ask me what I think about the social utility of religious communities; and whether I believe that under this aspect a future can be promised them, considering the spirit and tendency of modern civilization. As a letter does not admit of the extension required by the immense question raised by what you ask, I will limit myself to two points of view, which I hope you shall be able to appreciate.

Under the historic aspect it may be taken as a general rule, that the foundation of the different religious institutions, besides their Christian and mystic object, had another eminently social, and exactly accommodated to the necessities of the age. If the history of the religious communities be studied with this idea in view, it will be found wonderfully realized in all times and countries. The East and the West, ancient and modern, contemplative and active life—all afford abundant historical materials to prove the exactness of this observation: in all parts is it found verified with wonderful regularity.¹

This is what I think about the history of the religious communities. It is not possible to produce in a letter the reasons and facts on which I found my opinion. If you have leisure to dedicate yourself to this class of studies, I abandon the question with all security to your sound judgment. Now I am going to say a few words relative to the future of these institutions.

As we believe the Church shall never fail, but shall last to the consummation of ages, we are also sure the divine spirit which animates her, will not allow her to become sterile, but will cause her to produce not only the fruits necessary for eternal life, but also those which contribute to increase her verdure and beauty. The religious communities shall exist there under one form or another. We know not what modifications this form may suffer, but we rest tranquil in the shadow of Providence.

¹ See *Protestantism compared with Catholicism*, vol. 3.

Regarding the social utility of the religious communities in the future, the question appears to me very simple. Can grand examples of morality, the sight of heroic virtues, and of abnegation and disinterestedness without limits, be useful to modern civilization? Has modern society great necessities to satisfy? Do not the education of youth, and particularly of the poorer classes, the organization of labour, the spirit of association on behalf of the great procomunal interests, foundling asylums, penitentiaries, houses of correction, and all sorts of charitable institutions, present extremely complicated problems, and grave difficulties, and require the aid of a disinterested, unselfish, and ardent love of humanity? That disinterestedness, that abnegation, that ardent love of humanity can spring from Christian charity alone. This charity can act in a thousand ways; but the secret of making its action better directed, more energetic and more efficacious, is to personify it in some of those institutions, which rise above particular affections, and live for long ages as a great moral being, in which individuals play no more part than the molecule in the human body, constantly succeeding each other in the movement of the organization.

I repeat, I have a lively hope for the social utility of the religious communities. In the future of modern civilization, they appear to me to be powerful elements of preservation in the midst of the destruction which threatens us, a lenitive for cruel sufferings, and a remedy for terrible evils. Egotism invades everything; and I know no more efficacious means of neutralising it than Christian charity. Men join together to gain, and also to succour each other through calculation; I desire them to unite together to aid each other with absolute forgetfulness of self-interest, offering themselves in holocaust for the good of their fellow-men. This is what the religious communities do; and for this reason I promise myself much from their influence on the future of the world. They cannot be useless, while there are savages and barbarians to civilize, ignorant men to instruct, corrupt men to correct, sick to alleviate, unhappy to console.

Yours affectionately,

J. B.

FRAGMENTA HIBERNICA.

No. I.

UNDER this title we intend to publish, from time to time, short original documents selected from some of the manuscript collections to which we have had access. The several papers vary in date, from that of our oldest authorities down to the seventeenth century, and have no necessary connection in their respective contents beyond that of being all contributions to our native history and literature.

We commence the series with a commentary on S. John xx. 26-29, taken from the so-called "Leabhar Breac," or Speckled Book, "the oldest and best Irish MS. relating to church history now preserved, or which, perhaps, the Irish ever possessed." (*Petrie*, "History and Antiquities of Tara Hill." *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xviii., p. 98). It begins at folio 87, *b*, first column, and ends at folio 89, *b*, first column, line 21. The first word, in accordance with a usual practice, is omitted, and space allowed for its insertion in capitals, which, however, have not been supplied.

The "Speckled Book" itself we do not consider it necessary to describe. An account of it will be found in O'Curry's sixteenth lecture, and a lithograph copy will be soon, thanks to the liberality of the Royal Irish Academy, in the hands of Irish scholars.

Like the Latin in all our ancient manuscripts, the present text exhibits the orthography peculiar to the transcriber's mother tongue. Thus, most of the initial vowels are preceded by the aspirate *h*, and the diphthong *ae* is generally represented by *e* long. The introduction of *n* before *s* into *densolvi* is interesting when compared with the similar instances in the Book of Kells (O'Curry's "Lectures," &c., facsimile *c*), and the presence of *s* in *nosbiscum* is owing to a sort of assimilation. *Lebentius*, *decente*, and *cusdodias*, are the results of regressive, as *incredilus* is of progressive, assimilation. To the first of these influences, so characteristic of the older Irish, must be also ascribed the passage of a smooth into a middle mute of the same organ in *oberibus*, and to the second the contrary change in *vicipus*, *vanitatipus*, and *Tibriatis*. *Discipere*, *discipiunt*, and *incerdulus*, may be quoted as proving the early use of metathesis, and *temlum*, *Tibriatis*, and *sernitas*, that of syncope. Grammatical blunders are not very numerous, and they generally occur in the concords.

The most remarkable feature of the Irish text is one which

we do not remember to have seen so fully exhibited anywhere else, and consists in this, that each Irish sentence is generally a literal rendering of the Latin immediately preceding. Pronominal infixation occurs six times in the first singular, and four in the third (*s*); and four times in the first and third plurals respectively.

The word *petarlaicc* (old law), of which we have the dative and accusative, will be interesting to those who are aware of the old Celtic aversion to *p*, especially as an initial. It is, as far as we know, the only instance yet discovered of the Irish *p* representing the Latin *v* in the beginning of a word. The word occurs in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* (p. 7, col. 2, line 33; p. 12, col. 1, line 1), in the "Grammatica Celtica," and in the "Turin Fragments," published by Nigra (p. 7), but the original *p* is always replaced by the aspirate *f*. Nor have we seen its derivation fully given by any authority. In Zeuss it merely glosses *vetustas* (p. 234), and *antiquitas* (p. 257, 824); and Ebel (*Celtic Studies*, p. 107 *a*), who divides it correctly, whilst rightly quoting the first factor as a Latin loan-word, evidently considers the second a mere suffix.

According to the annotator in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, whose accuracy in this case is beyond doubt, both factors are contained in the celebrated Elegy of S. Columba. The first, *petar* (old), is found (p. 11, col. 2, line 42) in an abbreviated form (*fet*), and the gloss states that it is "the same as *vetus testamentum*," and very appositely adduces a curious partly Irish partly Latin quatrain (p. 12, col. 1, line 1) in proof of the assertion. The second, *laicc* (law) is given twice (p. 9, col. 1, line 37; p. 11, col. 1, line 11), and has been each time correctly explained by the Latin *legis*.

We are thus enabled to say with certainty that it is a compound word, formed from the roots of *vetus* and *lex*; *veter-leg*, *petar-laicc*, (old law); and to add another to the list of Celtic words borrowed from the Latin.

What, however, is perhaps most valuable, is the contribution to our knowledge of the Irish cases. Readers of O'Donovan will remember how he lays it down as undoubted, that "the dative and ablative cases are never used except after a preposition, which can never be left understood, as in Latin and Greek." And again:—"The termination does not in any one instance express the relation without the preposition"—(*Irish Gram.*, p. 76-7). The authority now before us, than which we can expect to find none greater, conclusively establishes the contrary. For we have the Latin ablatives (*ianuis clausis*, *siccis pedibus*) translated word for word by the Irish datives (*doirsib foriattaib*, *coissaib tirma*), without the aid of a preposition.

On the whole, we need have little hesitation in pronouncing the present text as pure as any sustained Irish prose composition hitherto published. To those who are engaged in the study of the archaic forms of the language, it will form a very useful appendix to the great works of Zeuss and O'Donovan.

B. M. C.

Et post dies octo iterum erunt discipuli eius intus, et Tomas cum eis.—Ocus aithle ocht laa tarrustar na haspalu doridise ar medon, ocus Tomas imalle friu.

Venit Ihesus, ianuis clausis, et stetit in medio eorum, et dixit eis.—Ocus tanic Isu indochum, doirsib foriatta, ocus tarrustar etarra ar medon, ocus ise rraid friu : pax vobis.

Deinde dixit Tomac : infer degitum tuum huc, et vide, mannus meas, et afer manum tuum, et mitte in latus meum, et noli esse incredilus, sed fidelis.—Atbert iarsin fri Tomas : tuc do mer hille, ocus feg mo lamu : sin uait do laim, ocus tabair am thaeb, conarbat ancretmech hosund immach.

Respondit Tomas, et dixit ei-Rofhrecair tra Tomas, ocus ise atbert fri Isu :

Dominus meus, et Deus meus tu es—Is tu mo Choimdiu, is tu mo Dia.

Dixit ei Ihesus : quia vidisti me, et credidisti—Isse freccra dorat Isu for Thomas : ar itchonarcas, isaire romcretis.

Beati qui me non viderunt, et crediderunt—Mo genar don forind nacamfacatar, ocus romcretset.

Ioin, mac Zepedei, brundalta Isu, comorba nahoige, in dara aspal dec inurd aspaldact, in cethrumad suisclach, roscrib in-

TRANSLATION OF THE IRISH TEXT :—

Et post, etc.—And after eight days the apostles were again within, and Thomas with them. Venit, etc.—And Jesus came to them, the doors being shut, and stood within amidst them, and said to them : Peace be to you. Deinde, etc.—Then He said to Thomas: put thy finger hither, and see my hands, stretch forth thy hand, and place it in my side, that henceforward you be not faithless. Respondit, etc.—Thereupon Thomas made answer, and said to Jesus : Thou art my Lord ; Thou art my God. Dixit, etc.—The answer Jesus gave Thomas was : because thou hast seen, therefore hast thou believed me ; my blessing upon those who have not seen, and have believed me.

John, son of Zebedee, beloved disciple of Jesus, protector¹ of the Virgin, the twelfth apostle in the apostolic order, the fourth evangelist, wrote this divine account. It is, he mentions, the noble illustrious deed which is preached on this day, namely, that the apostles and disciples of Jesus were in a closed house, confirming their faith in the Resurrection, that He appeared within amidst them, that He blessed them ; wherefore John says : And after eight days. The concordance and connection of this lesson is the place next to where John, referring to the

¹ We have nowhere else seen the meaning of Comorba so extended as in this passage. Colgan was evidently unacquainted with it, as he makes no allusion to it in his interesting account of Comorbis (*Triad Thaum.*, pp. 8, 293, 630-1). A somewhat similar extension occurs in a passage in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, where it is said that Comorbis was the successor (comorba) of Cain after the Deluge (p. 2, col. 1, line 44).

sonsa coimdetá. Ise atfet ingnim nuasal noirmíteach pritchaithar isinlathísea indiu, .i., aspalu ocus descípla Isu dobeth itegdais foriata do demniugad anirse, .i., acrétem, imonesergi, cotarustar etarra ar medon, corasbennach, conaire sin atbert Eoin : Et post dies octa. Comuaim tra ocus coibnes naliachtanaso ise leath atoibe, .i., asdluith, codu inberbert Eoin, oc aisneis dontaidbsin dianecid remaind, inasonsa :

Tomas hautem, unus de duodecim, qui dicitur Dedimus, non erat cum eis quando venit Ihesus—Tomas tra, oen donadib aspalu dec, nirobi imalle frísna aspalu arcena isintaidbsinsea.

Dixerunt ergo ei alii discipuli : vidimus Dominum—Isse roraidset na aspalu aile fri Tomas : at conncamarni, ol iat, in Coimde.

Hille hautem dixit eis—Ise tra freaccra dorat Tomas forrasum.

Nisi videro in manibus eius fixturam clavorum, et mittam manum meam in latus eius, non credam—Mine fhaccursa slict naclo inalamu, ocus mine thardar molaim inathaeb, nichretub a esergi. Conid for slict nambriatharsin atber : Et post dies octa, id est, a resurrectione Christi—Ocus a aithle oct la, .i., isinochtmad lo iarnesergi Crist. Iterum erant discipuli eius intus—Tarustar doridíse na aspalu ar medon.

Sexta ostensio hic narratur—In sesed taidbsi isdi ata briathar sund.

Quinque enim vicibus prima sabbati Dominus Ihesus gloriam suae resurrectionis revelavit—Uair ba cuig tarfaid in Coimdid Isu diamuinntir hindomnach nahesergi.

Prima, mulieribus ad monumentum ; secunda, eisdem in itenre egredientibus a monumento—In cetna taidbsi dibsen donabannscalu noemu ocdul docum inadnocail. In taidbsi tanaise dona bannscalu cetna octidact onadnocul.

Tertia, Petro tristi post negationem Domini sui—In tres taidbsi do Petar iarnhdiultad athigerna.

Quarta, duobus discipulis euntibus in villam, cui nomen

apparition which preceded, gives this account : Tomas, etc.—Now Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, was not with the other apostles at this apparition. Dixerunt, etc.—The other apostles said to Thomas : We have seen, said they, the Lord. Hille, etc.—The answer Thomas gave them was : Nisi, etc.—Unless I see the print of the nails in his hands, and place my hand in his side, I will not believe His Resurrection. In continuation, therefore, of those words he says : Et post, etc.—And after eight days, that is, on the eighth day after the Resurrection of Christ. Iterum, etc.—The apostles were again within.

Sexta, etc.—The words have reference in that instance to the sixth apparition. Quinque, etc.—For five times the Lord Jesus appeared to His people on the Sunday of His Resurrection. Prima, etc.—The first apparition of those was to the holy women going to the sepulchre. The second, to the same women returning from the sepulchre. Tertia, etc.—The third to Peter, after denying his Lord. Quarta, etc.—The fourth to the disciples who were going from Jerusalem to the village called Immaus. They, according to the opinion of the commentators, were Luke and Cleophas.

erat Immaus—In cethrumad taidbsi dona discipulu tancatur amach o Ierusalem connice in fich, dianad ainm Himmaus. Lucas ocus Cleofas iatside, amail iscetfaid donatrachtairib.

Quinta pluribus discipul[s] hin Ierusalem.—In cuiged taidbsi donadesciplu immda in Ierusalem.

Et hillis se spiritum videre exhistimantibus dixit—Ocus o rogabsatside occu comad spirit atchitis, ise atbert Isu friu :

Vidistis quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me videtis—Tabraid dabarnoid, ol Isu, cona tectat na spiruta feoil na cnamu, amal tectamsea.

Adhuc hautem illis non credentibus, dixit,—Ocus ombatar beos icunntabart, ise roraidsim :

Habetis hic aliquid quod manducetur—Inphil biad ocaib sund, ol Isu, biad bud chubaid do thomailt.

At hilli obtulerunt ei partem piscis asati, et favum mellis—Isannsin dorat indi aspalu do Isu ordu dobratan fhonaithe ocus chathar mela.

Et cum manducaset cum eis, sumens reliquias dedit eis—Ocus o roscaith inafhiadnaise in ba lor lais donbiud sin, dorat doib afhuigell, amal ba gnath do riam.

Gavisi sunt ergo discipuli, viso Domino—Rosfailtnigset tra nahaspalu cumor o fhegad in Choimded iarnesergi.

Sexta, quando Tomas erat cum eis, ut hic predicatur.—In sesed taidbsi uair robi Tomas imalle fris naaspalu, amal innises Eoin.

Septima, piscantibus a mare Tibraitis—In sectmad taidbsi tra donaspalu batar oc iascarecht immuir Thibriatis.

Octava, in monte Galilee illis undecim, sicut dixit ante passionem suam—In octmad taidbsi dona haenaspalu dec isleib na Galilee, amal rothairngir fen doib renaçesad.

Nona, egredientibus illis undecim die qua ascendit in coelum, sicut Marcus dixit—In noimad taidbsi donahaspalu cetna octidact for cula co Herusalem illo nafresgabala, amal ainedes Marcus ina liubar.

Quinta, etc.—The fifth, to many disciples in Jerusalem. Et hillis, etc.—And as they thought with themselves that it was a spirit they saw, Jesus said to them:—Vidistis, etc.—Observe that spirits have no flesh or bones as I have. Adhuc, etc.—And, as they were still in doubt, He said, Habetis, etc.—Have you food there which is fit to be eaten? At, etc.—Therupon, the Apostles gave Jesus a piece of broiled fish and a honeycomb. Et cum, etc.—And when he had eaten in their presence what was sufficient for Him of that food, he gave them the remains, as was always his custom. Gavisi, etc.—The Apostles, therefore, rejoiced very much for seeing the Lord after the Resurrection. The sixth, when Thomas was with the Apostles, as John narrates. Septima, etc.—The seventh to the Apostles, who were fishing in the sea of Tiberias. Octava, etc.—The eighth to the Apostles on the mountain of Galilee, as He Himself promised them before His passion. Nona, etc.—The ninth to the same Apostles coming back to Jerusalem on the day

Decima, quando viderunt eum ipsa die non iam in terra positum, sed helivatum in coelum—In decmad taidbsi intan atconncatar indaspalu in Slaniccid Isu oc fresgabal docum nime.

Intus, id est, in domu clausa, erant propter metum Iudeorum, ut Lucas dixit—Ar medon nobatar, itegdais foriata, for oman nanIudech, amal atfet Lucas in Actaib Aspal.

Greges[x] enim timidus, pastore non apparente—Ar rop imecul intreit, uair niboí anoegaire trebur ocanimchomet.

Discipuli pavidi, magistro ad horam moriente—Roptar snimaig na disciplu cen a maigistir tairise ocaforcetul.

Nati terrii, pio patre non apparente—Roptar toirsig na meic, .i., indaspalu, cen anathar boid ocafurtact, ocus ocaremenithus.

Propter has ergo causas in domu clausa erant—Conid ar na fathaibsin tra robatar indi aspalu itegdais foriata.

Et Tomae cum eis—Ocus Tomas immalle friu.

Cur Tomas hic separatur? Ideo, videlicet, quia prius iste unus discipulus defuit—Isaire doberair aisnes foletth sund for Thomas, ar ise oen dhiscipul naboí imalle fris na aspalu insin cuiged taidbsi.

Reversus quod gestum est audivit—Iar toidact do cus na haspalu itchuala leo Crist do esergi.

Audita credere renuit—Ciatchuala, nirboail do achreteam, cein conaicced. Ar is demniu anatii suil, inas anatchluin cluas.

Venit ergo iterum Dominus Ihesus, et non credenti discipulo latus palpandum prebuit, et manus ostendit—Tanic tra dori-dise in Coimdid Isu Crist, ocus dorat athaeb ocus a lamu dia tur dondiscipul amairsech, .i., do Thomas.

of the Ascension, as Mark narrates in his book.¹ Decima, etc.—The tenth, when the Apostles beheld the Redeemer, Jesus, carried up to heaven. Intus, etc.—They were within in a closed house through fear of the Jews, as Luke mentions in the Acts of the Apostles.² Greges, etc.—For the flock was in great fear, since the prudent Shepherd was not watching them. Discipuli, etc.—The disciples were dispirited, since their careful master was not instructing them. Nati, etc.—The sons, namely, the Apostles, were sad without their father, who was wont to protect and provide for them. Propter, etc.—For those reasons, therefore, the Apostles were in a closed house. Et Tomae, etc.—And Thomas with them. Cur, etc.—Why separate mention is there made of Thomas is because he was the only disciple who was not with the Apostles at the fifth apparition. Reversus, etc.—After coming to the Apostles, he heard from them that Christ had arisen. Audita, etc.—Although hearing, he wished not to believe it, until he saw. For more certain is what the eye sees than what the ear hears. Venit, etc.—The Lord Jesus Christ came again, therefore, and permitted his side and hands to be felt by the unbelieving disciple,

¹ It is unnecessary to say that this is a blunder. The words of the Evangelist are: "At length He appeared to the eleven as they were at table."

² The reference in the Latin text should be John. The Irish makes matters worse by mentioning the Acts of the Apostles, which do not speak of the fear of the Jews.

Et ostensu[a] suorum vulnerum cicatrice infidelitatis illius vulnus sanuit—Ocus roslanaig Isu crecht na haimirse boi hi menmain Tomais ar medon triathaidbsin do foillshlechta nacrecht rothechtsum sechtair ina chuirp.

Plus nobis infidelitas Tomae profuit ad fidem quam fides credentibus [um] discipulorum—Is mou comor rotharmnaid doneclais faindires ocus cunntabart Tomais imonesergi ina hires ocus credem sonairt nanaspalu arcena.

Quia dum ille ad fidem palpando reducitur, nostra mens, homni dubitatione postposita, in fide solidatur—Uair rohe-railed cretem na hesergi for Thomas triathur ocus lamactad in chuirp choimdetta, roshonartnaig indsin ar menmane ocus ar nindfhethium imonesergi, iar nhdichar uainn ceca cunntabarta ocus ceca hamirsi.

Venit Ihesus, ianuis clausis—Tanic Isu indochum, doirsib foriatta.

Quaeritur quomodo corpus dominicum verum fuit, quod ianuis clausis ingredi potuit, non enim corpora resurexionis penetrabent[unt] dura et impenetrabilia—Cesnaigthar, uair isafhirchurp adoenacta atracht Crist a bas, cindus duchuaid isintegdais doirsib foriatta, uair niregat cuirp nahesergi tria churpa dluthi, ocus tria churpa daingne, .i., tria chlochaib ocus crannu.

Resurrectionis quidem corpora nimirum s[u]btilia erunt per effectum spiritualis potentiae; palpalia vero per virtutem naturae—Is demin cettus cuirp nahesergi combat foille ocus seime tria imfhulang in aicnid spiritalda; ba solamactaige tra iar fhirinde inaicnid chorpda.

Pro miraculo ergo dominico corpori assignatur clausa penetrare—Ar mirbuil din as gabtha do chuirp in Choimded dul isintegdais foriatta.

Qui vero mirum est si, ianuis clausis, post resurrectionem in eternum iam victurus intravit?—Qui moriturus veniens, non

namely Thomas. Et ostensa, etc.—And Jesus healed the wound of unbelief, which was in the mind of Thomas within, by displaying to him the manifest prints of the wounds which He had in His body externally. Plus, etc.—Much more advantageous to the Church were the weak faith and doubt of Thomas concerning the Resurrection than the strong faith and belief of the other Apostles. Quia, etc.—Because as belief in the Resurrection was preached to Thomas by feeling and handling the Divine Body, so our mind and intention were strengthened, after we put away from us every doubt and unbelief. Venit, etc.—Jesus came to them, the doors being shut. Quaeritur, etc.—Since it was in the true body of His Humanity Christ arose from death, it is asked how he went into a house, the doors being shut; for bodies of resurrection do not go through compact and strong substances: through stones, for instance, and trees. Resurrectionis, etc.—It is certain, in the first place, that the bodies of resurrection, are subtle and penetrating through the power of the spiritual nature; and, secondly, that they are palpable through the reality of the corporal nature. Pro, etc.—It is, therefore, a miraculous attribute of the Body of the Lord to go into a closed house. Qui, etc.—Albeit, what wonder, in truth, were in it, even though He went in an unsullied body, after His Resurrection, into the house, the doors being shut, when He was begotten in a mortal body of the Virgin, with-

aperto virginis utero, exivit; qui siccis pedibus undas maris calcavit—Cia hingnad tra roboi and iar fhir cia nodechsad hicurp nemthruailluide iarnesergi isintegdais, doirsib foriattaib, intan rogenair hi colaind marbda onoig cen eroslucad ninne; ocus ro imthig iartain cossaib tirma for in muir.

Non enim valet homnis natura contra dominum naturae—Uair isriarach cec duil dia duilemain.

Et stetit in medio eorum—Ocus tarustar etarra ar medon iarum.

Nunc Christus implet quod discipulis promisit dicens—Sund rocomail Isu inni rothairngir dia aspalu conePERT :

Ubi duo vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, hibi ego ero in medio eorum—Baile ambia dias no triar, ol Isu, icomthinol imainmainsea, biatsu fen etarra ar medon.

Et dixit eis—Ise roraid Isu fria aspalu ocbennachar doib : Pax vobis—Sid ocus cainchomrac duib.

Pacem promittit ut lebentius adiat—Cubaid intord force-tail dorigine Isu sund, .i., sid derdercugad dona aspalu comad laiderite leo in forcetel do gabail do laim.

Pax pacem predicat—Alaind tra inni forcoemnacar ann, .i., sid doerdercugad dontsid, .i., do Crist, dianad ainim sid. Amail demniges intaspul conaber :

Hipse enim est pax nostra qui fecit utraque unum—Ise Crist insid iarfhir, ar intaspul, ise roentadaig petarlaicc ocus nufhiadnaisse.

Pacificus Deus pacificis pacifica verba locitur—Labraid sund Dia sidamail nabriathra sidamla dono haspalu sidam-laib. -

Deinde dicit Tomae—Isaire sin roraid fria Tomas.

Oportebat ut ad illum verba pre ceteris flecteret, propter cuius documentum, et ad firmandum fidem veniret—Cubaid ciamad for Tomas no shaided Isu sech na aspalu arcena, ar is dia forcetel ocus diaonartugud, .i., a cretmi, tanic iarnesergi.

out opening the womb; and went afterwards with dry feet upon the sea. Non, etc.—For obedient is each element to the Creator of the elements. Et stetit, etc.—And he stood within amidst them afterwards. Nunc, &c.—There Christ fulfilled what He had promised to His apostles, when He said: Ubi, etc.—Where two or three shall be gathered together in My Name, there will I Myself be within amidst them. Et dixit, etc.—Jesus said to His apostles in blessing them: Pax vobis, peace and harmony be to you. Pacem, etc.—Appropriate was the order of instruction Jesus adopted there, to proclaim peace to the apostles, that they might more vigorously carry out his instruction. Pax, etc.—Beautiful, too, is what is preached there, namely, peace is proclaimed by the Peace, that is, by Christ, whose Name is peace, as the apostle certifies, when he says: Hipse, etc.—Christ is truly the Peace. He it is who has united the Old Law, and the New Testament. Pacificus, etc.—The peaceful God there speaks peaceful words to the peaceful apostles. Deinde, etc.—It was on that account he spoke to Thomas. Oportebat, etc.—Fittingly did Jesus address himself to Thomas instead of the other apostles, for it was to instruct him and to strengthen his faith He came after His Resurrec-

Ad hoc via venit ut viam erranti demonstraret—Uair is do tanic in set, . i ., Isu, do thabart colais to Thomas boi for aneolas anallana.

Ad hoc medicus venit ut salutem infirmo preberit—Is do tanic in liag, . i ., Crist, do thabart hicce ocus fhurtacta don descipul inlabor, . i ., do Tomas.

tion. Ad, etc.—For this the Way, that is, Jesus, came, to give knowledge to Thomas, who was hitherto in ignorance. For this the Physician, that is, Christ, came, to give healing and comfort to the infirm disciple, namely, Thomas.

DOCUMENT.

LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Paulo Tituli S. Petri in Monte Aureo Presbytero S. R. E. Cardinali Cullen, Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, et Venerabilibus Fratribus Episcopis Hiberniæ.

PIUS PP. IX.

Dilecte Fili Noster, et Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Quanto studio, Dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres nisi sitis et nitamini suffragari causae sanctae hujus Sedis, quae causa est Ecclesiae et sanctissimae Religionis Nostrae, quantaque sedulitate divinam juxta et humanam opem ei comparare conemini, adeo exploratum est omnibus, ut amantissima epistola vestra neque firmiter addere possit testimonium rei notissimae, neque ipsam clariore luce perfundere, sed docere tantum, nullam vos fugere occasionem, qua non utamini ad nos omni officiorum genere cumulandos. Quod si quid est, quod vestram devotionem adhuc illustrare valeat, id occurrit in cleri populique vobis crediti sensibus; qui curis exculsi vestris, eodemque informati spiritu, undique conveniunt elaturi vocem adversus injurias Supremo Pastori illatas et proculcata fidelium jura, suasque expostulationes addituri vestris, ac impensum obsequium et amorem suum nobis significaturi vobiscum.

Cujus quidem rei sicuti praecedentia gesta, sic luculento nunc rursus argumento sunt amplissimae litterae sive cleri Dublinensis, sive Hiberniensis populi ad nos una cum vestris allatae; quae dum antiquam testantur fidem immotamque

observantiam et impensam dilectionem erga Romanum Pontificem, nos solantur et erigunt, vestramque pastoralem sollicitudinem nova gloria exornant.

Testari singulis eorum idcirco cuperemus gratum animum nostrum; at hoc egregie per vos perfici posse arbitramur, quibus ipsi pietatis suae filialis monumenta nobis exhibenda commiserunt. Iis itaque significate sensus nostros, nostroque nomine eisdem gratulamini, quod in tanto sacrarum rerum despectu tantaque mentium abiectione et rerum difficultate fortiter extollant religionis suae vexillum constantiam aemulantes parentum suorum, et praecipuum patriae suae decus servare contendant: erigite vero simul fiduciam ipsorum in divinam opem et in illius victoriae spem, qua veritas et justitia cum errore, fraude, violentia colluctantes serius ocus fraudari nequibunt. Hanc citius adducat Deus, et terram istam tam diu et tam severe probatam semperque sibi fidelem erigat tandem, omnique ditet munerum suorum copia.

Id toto corde vobis ominamur, et interim divini favoris auspiciem et grati animi nostri praecipuaeque benevolentiae pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi Dilecte Fili Noster, Vobisque Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero ac populo uniuscuiusque vestrum peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 6 Novembris, anno 1871.
Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimosexto,

PIUS PP. IX.

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,
OR,
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT
MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF CORK.

(Continuation of Note from page 48.)

The Preceptory of Knights Templars, at Rhincrew—1183.—In this year the Order of the Knights Templars was confirmed; and soon after a Preceptory was founded on the summit of the commanding hill of Rhincrew (*Keen-cruagh* in Irish, *i. e.*, The Firm Promontory) which overlooks the Blackwater as it grandly debouches into the Broad of Youghal. “We have very scanty materials for the history of the Knights Templars that settled in Ireland; but there is reason to believe that the Preceptory at Rhincrew was very richly endowed, for castles belonging to its agents are found in many parts of the Counties of Cork and Waterford, which were erected both to protect their vassals and to enforce due payment of rent and feudal service.” [O’Flanagan’s *Guide to the Blackwater*, p. 31.]

1186.—Raymond le Gros is believed to have died here, and the neighbouring Abbey of Molana is reputed to have been his burial-place.

1304.—The houses of the Knights Templars in Ireland were suppressed by a royal order, addressed to Sir John Wogan; and the Knights of St. John, or Hospitallers, were, in 1314, placed in possession of their estates. "We have not been able to discover whether any parts of the lands belonging to Rhincrew were assigned to this, the rival Order of the original possessors, for we have no traces of the Hospitallers in the south of Ireland; the priory of St. John in Waterford, which has indeed been sometimes described as a foundation of their Order, was really a monastery of Benedictines. In the Maltese records, however, we find Irish Knights holding high rank, and entries of money received from estates belonging to the Order in Ireland; and there is also evidence to shew that the lands of Rhincrew were not seized by the Crown previous to the general dissolution of monasteries." [O'Flanagan, p. 32.]

1585-6.—3 Feb.—Rhincrew was granted to Sir Walter Raleigh. [Patent at Lismore.]

1602.—7 Dec.—Raleigh assigned his grant to Mr. Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork.

The Nunnery, or Chapel, of Saint Anne's—1190.—About this year the Nunnery or Chapel of St. Anne's, with which was connected a Light Tower, was founded by the Anglo-Norman occupiers of Youghal, on the cliff at the West side of the harbour's mouth. The house was richly endowed by the Founders, under the condition that the nuns should see that the light was regularly maintained.

1542.—St. Anne's Chapel was dissolved, at the same time with the Franciscan Friary.

1597.—24 Jan. By letters patent of this date, St. Anne's Chapel and one acre near the same, with the town and village of Rathnolan, were granted in fee farm to George Isham, gent., along with the Franciscan Friary, and its precincts, at 2s. 4d. [Patent at Lismore.]

1603.—13 Sept. James Fullerton, gent., obtained from the King a patent for several concealed Church lands, which demised to him (along with others) the Chapel of St. Anne and the Franciscan Friary, with one park or close, called John Mahowne's Park, containing 2 arable acres, rent 12d. Irish, total rent £6 13 4 Irish. [Calendar of Patent Rolls: Jac. I. p. 7.]

1605.—20 June. Grant from the King to Donatus, or Donogh, Earl of Thomond, (among others): "The Chapel of St. Anne near the town of Youghal, with the small parcels of land thereto belonging, containing 1 acre, as granted in fee-farm 24 Jan. 1597, to George Isham, gent." [Calendar of Patent Rolls: Jac. I. p. 80.]

1644.—M. Boullaye le Gouz, the French traveller, who visited Youghal this year, thus mentions St. Anne's: "At musket-shot from the town there was formerly a convent of nuns on the sea-shore, and there remains of it a Tower called the Nunnery, upon which the nuns used to light torches to enable vessels to come into the harbour during the night." From this record it would appear that the Nunnery had been at this time removed, excepting the Light Tower that came down to our own day.

1665.—21 July. The Franciscan Friary and its appurtenances, "together with the dissolved Nunnery or Chappell called St. Anne's Chappell, with the applotments, situate lying and being in and neere the site, circuit, ambite, and precincts of the dissolved Monastery of St. Francis, all the South Abbey of Youghal," were leased by Richard, second Earl of Cork, to Samuel Hayman, Esq., a Somersetshire gentleman.

1848.—16 May. The Ballast Board having decided on erecting a Harbour Light-House at Youghal, an inquisition was held this day for the purpose of valuing the ground at the harbour's mouth, formerly occupied by the Nunnery of St. Anne's, and the jury awarded £100. So admirably chosen had been the site of the Anglo-Norman light Tower, that almost on the very same spot was it found desirable to erect the new beacon, and the demolition of the ancient interesting structure became inevitable. A description of the Tower of St. Anne's will not be unacceptable. It was circular, about 24 feet in height, and 10 in diameter. The only entrance was a narrow Gothic doorway, on the water-side,

facing the East point of the harbour. The visitor found at his right hand, on entering, the bottom of a flight of stone steps, which were conducted spirally on the whole interior of the building, and led at the summit to two large circular-headed windows, one of which opened on the middle of the Bay and the other faced Capel Island. As is customary in all Light-houses, there was no open on the land-sides

Kilcoran, or the Shanavine Monastery. About a mile outside Youghal, on the South, in the townland of Seafield and adjoining that of Ballyclamasy, is a little field called The Shanavine, which may be interpreted as The Old Asylum or Sanctuary. As the field dips down, it forms, with its neighbouring height, a small well-sheltered glen, through which a trickling streamlet finds its way. On the slopes of the Shanavine an old religious house was founded. The early missionaries chose the site, with their wonted judgment. The view from it was beautiful. The blue waters of Youghal bay formed the prospect in front, and were bounded on one side by the headlands at the mouth of the harbour, and on the other by the rising eminence of Claycastle. Around the monastery rose the thick foliage of the forests, which at the period clothed the landscape in every quarter. Like all early places of worship in Ireland, the church was of small dimensions, about 40 feet in length by 18 in width. It consisted of a Nave and Choir. Near it to the N., were residences of the religious; and on the S.W., almost at the very walls of the church, was a spring-well in which many of the natives perhaps found their Baptistry. The road leading to this monastery is one of the most ancient thoroughfares about Youghal, and preserves the name of the Saint to whom the church was dedicated. It is called Kilcoran, *i.e.*, *Cill-Kuarain*, The Church of St. Cuaran, one of the patrons of the Desies. This holy Bishop was son of Nethsemon, and in our ancient monuments receives the epithet of 'The Wise.' He was cotemporary of St. Columbkille, and for a reform which he introduced in the recital of None, was sometimes called 'Mochuaroc de Nóna.' In the Feliré of St. Ængus he is thus commemorated:—

“ Whosoever true delight desires
Without grief, in the land of Saints,
Let him invoke Mochuaroc,
And recite all None.”

The Church, roofless, but otherwise in good condition, was standing in 1790. About this year, a farmer of the neighbourhood demolished its walls and constructed a barn with the materials. The story has it, that he straightway fell into bad health, his body swelling up in dropsy and his arms withering in decay, and thus he died miserably. Such was the terror created by his doom, that no labourer could be induced to cultivate the field, until the owner, Mr. Seward, resolved to break it up in 1849. The plough was now brought in, and the foundations of the different buildings were discovered and were wholly taken away. The only relics of the Monastery now visible are a few old moss-grown and weather-worn stones, which give some clue to the style and date of the building. Five of these are moulded, three with Norman beads. Two were parts of door-jamb; the rest are pieces of windows,—a jamb, a mullion, and part of a circular arch. From these fragments we are inclined to set down this portion as of the middle Norman period, *circ.* 1060; but the Monastery itself was, we doubt not, of a much earlier date.

The question remains to be determined, to what community did this ancient Monastery belong? The most aged peasants dwelling around, say it was Augustinian, and are probably right. Friar Lubin, in his valuable history of that order, gives us a map of Ireland, specifying the localities where houses of the order existed. In Munster, we have at the mouth of the Blackwater '*Yoaensis*' marked, along with the adjoining monasteries of Ardmore, Lismore and Dungarvan; but the historian gives us no particulars. Now, we have identified every other local religious foundation, and do not find among them the house of Augustinians; why may it not be sought for here? It is true, that the able compiler of the Irish *Monasticon*, printed in London by William Mears, in 1722, denies the correctness of Lubin's statement; and speaking of monasteries erroneously assigned to Augustinians, he says (p. 323): "Youghill Monastery is likewise only of the aforesaid

Chantry,⁸⁵ in the south wing of the church of Youghal was founded the chantry of our Blessed Saviour,^m and John Welsh, long after the statute of mortmain, endowed it with sundry lands, to the annual value of 6s. Irish money. Inquisition 10th September, 20th Queen Elizabeth.—*Chief Rem.*

^m *Smith, vol. I, p. 119.*

Ffriar Lubin's discovering, without mentioning the founder, or the time of its foundation; and I am well assured that there never were any convents of religious men at Youghal, besides those of the Dominicans and Franciscans." But the writer previously (p. 311) had admitted a self-evident truth, which must weigh with us in receiving his authority, especially when so dogmatically given: "It is possible," he writes, "that Friar Lubin might have had some informations which are unknown to me."

⁸⁵ *Chantry*; In the south wing of the collegiate church in this town was the chapel of St. Saviour; and an Inquisition, 20th May, 27th Elizabeth, finds that John Bennet, called Bishop Bennet, being seized in fee, to him and his heirs, of a messuage in this town, called Bennet's great house, near the gate on the north side of the town, of the annual value of 6*d.*, Irish money, besides reprises, and of a *toft* adjoining the said messuage, which *toft* runs from that messuage on the north to the land called Uniak's land on the south, and from the town wall on the east to the street called the Common street on the west, and is of the annual value, besides reprises, of 4*d.*, Irish; also another *toft* adjoining the said *toft*, and stretching from Uniak's land on the north, to to Coppinger's land on south, and from the town wall on the east to the said street on the west of the town, and is of the annual value, besides reprises, of 4*d.*, Irish; also a large garden without the town walls, and not far from the north gate running from the abbey lands on the north to the street on the south called the Commonlane; and from the highway on the east to the land called Galians on the west, and is of the annual value, besides reprises, of 4*d.*; also another garden in the Church lane, stretching from the said lane on the north Uniak's land on the south, and from the land lately the Earl of Desmond's on the east to the college lands on the west, and is of the annual value, besides reprises, of 4*d.*; also a garden and a wall on the north of the Churchlane, stretching on the north from Collyn's land to the land of the Church on the west, and from Patrick Walshe's lane on the east to the said land of the earl of Desmond on the west, and is of the annual value, besides reprises, of 4*d.*; also a messuage called Morresses * * * * house, with a small messuage annexed thereto, stretching from Arthur's lands in the north to Liston's land in the south, and from the town wall on the east to the Commonstreet of the town on the south, and is of the annual value, besides reprises, of 2*s.*; also two messuages near the Keylane, which stretch from the said Keylane on the north to the lands called Annias' lands on the south, and from the town wall on the east to the street called the Commonstreet, and is of the annual value, besides reprises, of 2*s.*; and also a park or close lying between the hospital for the sick poor, and the land called Collins' park, and is of the annual value, besides reprises, of 4*d.* And the said John Bennet being seized of the messuages, &c., did long after the statute of mortmain, and without obtaining the royal licence enfeoff Walter Monwill, chaplain, and his heirs, to hold the same for the support of the chaplains of the Chantry of St. Saviour's or of the Holy Trinity adjoining, ye collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and their successors to celebrate the holy offices for ever. The said feoffment being in these words:—"Know all men that I, Mr. Walter Monwill, of the town of Youghal, chaplain, have granted, and by these presents have confirmed to the Chantry and chaplains of the chappel of St. Saviour, adjoining the collegiate church, &c., all the messuages, &c., which I enjoy by the enfeoffment of Mr. John Bennet, and to have and hold all the said messuages, &c., to keep one chaplain to serve in the said chappel, &c., for ever, in the usual and accustomed manner; and I the said Walter Monwill, will warrant and support the aforesaid grant for ever.

"In testimony whereof (as the seal of . . . is unknown) I have hereunto

Franciscan Friary; a monastery was founded here for Franciscans, on the south side of the town, in the year 1224, by Maurice Fitzgerald;^o who, it is said, erected this house on the following occasion: being about to build a castle in the town, and the workmen who were digging the foundation, on the eve of some festival, requesting a piece of money to drink his health, he directed his eldest son to give it, who, instead of obeying, abused the said workmen, at which Maurice was so concerned, that he altered his design, and changed the castle into an abbey. The founder was Lord Justice of Ireland in the years 1229 and 1232;^p after which he retired to this monastery, where he took on him the habit of St. Francis, and dying the 8th of May, 1257, was interred here in the habit of his order.^q

This was the earliest foundation in Ireland for the order of St. Francis;^r Thomas, the second son of the founder, completed the building at his own expense, and dying on the 26th of May, A.D. 1260, was interred here.^s Several other noblemen of the house of Desmond were also interred here, viz. Earl John in 1399,^t Earl James in 1462,^u Earl Thomas in 1534,^v Earl James, 4th September, 1535,^x and Sir Thomas Rufus, the eldest son of Gerald, in 1595.^y

1300, 1312, and 1331. Provincial chapters of the order were held there in each of these years.^z

1460. This friary was reformed by the Observantines of the strict obedience.^a

1513 and 1531. General chapters of the order were held here.

In the archives of Christ Church, Dublin, is a letter (dated in 1482) of indulgence and plenary pardon from Donald O'Fallon to Richard Skyrret, then canon, and afterwards prior of that cathedral, for contributing to the crusade; Fallon entitles himself deputy of the order of Minors, and on the seal he is called guardian of Yoghill.^b There are no traces of this friary remaining.

William White, long after the statute of mortmain, granted to the church of the Holy Trinity, Cork, the rectory of Clare

^o *War. Mss.*, vol. 3, p. 155. ^p *War. Mon.* ^q *Hanmer*, p. 198, ^r *Wadding*, quoted by *Bourke*, p. 42. ^s *Lodge*, vol. 1, p. 6 and 7. ^t *Id.* p. 11. ^u *Id.* p. 13. ^v *Id.* p. 16 ^x *Id.* ^y *Id.* p. 20. ^z *War. Mss.*, sup. ^a *Id.* ^b *War. Bps.*, p. 291. *Ms. additions.*

affixed the seal of the Mayor of Youghall, dated at Youghall, 24th May, 31 K. Henry VIII”

Note—The said premises were formerly held from the Earl of Desmond,

Inquisition. 10th September. 20th Elizabeth finds that John Walsh. long after the statute of Mortmain endowed this chantry with sundry lands to the annual value of 6s. Irish money. [Chief Remem.]

in this county, which rectory, at the taking of this inquisition, 10th September, 20th Queen Elizabeth, was in the possession of the guardian or warden of this friary, and of the annual value of 12*d.*—*Chief Rem.*

Dominican Friary; called the friary of St. Mary of Thanks, was founded at the north-end of the town in the year 1268, or 1271,^c by Thomas, the son of Maurice, son of John of Callen, son of Thomas, the second son of Maurice, Lord Offaly, who was interred here in 1296, or 1298.^d

A.D. 1303. Robert de Percival, an eminent benefactor to this house, was interred here on 22nd of October.^{e,2}

1281 and 1304. General chapters of the order were held here.^f

1493. This house was reformed by Bartholomew de Comatio, general of the order.^g

28th April, 23rd Queen Elizabeth, this monastery with six gardens within the liberties of Youghal (the tithes excepted) were granted for ever to William Walsh, in capite, at the yearly rent of 22*d.* sterling.^h

An image of the Virgin Mary, held in the utmost veneration, was preserved in this monastery; and the general chapter held at Rome in 1644 mentions it in their acts. This image, says Bourke, is in the possession of the present Dominicans of Youghal.ⁱ

Of this ancient building nothing now remains, save the west end of the nave and a small part of the east window.

COUNTY OF DERRY.

Arragell,¹ In the barony of Coleraine. The great St. Columb founded a monastery at Arragell, in the territory of Oireacht Hy Cathan,^k and we afterwards find a St. Muadan of that place.¹

^c *War. Mon.* ^d *Lodge, vol. 1, p. 8.* ^e *Id. vol. 2, p. 137.* ^f *King, p. 87.* ^g *Bourke, p. 76.* ^h *Aud. Gen.* ⁱ *Bourke, p. 272.* ^k *Tr. Th., p. 493 and 495.* ¹ *Vard.*

¹ The name Arragell corresponds with the Irish *aireagal*, which means an *apartment* or *habitation*, and in Ecclesiastical usage was employed to designate “a church,” or “monastery.” The present Arragell was originally known as *Aireacal Adamnain*, St. Adamnan being the patron of that church. The ancient burial-place and site of the church are in the townland of Ballintemple, and a little to the south there is another spot which bears the name of the same saint: it is marked on the ordnance map as “St. Onan’s rock.”

This is now a parish church in the diocess of Derry.^m

Badoney,² St. Patrick founded the church of Both-dhomnaigh (which still retains its ancient name) in the valley of Glannaic, near the river Fochmuineⁿ in Oireacht-Ychathan, and two miles from Derry; and St. Atgenius, cook to the Saint, was a presbyter here.^o

In the diocess of Derry are two parish churches, called the Upper and Lower Badoney;^p the one here mentioned must be of the Lower Badoney

Boith-Medhbha,³ A monastery of this name was founded by St. Columb, in Kiennacta (the barony of Kenoght) in the diocess of Derry; St. Aidan, nephew to St. Patrick, by Sinecha his sister, was abbot of it.^q

Camus,⁴ on the river Bann, in the barony of Coleraine.

^m *Visitation Book.* ⁿ *Now called the Faughan-water.* ^o *Tr. Th., p. 181.* ^p *Visitation Book.* ^q *Tr. Th., p. 495.*

² In the Tripartite life of St. Patrick, it is recorded that he founded seven churches along the course of the river Faughan. One of these was *Both-donnaigh*, and it is the only one of these seven churches which still retains its name. St. Aithcen, seventh in descent from Colla Meann, was the patron saint of Bodoney. The parish of Upper Badeny, which retains the site of the ancient church and cemetery, and coincides with the valley of Glenelly, in the north-east of Tyrone, is also remarkable as being the birth-place of the great Saint Colman-Ela. *Glenelly* appears in the Annals of the Four Masters under the names of *Gleann foichle* (ad. an. 854). and *Gleann aichle* (ad. an. 1600). Thus we are able to understand the following passage of St. Colman's Life:—"There was a man of venerable life, Colman by name, of a noble family of Erin, descended from the Hy Neill, and his father was named Beogne. Now this man, being compelled to fly with his family from Meath, which was laid waste by the Lagenians, took refuge in the valley of *Hoicle*, and there St. Colman was born."—*Liber Kilken.*, in Marsh's Library, fol. 129 b. In the Annals of the Four Masters (ad. an. 992), it is recorded that "Muireagan, of Both-donnaigh, successor of Patrick, went upon his visitation in Tirowen, and he conferred the degree of king upon Aedh, son of Domhnall, in the presence of Patrick's congregation, and he afterwards made a great visitation of the north of Ireland."

³ *Boith Mheidhbhe* literally means "Meva's house," and is now called *Bovevagh*, which corresponds in pronunciation with the original name. St. Aidan, who was of the same race with the O'Conors of Keenaght, is referred to this church in the Irish Calendar. His genealogy is thus given by Colgan:—"S. Aidanus de Both-medhba, filius Fintani, filii Kennbarchae, filii Conalli, filii Sobharnachi, filii Fincholimii, filii Fiegi, filii Finchadii, filii Conlae, filii Tadgaei, filii Kieni, filii Aililidi Olum."—(*Tr. Th.* p. 478, n. 5.) Elsewhere Colgan tells us that St. Adamnan was venerated in this church as patron. In King's Visitation it is called "*Ecclesia Sancti Eugenii*," but this is a mere clerical error for "*Ecclesia Sancti Eunanii*," i.e., the Church of St. Adamnan. St. Ringan is also marked out by local tradition as patron of this church, and an ancient tomb at the N.E. of the old church, is said to be his. In the Annals of Innisfallen, at the year 1100 of the vulgar era, it is recorded that "the oratory of Both-Meva was burned."

⁴ The monastery of *Cambas*, more commonly called *Camas*, or *Camus*, was founded by St. Comgall, and its connexion with St. Comgall's great monastery was maintained till the tenth century. The Annals of the Four Masters in 938, record the appointment of "Muircertach of Camus" to the Abbacy of Bangor. In the Martyrology of Donegal, October 30th, we find commemorated "St. Colman, abbot of Camus Comghail, on the banks of the Bann," and again on January 22nd,

The abbot St. Congell, or Comgall, flourished about the year 580,^r and St. Colman, or Mocholmoc, another abbot of this once celebrated monastery, died 30th March, A.D. 699.^s

Camus is now a parish church in the diocese of Derry.^t

Coleraine;⁵ A market-town and borough, sending burgesses to Parliament; it is situated on the river Bann, within five miles of the sea, in the ancient territory of O'Cahane.

^r *Usher*. ^s *Act. SS.*, p. 792. ^t *Visitation Book*.

"SS. Colma, Bogha and Laisri in Camas Comghail." The following particulars regarding this ancient monastic establishment are given by Dr. Reeves in his notes to *Adamnan*, i. 50:—"Camus gave name to a parish situate on the west of the Bann, in the diocese of Derry, which, for distinction's sake, is called *Camus juxta Bann*, there being another of the same name in the Tyrone part of the diocese, styled, from the neighbouring river, *Camus juxta Mourne*. An island in the Bann, opposite the churchyard of Camus, was formerly called *Inis Lochain*, beside which was a shallow spot, known as *Fearfas Camsa*, i.e., 'the Ford of Camus,' from which the island is called 'Enis Forsed,' on Speed's Map of Ulster. In the twelfth century an abbey was founded in another part of the parish, called in Cistercian records, *De Claro Fonte*, but by the Irish *Magh-Cosgrain*, which now gives to the whole parish, according to civil usage, on the ordnance survey, the name *Macosquin*. All traces of the church have disappeared from the cemetery of Camus; but an ancient sculptured cross or pillar, divided by transverse bands into four compartments, each containing three figures in relief, stood on a base at the west side till 1760, when it was overturned, and, having been mutilated, was converted into a gatepost for the churchyard, in which condition it still exists. The name *Camus* is supposed to be compounded of *Cam*, and *as*, two Irish words, which mean "crooked stream," and in Ireland there are twelve townlands of its name. In Scotland it is sometimes *Camus*, as in Argyleshire, and sometimes *Cambus*, as in Lanark and Perthshire. Adamnan, when recording the fulfilment of a prophecy of St. Columba, that the fountain at *Dun-Ceithirm* would one day be reddened with the blood of one of his own tribe, adds, that "a soldier of Christ, named Fintan, who for many years had led, without reproach, an heremical life at Durrow, related to him (Adamnan), that he himself had found a lifeless trunk lying in that fountain, and that he on the same day proceeded to the monastery of St. Comgall, which in the Irish language is called *Cambos* (eo die ad monasterium Sancti Comgelli quod Scotice dicitur *Cambos*), and there related the fulfilment of St. Columba's prophecy."—*Vita S. Col.* 1—50.

⁵ Coleraine, formerly called *Culerathin*, is situated on the east side of the Bann. Lewis says that it derives its name from the words "*Cuil-Rathuin*, descriptive of the numerous forts in the vicinity, and is, by some writers, identified with the Rathmor-Muigheline, the royal seat of the Kings of Dalnraidhe."—(*Topogr. Dict.*) O'Brien, however, in his Irish dictionary, derives it from *Cuil-rathain*, "the ferny corner," and the ancient Tripartite Life of St. Patrick confirms this derivation. It is there related that our Apostle having arrived in this neighbourhood, was hospitably entertained, and received an offer of some land for the erection of a church in a tract overgrown with ferns, and where some boys were at the moment engaged in setting fire to the ferns. St. Patrick left St. Carbreus there as Bishop, and "from that day and circumstance it was called *Cuil-raithen*, i.e., 'secessus filicis,' the ferny retirement."—*Trias Thaum*, page 147. Tirechan also, in *Book of Ar-magh*, fol. 15, relates that "St. Patrick crossing the river Bann, blessed the spot in which is the cell of Cuile-Raithin in Elniu, and a bishop was placed there, and he erected many other cells in Elniu." Towards the close of the sixth century, St. Conall was bishop of *Culerathin*, and Adamnan relates that St. Columba visiting the monastery soon after the Synod of Dromcheatt (circa an. 590), was joyously welcomed by St. Conall, the people of the surrounding district of Eilne offering innumerable gifts (*collectis a populo campi Eilne pene innumerabilibus xeniis*), and assembling in the cloister (*in platea monasterii strata*) to receive his blessing.—

Inquisition 12th November, 1st King James, finds that John O'Boyll was the last prior, and 1st February, 32nd King Henry VIII., he was seized of the said priory, and also of four townlands and a half townland, viz., Balleneigfeigh and Attwoare, Arbeggan, Dunaville and Balliosallye; also a townland and a-half called Tollo-Cor, in temporals only; also the fishery of the river Bann, on the Monday after the Feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, in every year, of which the said prior was seized time immemorial; and one salmon daily, during the season, from every fisher in the said river, The prior surrendered the same 1st January, 34th of same King, the said lands and fishery, besides reprises, being valued at 40s.

Priory of Canons Regular; St. Carbreus, or Corpreus, a disciple of St. Finian of Clonard, was the first bishop of Coleraine, and flourished about the year 540;^u his festival is celebrated the 11th of November;^w he was succeeded by St. Conall, who was bishop in the time of St. Columb, the celebrated founder of the abbey of Derry, A.D. 546.^x Armedius, or Armediacus, abbot of Coleraine, was put to death by the Danes in 930.^y Manus M'Dunleve, in 1171, plundered this and several other churches, but we are told that he soon after met with the fate he so justly merited.^z Thomas M'Uchtry and the Galls of Ulster built a castle here in 1213, for which purpose they raised all the pavements and destroyed every part of the abbey, the church alone excepted.^a

^u *Act. SS.* p. 313, 406. *Tr. Th.* p. 183, 380. ^w *Vard.*, p. 158. ^x *Tr. Th.*, p. 380. ^y *Act. SS.*, p. 107. ^z *Annal. Munst.* ^a *Id.*

(Vit. S. Col. i., 50). Besides Airmedhach, abbot of Cuil-rathain, slain by the Danes in the year 930, who is mentioned in the text, we find, in the annals of the Four Masters, the following entries regarding the heads of this monastery:—"An. 972, Roitectach, superior of Cuil-Rathain, anchorite and wise man, died;" "an. 988, Mac Leiginn O'Mureadhain, superior of Cuil-rathain died;" "an. 1110, Cernach, son of Mac Ulcha, superior of Cuil-rathain, died;" "an. 1122, Andadh, son of Mac Ulcha, superior of Cuil-rathain died." St. Bernard also narrates how St. Malachy O'Morgair visited, on a certain occasion, this monastery, which is called *Civitas Culratim*. It was probably in 1213, when the houses of the town and its ecclesiastical buildings were pulled down by the English of Ulidia, to furnish materials for the castle of Thomas Mac Uchtry, that the ancient abbey of Coleraine was demolished. Not a vestige of it now remains, but it is supposed to have occupied the site of the present shambles beside the river. The church attached to the monastery seems to have been spared on that occasion, and it appears in after times under the title of *St. Patrick's*. When the possessions of O'Cahan were made shire ground in the reign of Elizabeth, Coleraine gave name to the county now known as Derry, and it was so called till the year 1613, when this district, being granted by the crown to a number of London merchants who were incorporated under the name of "the Irish Society," was called the county of Londonderry. This so-called Irish Society was bound to build the town of Coleraine, to people it, to enclose it with a wall, and to establish a market, within seven years from the date of the charter, by which were granted to the London merchants the entire abbey of St. Mary, its site, and the lands belonging to it, together with the old town and all its appurtenances.

(To be continued.)

[NEW SERIES.]

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1872.

THE DESTINY OF CHRISTIAN ROME.¹

ON the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in the year 1586, Pope Sixtus V., wresting a noble obelisk from Augustus and Tiberius, erected it in front of that matchless sanctuary which, "of temples old or altars new stands alone with nothing like to it," and inscribed on it the words—"*Christ conquers, Christ triumphs, Christ reigns.*" This simple motto tells us the Destiny of Christian Rome. Divinely chosen to be the centre of God's Church, it must show forth the power of God, and perpetuate, till time shall be no more, the victories and triumphs of the Cross. So, too, till the fulness of time was come, did God choose, in the Jewish dispensation, one spot of this world which He wished to be called His own—Jerusalem, "the city of perfect beauty, the joy of all the earth;" and there He placed the temple of His Majesty, the one well-spring of all joy, and hope, and peace, the one beacon-light which could guide man to heaven.

The Church of God was not to be confined merely to one city or people: it was to embrace all nations, and tribes, and tongues; and yet it was to be *one* kingdom, and its Unity was to be the very proof of the Divine power which sustained it. In the ways of Providence, Rome, chosen as the centre of that Unity, was to reverse Rome's Destiny. Hitherto the throne of Satan, and the citadel of the superstitions of Paganism, it trampled the world under foot: now the capital of Religion, and the city of Christ, it was to sanctify the world and lift it up to breathe the pure air of the mountains of God.

During two centuries and a half the foundations of this spiritual city were cemented with the blood of countless martyrs. Every age and condition of life, every clime and

¹ A Lecture delivered by the Very Rev. Monsignor Moran, D.D., in the Church of St. Laurence O'Toole, on Sunday, 12th November, 1871.

nation under the sun, sent its chosen champions of faith to the triumph of martyrdom in Rome. The circus of the emperor Nero was the first great theatre of these triumphs ; and it was meet that on that hallowed spot should arise the noblest shrine of earth to the glory of God in honour of the Prince of the Apostles. Then the Colliseum was so steeped in Christian blood, that St. Gregory the Great could send a little of its dust, as a priceless relic, to Queen Theodolinda. Forty thousand Christians, from every province of the empire, were assembled to work as slaves in the erection of the great Baths of Diocletian : how would they have rejoiced, and how would they have blessed their toil, did they know that the walls at which they labored would one day be a glorious shrine under the invocation of Her who is the Queen of Angels and of Martyrs. Thus, year by year, Rome was purified, ennobled, and sanctified.

Around the new city of Christ, but concealed from Pagan gaze, were silently raised up those mighty bulwarks of Rome's spiritual glory, the Catacombs. With their corridors and chapels they encompassed Rome on every side, and realizing the vision of the Apocalypse, the remains of the martyrs of Christ reposing beneath the altars, cried out by day and by night before the Redeemer's throne, "How long, O Lord, how long."

Thus, in the ways of God, was mysteriously prepared that city of the Church which He wished to call His own. And now the heart of Constantine is subdued to Christian truth. There was but little, indeed, in the early career of that imperial ruler to give hope or promise to the Church of Christ. It was nothing but the power of God, miraculously shown forth in the Heavens, and the glorious victory which the standard of the Cross achieved on the banks of the Tiber, that led him captive to truth. How altered was now the scene. St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, on foot, clothed in poverty, and bearing a pilgrim's staff, had entered Rome by the *Via Triumphalis* : now, along that same route, the standard of the Cross is encompassed by all the splendour of the imperial court, and is unfurled in triumph by the victorious troops. The senate was convened in the Ulpian Basilica, where now the column of Trajan so majestically stands. It was feared, indeed, that a tumult would ensue ; but when the imperial decree was proclaimed, that Christianity was emancipated and free, a shout of joy arose from the assembled multitude, "Great is the triumph of Christ." On that day religion came forth from her hiding places ; and thenceforth all that was richest and choicest and most beautiful, all the riches and splendour that

the world could give, its gold and silver and precious stones, became the handmaids of Faith, and were lavished with unsparring hand on the sanctuaries and shrines of Rome.

We would deceive ourselves, however, were we to suppose that, at the conversion of Constantine, the rulers of the Roman Empire, from being the chiefs and deities of Paganism, became, by a sudden transition, the promoters and champions of the Christian faith. No; the ruling powers that guided the destinies of the Empire continued as devoted to the cause of Paganism, and as hostile to Christianity, as in the days of Nero and Diocletian. When the senate assembled, on the death of Constantine, they passed a decree enrolling him among the gods, and public sacrifices were offered in his honour. Four hundred Pagan temples still crowded the city, and were frequented by the imperial court. The altar of victory, which stood in the senate-house, was only finally removed fifty years after the emancipation of the Christians, by Gratian. The words of Julian the Apostate were received with applause, when, before the assembled senators, he denounced Constantine as a disturber of the ancient laws, and an impious transgressor of the sacred traditions of Rome. Even as late as Theodosius, the question was formally proposed in the Senate: Should Christ or Jupiter be adored as sovereign Deity?

But whilst the powers of this world continued to uphold the fabric of Paganism, Christianity, resting on the power of God, was casting deeper and deeper its roots in the very heart of Rome. "In this period of the world," writes Schlegel, "in this decisive crisis, between ancient and modern times, in this great central point of history, stood two powers opposed to each other: on one hand, we behold the Roman rulers, the earthly gods, and absolute masters of the world, in all the pomp and splendour of ancient Paganism, standing as it were on the very summit and verge of the old world, now tottering to its ruin; and, on the other hand, we trace the obscure rise of an almost imperceptible point of light, from which the whole modern world was to spring, and whose further progress and full development, through all succeeding ages, constitute the true purport of modern history."¹

The Government of Imperial Rome had clung to Paganism: the day of avenging chastisement was now at hand. From the depths of the German forests mighty armies of barbarians rushed in on the distant provinces of the empire; but this did not suffice to disturb the joyous festive routine of the Seven Hills. In her pride of heart the mistress of the world cried

¹ Schlegel, "Philosophy of History," i., 358.

out "I sit a queen, and sorrow I shall not see;" and it appeared little more than a day-dream when the rumour first reached her that the bands of Alaric were marching onwards from the Alps towards Rome. "The first emotions of the nobles and people," says Gibbon, "were those of surprise and indignation, that a vile barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world. But their arrogance was soon humbled by misfortune." Famine compelled the senate to send ambassadors to the tent of Alaric, but when they menaced, that unless honorable conditions were granted they would lead forth an innumerable host of armed citizens to battle against him, the barbarian chief haughtily replied: "the thicker the grass, the easier it is mowed."

The storm was for the moment averted by liberating 40,000 slaves, and paying all the silver and gold demanded by Alaric. The Pagans within the city now attributed all their calamities to the Christians. Tertullus, the consul, renewed the worst Gentile superstitions on the Capitol; and, addressing the senate, declared that these first steps were but a prelude to the speedy triumph of Paganism over the hated religion of Christ. So execrable were the impious rites of Pagan impiety at this time practised in Rome, that, as Sozomen relates, the most reflecting of the citizens looked upon the subsequent calamities of the city as a just judgment on its blind attachment to idolatry.

The wages of such impiety were not long delayed. The 40,000 slaves ceaselessly clamoured for revenge on their past masters. In the plains of Rimini, Alaric again marshalled his countless host. As he passed the Apennines, a holy hermit threw himself in his path, seeking to mitigate his wrath. "Servant of God," cried Alaric, "seek not to turn me from my mission: it is not from choice I lead my army against that devoted place; but some invisible power, which will not suffer me to halt a single day, urges me on by violence, continually crying out to me without ceasing, 'Forward! march upon that city, upon Rome, and make it desolate.'"¹

At the hour of midnight, the Gothic army having advanced along the Salarian way, rushed into the city. And now all the evils that had been perpetrated by Rome during the sieges, and massacres, and plunderings of a thousand years, were mercilessly retaliated on herself. "One cannot relate without tears," says the Italian annalist, "the cruelties exercised on this occasion." The city was in flames: the forum, the temples, the streets were filled with the slain. The trophies and monuments of past triumphs were a chief object

¹ Socrat. Hist. Eccl., vii., 10.

of the Gothic rage ; and it is related by Orosius that some of the temples and public edifices which seemed to defy the brands of the barbarians, were struck with thunderbolts from heaven.¹

In the midst of all these terrors, Alaric caused it to be proclaimed that he warred not against St. Peter ; the churches of St. Peter's and St. Paul's were declared inviolable sanctuaries, and so strictly was this observed, that the barbarians not only halted in their career of slaughter on arriving at these hallowed precincts, but many of them were seen conducting thither such as had moved them to pity, that under the protection of the Apostles they might be saved from the rage of others.² One fact, commemorated by Orosius, suffices to make us realize how important was this source of safety to the remnant of the population of Rome. Whilst the barbarians were rushing through the city in quest of plunder, it happened that a sacred virgin, who had grown old in the service of the sanctuary, was discovered in her convent on the Cœlian hill, by a Gothic chief, who demanded all the gold and silver she possessed. To his surprise, she mildly told him that the treasures entrusted to her keeping were immense, but that they were the sacred vessels used in the Divine Mysteries at the altar of St. Peter the Apostle. The chief sent intelligence to Alaric of the discovery he had made : an instant order was returned to have all the sacred vessels promptly conveyed, just as they were, to the Basilica of the Apostle, and to protect the nun and all the Christians who should accompany her on the way. Then, indeed, an astounding spectacle was beheld. Through the greatest thoroughfares of the city a solemn train advances with the same order and measured step as if it moved, not through scenes of slaughter, but along some hallowed aisles on a joyous festival. The barbarian troops, brandishing their battle-axes and swords, serve as a guard of honour ; whilst the hymns of Christian praise, chanted by those who bore the sacred vessels, re-echo, like the trumpet of salvation, throughout the dread scene of havoc and destruction. The Christians, at these well-known voices, started from their hiding places, and joined the gladsome procession. Many Pagans, too, took up the hymn of Christ, thus to escape under the shadow of that sacred name. None were molested in that procession, and the barbarians vied with each other for the honour of marching as its guards.

Thus heaven displayed its mysterious power and prepared a harbour of safety for the objects of its solicitude : but when the Christians had been separated, as if by angelic hands,

¹ Oros., lib. 3, cap. 19.

² St. Augustine de Civit. Dei, lib. 2.

from the doomed inhabitants, the city was devoted to utter ruin. The world was filled with consternation at the news that Rome was trampled on and burned to the ground. Even in the deserts of Judea, St. Jerome cries out: "who would have believed it, that a city, I may say, constructed of trophies, that all-conquering Rome, the empress of the world, should lie crushed: that the cradle and home of so many nations should be changed on a sudden into one vast charnel house."

Nevertheless, the pride of Rome was not destroyed. When the barbarians had retired, the Pagan fugitives, like a returning tide, hastened back to the ruined city, but they showed no signs of conversion or repentance. The Queen of the Seven Hills still refused the cross: she chose rather once more to deck her brow with the laurel wreath, and again she had recourse to Pagan oracles, seeking for some delusive promise of revenge and victory. Rome was the last citadel of idolatry, and so mighty was it, even in its humiliation, that it required the constant repeated blows of the most ruthless barbarians, during another century and a-half, to beat down its last bulwarks, and annihilate for ever, in its ruin, the last hopes of Paganism.

About the middle of the fifth century the Huns poured in a new tide of destruction on the decaying empire. They were led on by Attila, who styled himself "the scourge of God," and boasted that the grass should not grow where his horse would tread. After ravaging Thrace and Illyricum, we find him, in the year 447, invading Gaul at the head of 700,000 warriors. Checked by the brave Aetius on the plains of Chalons, his rage was turned against Rome. Deprived of all human aid, the citizens and senators looked to the great St. Leo as their only hope, and prayed him to avert the impending calamity. Robed in his sacred vestments, and accompanied by his deacons, the Pontiff went forth unarmed to meet the ruthless barbarian king. What words he used we know not, but Attila subsequently avowed to his discontented chiefs that whilst St. Leo spoke, another venerable man appeared to him in the heavens menacing death if he refused to abandon his enterprise against Rome.

The Vandals were more savage than the Goths, and the name of their leader, Genseric, was more terrible in Rome than that of Alaric himself. His armed nation of barbarians, as an ocean which had burst its boundaries, rushed in upon Italy, ravaging its fields, reducing its towns to solitude, and massacreing or carrying away captive whole populations. When about to sail from Carthage, the pilot asked him, to what coast

should he steer? "Leave the direction to the winds," replied Genseric, "they shall guide us to that one with which God is in wrath."¹ For a whole fortnight the blindest barbarian passions again wrought their terrible will on helpless Rome, and once more the only refuge was in religion. "Instead of a sally of the Roman youth," writes Gibbon, "there issued from the gates an unarmed and venerable procession of the Bishop at the head of his clergy. The fearless spirit of Leo, his authority and eloquence, again mitigated the fierceness of a barbarian conqueror; the king of the Vandals promised to spare the unresisting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture." Among the spoils borne away were the holy vessels, the table of gold, and the seven-branched candlestick which had been carried off by Titus from Jerusalem. They were now taken from the Temple of Peace and shipped in triumph for Carthage.

Twice more, within twenty years, the city was forced to endure all the terrors of invasion. Italy was one vast wilderness. In Emilia and Tuscany it is recorded that not even one of the inhabitants survived. But though the Queen of Empire thus "saw her glories star by star expire," she renounced not the service of Paganism. Even on the anniversary of the delivery from Attila, St. Leo was forced to address to the citizens the words of the prophet: "In vain have I struck your children, they have not received correction." He warns them, lest, imitating the perverseness of the Jews, they should incur their chastisement; and he adds: "It covers me with confusion to have to make this statement; but it must not be dissembled here, that more is said to be due in this matter to the demons of Paganism than to the apostles of our Lord, and that, while the insane exhibitions of the circus attract to-day overflowing multitudes, but few have gathered round these tombs of the martyrs to thank heaven for having preserved us through their intervention."

For Totila, a barbarian king, but famed for his temperance and chastity, was reserved the task of demolishing the last vestiges of Pagan Rome, and setting aside for ever the institutions of Romulus. As he advanced towards the city, the deacon, Pelagius, who had spent his vast paternal wealth among the poor, was sent by the Romans to ask for a truce, even for a few days. The Goth received Pelagius with honor, and embraced him; but, at the same time, declared his unalterable resolve to level Rome with the dust. The city was given up to the fury of the barbarians, but Totila himself hastened to St. Peter's, and, at the prayers of the clergy,

¹ Procopius, de Bel. Vand., i., 8.

granted permission to any of the inhabitants that wished to fly from the doomed city. When the Goths retired from the Seven Hills, Rome was indeed a desert ; even the city gates were torn down by the barbarians, and borne away as trophies of their triumph.

Whilst the power of Paganism was thus broken in its very capital, Providence was gradually unfolding its mysterious designs for the salvation of the barbarian nations. For the first time brought in contact with Christian missionaries by these incursions, the barbarians soon became docile children of the Cross ; and, before a century had passed from the invasion of Totila, Rome had avenged her sufferings by the spiritual triumph of faith in the very depths of the forests of Germany.

In the age of St. Gregory the Great, new enemies present themselves at the gates of Rome. Once more it is the angel of religion that wards off destruction, and the inhabitants find a refuge beneath the mantle of the Vicar of Christ. Alboino and his Lombard hordes, as an avalanche from the Alps, descended upon Italy ; desolation everywhere marked their course. "Scenes of misery meet our eyes," writes St. Gregory, "and our ears are assailed with the cries of lamentation and suffering ; no matter to what side we turn, the country is reduced to a wilderness, strewed with the ruins of towns and cities—there is no husbandman in the fields, no dweller in the villages ; and it is our doom to see the trifling residue of the population that is still left, incessantly subjected to the horrors of the sword, or dragged into captivity. As for this city, once the queen of the world, judge ye, who are spectators, of the immensity and variety of her disasters ; how she is crushed and humbled to the earth by incessant shocks of invasion, by the carnage of her citizens, and the dread of dangers incessantly impending over her. All her mighty ones are taken away. What has become of the senate and the Roman people ? Of the majestic order of the past not one trace is left ; and after her people have perished, her walls and trophies fall of their own accord, and crumble into dust."¹

It was in vain that St. Gregory represented to the Court in Constantinople the sad misery of the Roman people. The Emperors, helpless against their enemies nearer home, could afford no protection to their subjects in Italy : nay, more, to cloak their own weakness, they never ceased to heap reproach and invective on the Pontiff, and to seek to frustrate his plans for the public safety. Yet, the untiring exertions of St. Gregory did save Rome, and he merited to be hailed by the

¹ S. Gregor. Com. in Ezechielem.

citizens as "the father of his country." Even Gibbon admits his claim to their gratitude:—"The merits of Gregory," he writes, "were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and insult, but in the attachment of a grateful people he found the purest reward of a citizen, and the best right of a sovereign."

Succeeding Popes pursued the same course, shielding the shrines of the Apostles by the mantle of Religion. A signal triumph awaited the exertions of Pope Gregory II. In the year 729 the Lombards, urged on by the Exarch, and paid by imperial gold, laid siege to the city. Gregory II. had no army to defend the walls, but, accompanied by an august retinue of the Roman clergy and nobles, he went forth to the Vatican fields, where, close by St. Peter's, the enemy had pitched his tents. There the Pontiff made a moving appeal to Luitprand, reminding him of the sacredness of Rome, and of the mysterious Providence which had hitherto guarded its sanctuaries. He concluded with the words: "The city cannot be consumed without giving to the flames those churches and tombs which have been ever regarded by all nations far and near—and even by those little removed from barbarism—not only with veneration, but with the most thrilling religious awe: and is it to be credited that Attila, overawed by the mere apparition of the Apostles, retired from Rome, while the sight of their sepulchres, close to which he is standing, has no power to move a Christian king to mercy?" Luitprand could not conceal his emotion; he prostrated himself for the Pontiff's blessing, and then proceeding to the Basilica of St. Peter's, divested himself of his mantle, diadem, silver cross, and military belt, and offered these royal ornaments on the tomb of the Apostles, as a pledge that thenceforward his army should only fight in defence of Rome.

When, in after years, the Lombard chieftains again harrassed the cities of Italy, need I mention the devotion of Charles Martel, the piety and heroism of Pepin, the triumphs of Charlemagne? On Christmas Day, in the year 800, Charlemagne entered St. Peter's, arrayed in patrician purple, and, as he knelt before the shrine of the Apostles, Pope Leo poured on his forehead the sacred chrism, and placed the imperial crown upon his head, whilst the church resounded with acclamations of "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, most pious and pacific emperor, raised up by God."

This coronation of Charlemagne marks a new era in the history of the world. Thenceforth his title was "Carolus, by the grace of God, King of the Franks, devout defender of holy Church, and, in all things, the helper and champion of

the Apostolic See." All that was noble in the institutions of the ancient Empire was now revived. The various tribes of barbarians became united with the Romanze nations in the common bonds of imperial rule as of Religion. Rome, the citadel of Faith, was honored by all as the centre of peace, and the source, not only of Christian piety, but also of every social blessing for the world. "A glorious empire," writes Florus of Lyons, in the year 850, "a glorious empire flourished under the lustre of a brilliant diadem: it knew but one prince and one people: all the cities had judges, and were secure under the shadow of the laws. The zeal of the priesthood was kept glowing by frequent councils: the sacred records were incessantly in the hands of youth enthusiastically devoted to study: there were everywhere schools in which those of a tender age were disciplined and prepared for the higher study of letters. In those bright days there came frequent embassies from realms the most remote. Rome herself, the mother of kingdoms, reposed under the protectorate of this nation: there it was, that its chief, sustained by the help of Christ, had received the diadem by Apostolic gift. Oh, thrice happy, had it but known its good fortune; this empire which had Rome for its citadel, and the key-bearer of heaven for its founder."¹ The chronicler of Vulturum adds: "At that time few were the fortress-castles in those regions; but, scattered in all directions over the face of the land, were to be seen innumerable villas and churches. Nor was there any fear or apprehension of war; for peace the most profound, and security reigned everywhere, to the great felicity of Italy, until the time of the Saracens."

The Saracens, when assailing the western nations, had for their chief object the destruction of the Christian Faith. The Roman Pontiffs were untiring in their efforts to arouse the princes of Europe to oppose them. The words of Pope John the Eighth should have sufficed to awaken the ardour of the most slothful. To Charles the Bold he writes: "How many and how great are the things we have suffered, and are hourly suffering, at the hands of the Saracens; why should I attempt to describe, when all the leaves of the forest, were they turned into tongues, would not suffice to narrate them? The blood of Christians is poured out like water; the people devoted to God are slaughtered. Captivity, the most cruel, in perpetual exile, is the lot of such as escape destruction by the sword or by fire. Behold the cities, the walled towns, and the country villages, bereft of inhabitants, have sunk into ruin; and their Bishops

¹ Florus, apud Mabillon, "Analecta," i., 388.

dispersed in flight are sure of refuge nowhere but around these tombs of the Apostles. Wild beasts usurp the sanctuaries where stood their chair of doctrine. Behold, most beloved son, the sword has pierced to the soul: days have come in which we exclaim—'Blessed are the wombs that have not brought forth.' The mistress of the nations, the queen of cities, the mother of churches, the consolation of the afflicted, the harbour of refuge for all who are in distress or danger, the seat of the Apostles, Rome, sits desolate and overwhelmed with distress." And, in another letter: "Within the walls the remnant of the people who have survived so many disasters, are reduced to the most trying distress: all beyond the walls is a solitude, The basilicas of the Saints and their altars they have destroyed; of the Priests and holy Nuns, some they have dragged into captivity, others they have put to every species of most cruel death; and all the people redeemed with the blood of Christ, through a vast circuit, they have slain."

In the year 903, ambassadors from Southern Italy presented themselves at the camp of the Saracen Emir, now master of Sicily. He did not even vouchsafe an audience to them; but, after some days, he sent the message: "Let them begone from hence, and tell the wretches who sent them, that to take care of all Italy is my concern; and that, as for those that dwell there, it is for me to dispose of their destinies at my pleasure. Do they dare to hope that my arms can for a moment be resisted by the despicable Greeks or Franks? Would that I could catch them some place where they could not escape by flight. But why waste my breath with these Christian dogs? Let them begone: and tell them that it is not their doom alone which is sealed; the city of that old dotard, Peter, also, I have doomed to destruction." There was, indeed, no prospect of human aid; but there was a higher power to guard the shrine of the Apostles. A few weeks passed on, and whilst the Emir matured his plans of conquest, nought but prayer and penance was seen on the Seven Hills. One night, as he set out to continue his devastating career, he slept in a chapel of St. Michael the Archangel; on a sudden, the camp was aroused by the intelligence that their Emir was no more. Summoning the leaders of the army to his bedside, he told them, as he expired, that that night St. Peter, in the form of a venerable bishop, clothed in sacred robes, stood before him, and with the pastoral staff transfixed his breast.

Throughout seven centuries, with rare intervals of peace, that war, under the varying names of Saracen, Mussulman, and Turk, was waged against the Cross by the disciples of Mahomet. For St. Pius the Fifth was reserved the glory of

achieving the final discomfiture of the restless enemy. On the morning of the 7th October, 1571, the allied fleets of Venice, Spain, and Rome, sailed out from the port of Lepanto, and, under the standard of St. Peter, shattered for ever the Mussulman power. Rome decreed to Colonna, the victorious commander, all the honors of a triumph. In the pageant which welcomed him within the walls, were set forth all the joyous memories of the past, all the cheering prospects for the future of Christian civilization. The sainted Pontiff, with the assembled Cardinals, advanced to the threshold of St. Peter's Basilica, and there embraced the triumphant soldier of the Cross; and a thrill of joy reverberated through every Catholic heart whilst the kiss of peace was thus given to Christian heroism by the Vicar of Christ.

Three hundred years have passed since that glorious day. The Dominican novices still linger at Santa Sabina. The orange tree planted there by St. Dominick has not decayed. The room where that great Saint lived of old, and where St. Pius the Fifth prayed at the moment when the battle raged at Lepanto, still breathes the fragrance of their piety. But when the Christian pilgrim now visits that hallowed spot, and looks down on the present sad condition of Rome, how must he sigh for the day when the present heir of the virtues, as of the name of Pius, may once again, at the threshold of the shrines of the Apostles, give the kiss of peace to the triumphant chivalry of Catholic Europe.

Modern writers of history for the British public (and permit me to name two of the most recent works that I have seen, "Rome, from the Fall of the Western Empire," by the Rev. George Trevor, Canon of York, and the "Historical Essays" of Mr. Freeman), heap obloquy on the name of Alexander the Third, whilst they extol the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa as the man of his age, a model of princely wisdom, the beneficent ruler of a grateful people. With such writers envenomed hatred of the Holy See takes the place of history, and facts are represented, not as they really were, but as these writers would wish them to have been.

Barbarossa was, indeed, a man of genius, and his empire possessed such military resources, that, had he been inspired by religion, and guided by the dictates of conscience, a golden era might have smiled on the Western Church. It was, however, the one object of his reign to crush every germ of civil liberty, and to establish an imperial despotism both in Church and State.

On the day when the Cardinals elected Alexander the Third to the chair of St. Peter, the agents of Barbarossa rushed

into the conclave, tore off the sacred vestments from the newly-elected Pope, and hurried him and the Cardinals to prison: "Great," says an eye-witness of these scenes, "was the grief of the clergy; the judges and seniors of Rome were weighed down with sorrow, and a helpless stupor seized the people, until, at length, when the august victims of persecution had been three days in the dungeons of Trastevere, the spirit of Frangipani, and the other nobles, could brook the outrage no longer: they marched at the head of the Roman people, seized the fortress, and restored the prisoners to liberty." Three anti-popes in succession were intruded by Barbarossa into the See of Peter, seeking by unrelenting tyranny to oppress the whole Church of God.

And here let me remark, that it was precisely one of these anti-popes who, to flatter the Emperor, solemnized, in 1161, the canonization of Charlemagne; for Barbarossa wished to appear heir of the virtues and heroism of that great prince. Nevertheless, this canonization is precisely one of the matters of reproach adduced by the Canon of York against the memory of the Popes.¹ How true is the proverb, "*mendacem oportet esse memorem.*"

When Barbarossa captured Milan for the first time, he convened a synod of Jurisconsults at Roncaglia, and there it was published with acclamation that the imperial will was the supreme principle of law: "*quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem.*" His cruelty, on the second capture of Milan, excited the indignation of all Europe. He himself describes in a letter to the Count of Soissons the destruction which fell upon this fair capital of North Italy: "the walls and their fosses we make level with the ground; we destroy the towers; of the entire city we make a ruin and a solitude."² On the 30th of May, 1167, he renewed the same scenes of havoc and plunder in Rome. "The Germans, on this occasion," writes the historian Höfler, "wreaked their vengeance on the environs of Rome and on the city itself in a dreadful way: even the nephew of the Emperor, Frederick of Rottenburg, set fire to the Basilica of St. Peter's—that most august sanctuary of the Catholic world, which the Saracens themselves had, so to say, respected."

But he, whom the power of man could not control, was now humbled by the hand of God. Half the imperial army was carried off by pestilence before it could fly from Rome. Three months from the pillage of the city saw the deputies of the towns of North Italy hastening to the convent of Pontita, where, under the guidance of Pope Alexander III., the famous Lom-

¹ "Rome from the fall of the Western Empire," page 134.

² D'Achery, "Spicilegium," iii., 536.

bard League was formed, which soon restored liberty to the Italian Communes, and led on their hitherto dispirited troops to the decisive victory of Legnano. The united cities had, in the meantime, built a new fortress, to which, in honour of their great leader, they gave the name of Alessandria. When Barbarossa sued for peace, one condition, above all, he insisted on, viz., that the fortress should no longer bear the hated name of Alexander III., but be rather styled, in his own honour, *Cesarea*. The representatives of the League easily assented to this empty condition, but popular feeling, more consistent in gratitude and honor than the diplomatists of that age, refused to sanction their decree; and that fortress to the present day bears its historic name of Alessandria. New disasters fell in quick succession on the devoted head of Barbarossa. Even his great crusade, in which 100,000 men, marching under the banner of the Cross, threatened to subjugate the entire East, brought him no honour; and Barbarossa miserably ended his days, drowned in the river Cydnus. The German poet and historian, Schiller, commenting on the course pursued by Pope Alexander in regard to Barbarossa, makes the following just remarks: "From traits like this may the spirit be recognised which animated the Roman court, and the inflexible firmness of the principles which every Pope, setting all personal considerations aside, saw himself following. Emperors and kings, illustrious statesmen and stern warriors, were seen to sacrifice their rights under the pressure of circumstances, to prove false to their principles, and to yield to necessity. This seldom or never happened to a Pope. Even when he wandered about in misery, possessed not of a foot of land in Italy, not a soul that was gracious to him, and lived on the compassion of strangers, he still held firmly to the prerogatives of his See and the Church. If every other political community at certain times has suffered, and suffers still, from the personal qualities of those to whom their government is confided, this has hardly ever been the case with the Church and her Head. How unlike soever to one another the Popes might be in temperament, mind, and capacity, their policy was ever firm, uniform, immutable. Their capacity, their temperament, their mind, seemed not to be infused into their office at all. Their personality might be said to melt away in their dignity; and passion, in their case, was extinguished under the triple crown. Although on the decease of every Pope, the personal chain of succession to the throne was broken, and with every new Pope was pieced afresh: although no throne in the world changed its master so often, and was so tempestuously assailed: yet was this the only throne in Christendom which never seemed

to change its possessor ; because only the Popes died, but the spirit that animated them was immortal."

Whilst the Pontiffs laboured to guard the city of Rome from foreign assailants, the spirit of revolution within the walls more than once attempted to revive the rule of Romulus at the shrine of the Apostles. The first great leader of revolt was Arnold, of Brescia. Expelled from the religious order to which he belonged, "he," as Otho of Frisinga writes, "endeavoured, by an unheard of temerity, to rehearse the Pagan tragedies of old, and re-establish the reign of murder and tyranny on the Seven Hills." Even Barbarossa turned away in disgust from his arrogant and unmeaning words. His tragic fate is described by Otho, of Frisinga, who tells us that he received its details from the lips of Barbarossa himself. For some time Arnold was defended by the Visconti, who, however, soon surrendered their protégé into the hands of the Imperial Prefect of Rome. By order of the Emperor he was brought to the stake, and the Imperial Prefect caused the ashes of the pyre, on which the wretched man was burned, to be swept into the Tiber.¹

The next great revolutionary leader was Nicola di Lorenzo, better known by his popular abbreviated name, Cola di Rienzo. He was a fanatical worshipper of the Rome of the Gracchi and Cæsar. "His letters," writes Sismondi, "are full of mystical fanaticism : his references to the ancient heroes of Rome are always mingled with invocations to her Christian saints." He was treated mercifully by the Popes, and received pardon at their hands, but the people could not tolerate his crimes. His last discourse on the Capitol, was interrupted by the cries of the assembled populace. Seeking safety in disguise and flight, he was discovered, and dragged by the people to the platform of the palace, on the Campidoglio, and there an assassin plunged a dagger into his breast. Gibbon adds : "He fell senseless at the first stroke : the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds ; and his body was abandoned to the dogs, the Jews, and to the flames."

Need I remind you of the sad desolation brought by the Ghibelline factions on the fairest districts of Italy. Their fury reached its summit, when the imperial agent, an Albigensian heretic, abetted by Sciarra Colonna, dared, in Anagni, to lay hands on the Vicar of Christ. And yet never was Boniface the Eighth more noble than at that moment. Assuming his pontifical robes, he courageously confronted his captives : when threatened with deposition, he fearlessly replied, "I am ready to suffer everything, sooner than betray the freedom of the Catholic Church ; and, as Vicar of Christ, I can well en-

¹ Baronius, ad. an. 1155, page 41.

ture the sentence of deposition at the hands of heretics." Even Dante, though deeply imbued with Ghibelline prejudices, can find no words sufficient to reprobate this crime of Anagni:

"Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto :
Veggolo un' altra volta esser deriso ;
Veggio rinnovellar l'aceto e il fiele,
E tra vivi ladroni essere anciso."

From that day dates the ruin of Anagni. A traveller, in 1526, thus describes its sad condition:—"The town is deserted and in ruin: tottering walls are seen on every side, especially where once stood the palace of Pope Boniface. I asked an aged inhabitant, whence came this ruin? He said to me, it dates from the insult offered to Pope Boniface; from that day decay set in, and pestilence, war, and domestic strife have completed its destruction."¹

I have mentioned the name of Dante. He was an ardent friend of the Ghibelline party, and strenuously supported their cause. Yet we would, perhaps, seek in vain for a more elegant or faithful description of the destiny of Christian Rome than that presented to us by this prince of poets:

"Figlia e madre d'eroi, che in pace e in guerra
Sempre sul l'Universo avrai l'impero,
Roma, che sei de' Numi emula in terra
Con lo splendor de' Cesari e di Piero.

"Innanzi a te, *quando in follie non erra*,
Sorge a vertù l'attonito pensiero :
Innanzi a te l'ossequio mio s'atterra,
Chè in te sol veggio il grande, il bello, il vero.

"Il tempo, che *qualunque* umana altezza
Transforma, strugge e alfin copre d'obblio,
Ti guarda sì, ma il tuo poter non spezza.

"Sull' Aventin, dove a seder si pose,
Dante un giorno così gridar s'udio :
E : Sia così ! l'Eternità rispose."

Petrarch was heir of the piety as well as of the genius of Dante. The laurel crown was awarded to him in the Capitol amid popular applause, but Petrarch hastened in solemn procession from the Capitol to St. Peter's, and suspended his crown as a votive offering at the shrine of the Apostles. Rome

¹ Raccolta di Viaggi ' Viaggio di Alessandro Bolognese,' A.D. 1526.

was, at this time, deprived of the presence of the Popes who had taken up their residence in Avignon. Petrarch addresses them in the name of Christendom: "Rome stretches out towards you her emaciated and withered arms; the bosom of Italy is agitated with sobs of grief imploring your return:" and again, he writes to Pope Urban V.: "Remember that the Church of Rome is your spouse. You will say that the universal Church is the spouse of the Roman Pontiff; it is true: far be it from me to wish to restrict your jurisdiction; I would rather assign to it no limits but those of the world, for all true worshippers of Christ must obey your rule. But, holy Father, this does not prevent Rome from having special claims on you; other churches have their own Bishops: Rome has no Bishop but you . . . And when you are summoned to the tribunal of Christ, do you choose to arise in Avignon, or not rather with Peter and Paul, Apostles, with Laurence and Stephen, martyrs, with Gregory and Sylvester, confessors, with Cecily and Agnes, virgins." At length Martin V. returned to Rome, and the widowed city was once more comforted by the presence of the Vicar of Christ. We shall hear from Platina the condition of the city, and the joy of the Romans welcoming him on his return: "He was hailed as the propitious star and last hope of their country, by what still was left of the Roman people and princes. They marked that day as one of the brightest in their annals. Rome he found in a condition so dilapidated and forlorn, that it no longer presented the appearance of a city. The houses you might see tottering and nodding to their fall; the churches prostrate, the streets deserted; everything wore the appearance of decay, of neglect long continued and beyond redress. Want and misery were stamped on the visages of the inhabitants. Of the festive crowds, the concourse, the polished air and brilliancy of city life, there was no vestige to be discovered; but it looked as if the offscouring of the whole country had been swept together in that dingy forlorn place."¹

I need no more than mention the memorable sack of Rome in 1527, which renewed all the horrors of the invasions of the Goths and Huns. Two armies, the one of German Lutherans, under the command of Fraunsberg, the other of Spanish troops, led on by the Constable de Bourbon, made a joint attack on the city on the morning of the 6th of May. Fraunsberg, pointing to Rome, said to his soldiers: "Behold your plunder: Luther has promised it to you: if you hold back, famine and death await you." Their subsequent excesses baffle all description. Ranke writes: "Restrained by no

¹ Platina Vit. Pontt. in vit. Martini V.

leader, the blood-thirsty soldiery, hardened by long privations, and rendered savage by their warfare, burst over the devoted city. Never fell richer booty into more violent hands, never was plunder more continuous or destructive." Fraunsberg, as he marched to Rome, wore on his neck a chain of massive gold, and it was his boast that with it he would strangle the old dotard of the Vatican. On the morning of the assault, as he joyfully advanced towards the apparently defenceless city, he was seized with apoplexy, and fell lifeless to the ground. The other leader, the Constable de Bourbon, as he mounted the walls in triumph, was struck down by a bullet, and being borne along by his soldiers, expired at the threshold of St. Peter's.

This sack of Rome was destined in the ways of God to purify it from the corruption with which an immoral literature had begun to flood the entire Peninsula. During the first years of the revival of Grecian art, the restoration of letters, and the Lutheran heresy, men's minds, moreover, seemed infatuated with a new Capitoline mania, and began to idolize the ideas and the passions of the Pagan age. Thenceforward, these profane fires were extinguished in Rome. The arts indeed, hallowed by religion, attained their highest perfection under the benign patronage of the Vicar of Christ. They were no longer, however, the slaves of impiety, but the handmaids of faith; and the whole city, with its countless monuments, became one vast trophy of religion, symbolizing the triumph of Christ, of his Apostles and martyrs, over the pride and passions and superstitions of Paganism.

Towards the close of the last century, the statesmen of Europe, led away by Voltarian ideas, sought to make the Church of Christ subservient to their political schemes. The great Pontiff, Pius VI., saw the See of Peter at one and the same time assailed by Ferdinand of Naples, Joseph of Austria, Charles of Spain, Leopold of Tuscany, the Bourbon of Parma, and even Louis of France, all nominally Catholic sovereigns, but all combined to enslave the Church of God. Again were the Psalmist's words repeated: "*Quare fremuerunt gentes, et reges convenerunt in unum.*" The reign of terror, and the principles of '89, overturned these thrones, and scarce the memory remained of all their plotting against the Vicar of Christ.

In 1799 the storm fell upon Rome. The aged Pius VI., venerable for his four score years, his virtues, and his great deeds, was treated with brutal violence by the Calvinist Haller and his associates, who, in the name of the French Republic, dragged the saintly Pontiff from the Vatican, and hurried him off to the prison of Valence. The infidels of that

day gloated over the downfall of the Papacy, and boasted that the last of the Popes was in their hands. Even an official decree was promulgated in Rome, that the Cardinals would not be allowed to elect a successor in the place of the dying Pope. Yet the august prisoner, when yielding his spirit to Heaven, the 29th of August, 1799, took from his finger a precious ring, presented to him by the good Queen Clotilda of Sardinia, sister of Louis XVI., and commanded one of his attendants to consign it to his successor in the See of Peter. That same autumn the armies of France, ignominiously flying from Italy, left Venice free for the conclave. A change, too, has come over the rulers of France, and whilst the newly elected Pope Pius VII. enters his capital amidst the acclamations of his people, Napoleon, on the field of Marengo, proclaims his determination to uphold the rights of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and to build up the ruined altars of his country. He sent an ambassador to Rome, and gave him the instruction: "Comport yourself towards the Pope as if he had an army at his back of two hundred thousand men."

A few years roll on, and Napoleon, blinded by his unprecedented success, renounces the protectorate of the Sovereign Pontiffs; the Papal States become an imperial province, and his son is styled the King of Rome. To the threat of excommunication, he replied: "They say I am to be denounced to Christendom; nothing but ignorance, the most profound of the age in which we live, could have suggested such a notion: the date involves an error of a thousand years. Does Pius VII. imagine that the arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?" Need I tell you the result? He whose breath scatters the mightiest hosts, and causes the earth to tremble, looked down in his wrath on that imperial pride. The arms did fall from the hands of Napoleon's soldiers; and he himself was led away a captive, to end his years on the rocks of St. Helena.

Little more than twelve months have passed since another Napoleon abandoned another saintly Pontiff of the name of Pius. And, again, need I mention the result? Step by step, as the French troops recede from the walls of Rome, the German armies penetrate into the heart of France. The capital of Christendom surrenders to the Piedmontese troops, and Napoleon appears as a suppliant at the tent of Bismarck. Victor Emmanuel enters the city of the Popes, and France has the humiliation of witnessing the Prussian triumphant entry into her capital.

Thus, in the unmistakable characters of unchanging truth, history traces for us the Divine decree, that Rome is the city of the Vicar of Christ, the heavenly-guarded centre of the

Church of God. Every arm raised against it shall surely perish. God may permit His enemies to triumph for a while, but all their efforts must be subservient to His wise designs. The fire of the Chaldeans was allowed of old to purify the temple and cleanse away the iniquities of Judah; yet did not Sion cease to be God's own city till the plenitude of ages had come. Even so, the enemies of religion may revel for a time amid the sacred glories of Rome, but the lessons of history, as well as the teaching of faith, are our guarantee that present sufferings are the harbingers of a glorious future for the Church of God.

Thus, gentlemen, I have essayed to illustrate, by the facts of history, the destiny of Christian Rome. If I have dwelt particularly on the calamities which, in past times, have pressed upon this new Jerusalem, this line of reasoning was suggested by the afflictions which at the present moment overwhelm the Vicar of Christ. In the long line of Pontiffs, none has been more glorious, none has guided with more steady hand the barque of St. Peter: yet none has been more fiercely assailed by the storms of infidelity, indifferentism, and revolution; and none has surpassed him in his sorrows. When Pius the Sixth was in captivity, an humble Camaldolese, who subsequently wore the tiara as Gregory XVI., published his work entitled "The Triumph of the Holy See," and in its first lines he writes: "It will occasion surprise to many that I should, at the present moment, speak and write of the triumph of the Holy See, whilst the Pope is a prisoner, and the princes of the Church are dispersed, and all sacred things are overthrown in every part of Italy, and throughout the greater portion of Europe, yet I pursue this course because all these things only serve to prove of how little avail are the utmost efforts of the enemies of God, and how true are the words of St. Chrysostom, that it would be easier to extinguish the sun in the heavens than to extinguish the Church of Christ." In God's own time the present storm shall also cease. I am not a prophet, yet I do not hesitate to foretel that some one of you whom I now address, will, at no distant day, when commemorating the triumphs of God's Church, be able, from the present trials of Pius IX., the victory of his sacred cause, and the punishment of the assailants of the holy city, to derive a new argument to set forth the true unchanging destiny of Eternal Rome.

THE PAPAL VOLUNTEERS UNDER GENERAL LAMORICIERE IN 1860.

(Continued.)

ON the 11th September, while Lamoriciere was engaged in checking the inroads of revolutionary bands on the northern frontier, the startling intelligence reached him that Victor Emmanuel, King of Piedmont, had, without the declaration of war, sent an army of 73,000 men into the Pope's dominions, in three divisions, under the command of Generals Cialdini, Fanti, and Borgone, and that they were moving towards him by three distinct roads. This was terrible news to Lamoriciere; he at once resolved to press forward to Ancona with all the available troops he had, and from this vantage-ground to offer resistance to the comparatively vast multitude of the enemy. Accordingly, at the head of about 6,000 men, he marched rapidly about 40 miles a day, and reached Loretto, an historic town some 14 miles from Ancona, on the evening of the 15th September. Here, he heard that Cialdini had already arrived with 30,000 men to intercept him, and was actually in possession of all the roads to Ancona. He addressed his wearied troops in these encouraging words:— "There is no choice for us now, we must pass over the bodies of the Piedmontese and reach Ancona," and then ordered Captain Pamffy, a young Hungarian nobleman, and one of his staff, to gallop forward with a small party of the *Guides* and ascertain the exact position of the enemy. This young aide-de-camp was as brave as he was noble. I saw him in the trenches at Ancona a few days afterwards. It was the severest day we had; a tempest of shot and shell was pouring upon us from the enemy's batteries, while wind and rain swept the trenches with such violence that hardly a man could keep his feet. The works were battered in several places, and bombs were falling thickly near the magazine up in the fortress. Men from the Italian regiments were told off to heap bags of sand on the roof, and many of them skulked under the arches of the fortress. I saw Pamffy coming out of a corner, where the chaplain had heard his confession, and placing himself at the head of a party of chasseurs from Austrian-Poland, he worked for hours in the storm of shell, wind, and rain, carrying bags of sand on his back to all the points of danger. But we must return to him, when, with a party of four, he went out from Loretto, to ascertain the position of Cialdini. Darkness had already set in, when he and his four companions left on their perilous mission,

and they had not ridden far when the enemy fired into them, wounding one of their party mortally. He was one of those noble youths of France and Belgium, who left the comforts and brilliant life of their own homes to enlist in the service of the Pope. A bullet pierced his side, and his hours of life were ebbing fast. He was carried into the Church of the Holy House of Loretto, and laid bleeding on the floor of the Sanctuary. His comrades were soon around him, and they wept as they saw his agony, and heard his moans. Becdelievre, their colonel, took occasion from this to prepare them for the sanguinary engagement which he knew to be near. He said to them:—"My dear friends, I have been always straightforward with you; I tell you now what many would hardly venture to tell you. We shall have warm work of it to-morrow morning; put your affairs in order for eternity, as I have done myself." The morrow came, and as early as five o'clock a most touching scene was being enacted in the Church of Loretto. Lamoriciere, De Pimodan, the officers under their command, and a large number of the rank and file of the Pontifical army were gathered there. They were making their thanksgiving after Holy Communion, and imploring the protection of God upon dear ones at home, whom they would never meet again in this world. Then there was a hurried breakfast, and hoarse trumpets sounded the "assembly." The troops marched into the square; the banners, under which the Christian army fought victoriously against the Turks at Lepanto 300 years ago, were brought out from the Church of the Holy House, where they had been kept since that time; Lamoriciere, at the head of his staff, rode up, and the gallant 6,000, with the red cross of Lepanto waving over them, went out to meet 30,000. In less than an hour the two armies met in the shock of battle, and the 6,000 were carrying the heights of Castelfidardo. I am sorry, Gentlemen, I cannot here give you more than a meagre account of that unequal fight. Arrived close to the enemy's position, Lamoriciere surveyed it with his field-glass, and in five minutes he pointed out the passage he must open for his army. It lay through a broad but shallow river, up a rising ground, which was crowned with two farmsteads, and a considerable distance between them. The regiments of infantry were wheeled into line of battle; the artillery was pushed forward, and the cavalry took up advantageous positions upon the right and left wings. The line of battle was perfect—one that Lamoriciere alone could have formed. What a pity he had not an army numerous enough to occupy it? De Pimodan received orders to ford the river, carry the first farmstead by assault, plant a battery

of cannon on it, and under cover of it, to storm the second farmstead with the bayonet. He was soon across the river, and rapidly ascending the rising ground on the opposite side. No sooner did the enemy see him approach than they formed into a square on the heights near the farmstead, but did not open fire until he had advanced within easy distance of them. Then a perfect shower of bullets rang through the air, and pierced De Pimodan's advancing column. The brave Zouaves, with their colonel, Becdelievre, dashed to the front, followed by a battery of artillery, and a company of the Irish Brigade—the only one engaged in this action—and after a short, but deadly struggle, drove the enemy from their position, and established their artillery, which soon began to play with good effect on the second farmstead. Describing this stage of the combat in his official report, Lamoriciere pays a graceful compliment to the company of Irish. "These brave soldiers," he says, "after having accomplished the task assigned to them (namely, the bringing up and establishing the battery of cannon), joined the ranks, and fought valiantly while the battle lasted." A valley and a steep ascent on the opposite side separated De Pimodan from the second farmhouse, and over this the remnant of the shattered Zouaves advanced. It was a gallant action, and one that will be long remembered by those who took part in this eventful campaign. The Piedmontese, writhing under the first defeat, opened a murderous fire on the advancing Zouaves; still, on they went, fell back, charged again, when a bullet struck De Pimodan on the face, and, choking with blood, he cried out: "Courage, men; God is with us." Lamoriciere saw the critical position, and ordered up reinforcements, consisting of some Swiss and Italian regiments. These mercenaries go forward, then hesitate; and run without firing a shot. De Pimodan is still on his horse, and surrounded only by the survivors of the brave Zouaves, a few Irish, and one faithful battalion of Swiss; but he now receives a second shot in the foot, and immediately after a third bullet struck him full upon the chest, tearing it open, when he fell from his saddle into the arms of some of his men who were fighting around him. His was a death, Gentlemen, which we might all envy, for it was the death of a soldier of the cross. He sleeps in Rome, in the Church of St. Louis, King of France, who also died fighting for the cross, and thus the memory of the old crusades is fitly united with those of the present time. Lamoriciere, broken in spirits by the death of his best general, deserted by some of his troops, his brave Zouaves reduced to 90, ordered the retreat to be sounded over the whole line, and

of the 6,000 who went out in the morning, 2,000 only returned in the evening to Loretto, where they surrendered only after obtaining honorable conditions. The battle is over; the tempest has subsided into a lull, and the heavy rain of shot has declined into a gentle patter, but Lamoriciere is still riding furiously over the field. He must reach Ancona—you remember he pledged himself to do so “over the bodies of the Piedmontese;” and, with this resolve strong upon him, he is now galloping recklessly within easy distance of the Piedmontese lines. Count Panffy, his faithful friend, perceiving the imminent danger the general was in of being made prisoner, surrounded him with a squadron of Austrian dragoons, and forcing him away, they literally dashed over the bodies of the Piedmontese, and in a few minutes were hurrying on the road to Ancona. Before going there with him, let us pay a becoming tribute to his faithful soldiers whom he left bleeding and dead behind him. This, I do not think we can do better than by repeating the words applied to them by the eloquent Bishop of Orleans:—“O hills of Castelfidardo,” he exclaims, “you were the Thermopylae of honour for these young men! They were there at the post of self-sacrifice; and there they died. They are fallen, but are not vanquished. Their constancy casts a ray of immortal glory upon their splendid disaster. From end to end of Christendom these youthful warriors are applauded and admired; the most indifferent are moved to enthusiasm in their regard; even the voice of a Protestant proclaims aloud: ‘These are the last martyrs of European civilization.’” It may be well for me here to remark that there was but one feeling of regret regarding this battle among the Irishmen then serving in the Pope’s army, and it was that they were not all engaged in it. I remember distinctly many of the Irish officers and men saying to me: “What a sad mistake of Lamoriciere not to have brought us all into that action!”

Covered with dust, and worn with fatigue, Lamoriciere and his escort entered Ancona that evening, welcomed by the cheers of the garrison, which carried a message of defiance to the Piedmontese fleet that had been shelling the town from early morning. The Irish counted about 500 in the garrison of Ancona. On the morning of the 21st, the combined forces of Cialdini and Fanti sat down before Ancona on the land side, established their batteries, and, in concert with the fleet, began the bombardment in sober earnest. On the 26th a large force of the enemy dashed themselves vainly against two of our forts, but were repulsed by a magnificent bayonet charge of two companies of Irish. On the 27th the assault

was renewed by a much larger force on the fort of St. Stephens; but the Irish made a sortie, and, after some splendid fighting forced the enemy to retire. The siege lasted ten days, and is full of the most exciting incident, which, of itself, would afford ample material for a lecture. I come to the last day. It was the 30th September. The attack from the besiegers opened in the early morning, and was maintained with tremendous vigour during the day. About noon almost the entire force of the enemy advanced on the Lazaretto. The Papal troops fought desperately against overwhelming numbers; they disputed every inch of ground, till they were driven close to the large gate which led into the town. Here they retired inside the gate, where they stood and resisted until resistance was useless. Five times the gate was lost and won. The excitement was intense, for even the timid citizens crowded the house-tops to witness the progress of the battle. Down in the harbour the fight was hottest. The entire fleet advanced close to that solitary battery which commanded the entrance, and poured broadsides into it for hours without a pause, while the gallant little battery returned the fire with extraordinary vigour. The brave fellows who manned it, under the command of the lamented Westministhal, held it while the murderous fire from the ships shot away its defences bit by bit, and when the last gun had fallen from its place, they blew up the pile with a crash that shook the earth for miles around.

The further prosecution of the defence must necessarily be abandoned as hopeless, and the white flag was, by Lamoricieri's orders, hoisted from the battlements. The firing ceased on both sides; the fleet steamed out. The Irish gathered in knots to talk over the capitulation. I made one of a party who came together in Captain O'Carroll's tent, when suddenly we are startled by a cannonade coming from the enemy's lines. We run out to see. Our men are not fighting, but there is a stir among them. Orders are sent round to keep them quiet. The truth soon appears—the enemy has opened upon us a murderous fire, our flags of truce still flying!!! I withdrew into a corner of the fortress to try and get a little sleep; but vain effort! There was a shrieking in the midnight air as the shell came bounding and bursting through it. I got up and crossed the narrow court which separated the fortress from the magazine. Many were stretched asleep; but perceiving a group talking near the door of the magazine I joined them. In a few minutes I saw a figure emerging from the interior, and slowly coming towards us. It was evidently that of a superior officer. He had a

white kerchief tied round his head and another round his neck, and a short cloak drawn closely round his body. He approaches me, and enters into a short conversation touching this strange proceeding of the besiegers in keeping up the fire. It is Lamoriciere himself. He is a middle-sized man, with very keen eyes, and a complexion deeply bronzed by the African sun. He wears a heavy moustache, which, as well as his hair, is strongly tinged with grey. His voice is strikingly firm, and in conversation he speaks with much earnestness and animation. It was past midnight, and he had just risen from his mattress, and went out thus quietly and alone to ascertain how things went on. To see him thus go straight to the walls, and take a long look at the blazing batteries of the enemy—to see him go round from point to point, shell and ball flying in plenty all the while, is a sight which a soldier would love to see. What has made him look so troubled to-night?

The following day the terms of the capitulation were finally arranged, and about eight o'clock in the evening the Irish got into line, and we marched from our position under the fortress to a promenade which runs from the gate towards the inside, occupying the space between a range of fine houses and the water's edge. We were prisoners, and here we halted. We were prisoners, it is true, but we were not ashamed of our position, for we all were able to say with our general: "Overpowered by numbers, I lay down my sword which I have never dishonoured by fear, nor disgraced by wielding it in an unjust cause." I felt fatigued, and leaning against the parapet, I looked out on the sea. The waters were placid; the moon had come out and made a bright road over their surface. There was now and again the slightest ripple, which, however, did not break the beautiful line, but only added to it a fringe of rich rays along its entire length. I was thinking of the stirring events which I had just passed through, and of home, which I had not seen for over eight years before. The bands struck up a stirring air, our men got into motion, and I was recalled to the reality of my position. Officers and men had their arms, and in the presence of our conquerors we marched through the great gate and went out into captivity. It is necessary that I should now take my leave of you for the present. I will only add one remark. It has been, I know, and is still fashionable, to sneer at the brave men who took part in this movement; it has, indeed, been often said to myself, in a tone of ignorant derision, "How is it that more of you were not killed?" as if the valour of soldiers is to be measured by the number of their slain. I will not, at this stage, enter upon a lengthy answer to a sneer of this kind. Facts

are worth a thousand abstract reasonings, and of many I will relate one or two. When the Piedmontese host marched unexpectedly on Perugia, the large gate was kept by sixteen Irishmen under Sergeant Allman, a young Irishman, who left the prospects of a brilliant professional career behind him in Ireland. When the enemy summoned him to surrender, he replied by sending back a message of defiance, and encouraging his men till he fell shot through the heart, and then the sixteen men fought their way for a mile and a half through the swarming troops of the enemy. Two brothers, Irishmen, were fighting side by side on the wall of Spoleto during the assault; one falls, crushed by a shell, when the other steps upon his corpse to gain a better position, and continues to struggle to the end. I will now close this lecture with the remarkable words of the Bishop of Orleans:—"Perhaps," he says, "if 10,000 children of the Church had offered their swords to the valiant chief Lamoriciere, barbarism might have been rolled back, and Italy saved. But no; there was to be a victory, which, sooner or later, by one or other of those profound and secret ways of Providence which escape our feeble powers of vision, lead to the most brilliant triumphs. When the Church is thought to be fallen, it is then she lifts herself up; when her ruin is proclaimed, then is her triumph near. Yes: sacred throne of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, you shall be unchangeable and immortal despite of storms and tempests. At your name, O holy Pontiff, the hearts of the Catholic world beat as one heart; God sustains and crowns you, Holy Father. Your sorrows are our sorrows; your joys are our joys; and those who have given their blood to your cause—which is the cause of the Church—they live even here in the universal admiration of generous hearts, in the ever grateful memory of their Catholic brethren, and in Heaven—that great country of souls—in Heaven they live for ever in the bosom of God!"

LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

XXIV.—REASONS FOR THE SEVERITY OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

MY DEAR FRIEND—

You might have remarked that in my last letter I expressed my ideas with the greatest possible brevity, and this was because I feared the subject might become tiresome to you; for I took it for certain that religious communities had not been the favourite object of your studies, and, consequently,

that you could only bear some rapid indications in which the memory of the cloister might not make you lose the recollection of the world. Now I see your mind is taking a more serious turn; and you no longer believe that objects whose history occupies long ages, and which are so interwoven with the social development of modern nations, can be known by superficial study, or condemned by sharp sayings. At last, you are becoming convinced of the injustice and frivolity of the Voltarian method, which translates its difficulties into sarcasms, and answers the most solid reasons with a smile of mockery. Error is more tolerable when accompanied with a certain show of reason and the sentiments of equity. My observations on religious communities appear to you worthy of attention; this is enough for me; for my object was no other than to make you some day study profoundly those matters with the care they deserve. I could not flatter myself with circumscribing this question to the narrow limits of a letter; as I am of opinion an interesting work of no small dimensions could be written on the subject. However, as you wish to continue the discussion, I have no inconvenience in satisfying your desires.

You regard religious institutions under the aspect of their severity, and, considering human weakness, it appears to you excessive; and unnecessary besides for attaining the object their founders had in view. I hold very different convictions on the subject, and I found them, not precisely on the respect due to the wisdom and holiness of those illustrious men, but on reasons which spring from the very nature of the human heart. I shall state them briefly.

The religious life isolates, in a certain sense, the individual professing it from other men. With his vows he breaks the ties that bind him to the world; friendship and family disappear as far as they are opposed to the object of the institution. The religious is a man, who, though dwelling on earth, is entirely consecrated to the things of heaven. Property—that powerful link which unites individuals and families, and makes them cling to a fixed place, as a plant clings to the earth from which it receives its life—does not exist for the religious. He not only has none, but is deprived of the power of having it; for love of Jesus Christ he has made himself poor for ever, and condemned himself to possess nothing. With the vow of chastity, he is deprived of family; and with the life in common he cannot have those domestic relations which act as substitutes for those of one's own family. Obedience does not permit him to select the place of his habitation, or dedicate himself to his favourite occupations. He is an exceptional

man in everything ; who moves in all things by rules different from those of the generality of men.

This individual, thus isolated, without more contact with the world than that which the prescriptions to which he is subject allow him, does not cease to be man, and is not converted into an angel ; he has his weaknesses, his desires, his caprices ; he possesses a heart which beats, and is subject to the same impressions as those who live in the midst of the world. Full of youth and life, his thoughts fly beyond the monastic precincts ; his heart dilates, and requires to be satisfied with some objects, which, if he do not find them in his institution, he will go to seek elsewhere. Unhappy wretch, if he slackens the severity of religious discipline, and having one foot in the cloister, he places the other in the portals of the world, and desires to live in two elements, like the amphibious animal which buries itself as willingly in the depths of a lake as it breathes the scorching air in the burning desert ! The result cannot but be disastrous ; the unfortunate wretch is subject to the action of two opposing powers ; his soul must divide itself in two, and his heart, subject to violent alternations of expansion and compression, breaks in pieces.

Then there necessarily results a clashing disagreement between the institution and his conduct, between his words and his acts ; the disorder being so much the more monstrous by how much the more lively the contrast is. Behold a profound reason for the severity of the founders ; what at first sight appears extremely rigorous is nothing more than extremely prudent. A man without property, without family, without liberty in his acts, consecrated by vow to the practice of the evangelical virtues, who could forget his duty, and mingle with strange confusion the garb of austerity with the relaxation of the world, would be a very repugnant object.

Well, now, in the depths of the human soul there is a spring of activity which increases with the exercise of the different faculties : the understanding, the will, the imagination, the heart require pabulum to devour ; whilst man lives, his faculties live with him ; it would be vain to endeavour to smother them ; what should be done is to moderate and direct them, subordinate the less to the more noble, and take care the expansion and energy of the latter do not allow the former to trespass the limits prescribed by reason and morality. Indulgence with bad passions and dangerous instincts, far from producing the *salutary alleviation* you promise yourself, would raise tempestuous storms in the heart, and extinguish all discipline. The history of the Church supplies us with frequent examples that confirm this truth, and justify the prevision of

the founders of religious institutions. Human nature is so weak, the folds of our heart so numerous, the illusions with which we try to deceive ourselves so various and ingenious, that experience shows us no precaution is too great when we want to avoid abuses ; particularly, if we must extend the view beyond the individual sphere, and occupy ourselves with institutions which are to live for ages. This consideration naturally brings me to the examination of what you call "*small things* which might be despised without prejudice to discipline."

All laws, all institutions applicable to men, require, besides their essential constitutive, strong preservatives against the destructive action of time and human contact. The moral, like the physical world, is subject to a continual ebb and flow of action and reaction. It is not enough for whatever has to last a long time, to contain a powerful principle of life, which drives away corruption and death from the heart and vital parts ; it is necessary that preservatives be placed at a great distance from the centre of life, in all the points of the periphery, as advanced sentinels to exclude corruption and death, and prevent them entering on a destructive struggle in the more delicate points of the organization.

Cast a glance over the laws without observance ; over the customs which have been corrupted ; over the political or social institutions which have lost their strength ; follow the history of the decay of things once great ; and you shall find that in good as in evil, there is in this world a law by which transitions from one extreme to another are made, not suddenly or abruptly, but by soft and imperceptible gradations.

Why has a useful law fallen into disuse, so that no one hesitates to openly infringe it ? Did some one begin by breaking it without hesitation ? By no means. What was done was this : a beginning was made by neglecting a formality, apparently of little importance ; prescription against the law followed ; what was left unobserved was an insignificant thing, purely reglamentary, which never entered into the legislator's mind, and formed no part of the law. The chink was made, time took on itself the duty of opening it.

The law whilst covered by the *insignificant* formality, was not placed in immediate contact with the resistance it met with in its execution. The formality was a species of tough elastic body, which broke the impetus of collisions, and saved the clauses of the law from injury. The formality has disappeared ; the clauses are exposed and naked. Meeting with resistance, they must now bear the unbroken pressure or stroke, and are easily injured. And all law meets with that resistance

more or less strong; because a law would be useless if its object were not to restrict liberty in some way, and oppose itself to forces which tend to trespass their limits.

What happens in such a case? Formerly the struggle was with the formality, now it is with the very text of the law; its letter is conclusive; but its spirit, a thing in itself always vague, lends itself to favourable interpretations. The legislator said this; no doubt of it; but his intention could not be so rigid; circumstances have notably changed; and besides the case in hands *hic et nunc*, is of such a nature, that if the legislator could be consulted, he would be on the side of the benign interpretation. It should be borne in mind, too, that the clause whose letter is to be infringed, is one of the least important; if it were a fundamental one, the case would be different; then both the spirit and letter of the law should be observed by all means. The business, my esteemed friend, is settled; the clause of the law has been broken, and the chink converted into a wide gap: soon all those who wish to reach their object by the shortest route will enter by it; with the continual passing through the opening shall become more spacious, and the law, without being derogated, shall be completely annulled. The infraction commenced with an insignificant formality, and the result has been to reduce the law to an insignificant formality. Such are men; when anything stands in the way of our passions or interest, we trample it under foot, first breaking down the forms, and then destroying its intimate essence; but when our interest or passions can act without meeting resistance, then we recollect some inoffensive formality, put it in practice, and with the greatest seriousness in the world, delude ourselves into the belief that we still observe the defunct law.

The history of the infraction of laws is the same as the history of the corruption of morals, the decay of the most robust institutions, and the degeneration of the most holy things. Our heart is profoundly sagacious; we are greater hypocrites with ourselves than with others. The plans we employ to deceive them have no comparison in nature or quality with those we invent and practice to deceive ourselves.

Every law, every institution, should be surrounded with strong safeguards. The ability of the legislator and the founder of institutions is shown in how he occupies the avenues by which his work must receive the attacks of human weakness and passions. A law may be severe—may be accompanied with a terrible sanction, and yet not serve its object, but is immediately broken; while another, though exceedingly gentle, can be so wisely contrived and surrounded by such opportune

safeguards, that it can repel the most impetuous attacks, and possess sufficient strength to triumph over the greatest resistance.

At the light of these observations you will easily comprehend the wise prevision contained in the *minutiæ*, which scandalize you. In general, the founders of the religious institutions were distinguished not only for their sanctity, but also for a profound knowledge of the human heart. Many among them would have made excellent legislators. I am so far from regarding as excessive the precautions which appear so to you, that I believe, on the contrary, they could not be blamed, but should rather be praised, if they had taken more. The action of time and the fire of human passions continually exercise a destructive pressure, so that, very often, violent shocks are not necessary to put an end to robust institutions. Imagine what would happen if proper precautions had not been taken in time.

You do not comprehend the reason of the "great amount of obligations with which some religious institutions are loaded;" this being a general objection can only be answered with general reflections. I have already indicated one of these, and one I consider decisive. Activity, and above all in isolated individuals, requires continual pabulum. The flame of life must consume something; if left shut up idly in our interior it consumes ourselves. Without many occupations, without multiplied practices, how can the life of a solitary be filled up? How can formidable storms be prevented from rising in his heart, or how can he be saved from succumbing under the weight of an insupportable weariness? These considerations should be sufficient to remove your prejudices against what you call the "exaggerated mysticism of some religious institutions;" but as this last point is of the highest importance, I shall submit to your good sense other reflections which appear to me worthy of attention.

It is a fundamental fact, constantly observed, that the activity of our faculties expends from a common fund, and that the increase of strength in one generally entails a diminution in the others. It is not possible to have the same degree of activity in many senses; and hence has sprung the proverb of the schools—"Pluribus intentus, minor est ad singula sensus." When the animal faculties have a great development, the intellectual and moral ones suffer from debility; and, on the contrary, when the superior part of man, the understanding and will, are developed with great energy, the passions grow weak and lose their empire over his conduct. Great thinkers have almost always been distinguished by their neglect of the pleasures of life; and those given to sensuality

are rarely distinguished by the elevation of their thoughts. If a man is domineered over by brutal passions, he loses that delicacy of feeling which makes one perceive ineffable beauties in the moral and even in the physical world; and a continued exercise of exquisite and pure sentiments, which, escaping from the sphere of common sensibility, appear to touch on the regions of an ideal world, is opposed to the development of the grosser passions, which defile the soul in their impure mire.

You shall have already comprehended the drift of these observations; I purpose nothing less than to defend mysticism on philosophical grounds, and show the utility of its development in religious institutions. The imagination requires spectacles with which to enjoy itself; the heart needs objects to excite its love; if it does not find them within the bounds of virtue it will seek them in those of vice, and the flame undirected towards God will turn towards the creature. Do you think a heart like St. Teresa's could live without loving? If it had not been consumed with the purest flames of divine love, it would have been burned with the impure fire of earthly affection. Instead of an angel that excites the admiration of infidels themselves, who have by chance read some of her admirable pages, perhaps we should have to deplore the disorders of a dangerous woman, transferring her passions to paper in characters of fire.

Chateaubriand, speaking of St. Jerome, has said with profound truth:—"That soul of fire required Rome or the desert." To how many souls might not the sentiment of the illustrious poet be applied! What would the great heart of St. Bernard have done with its sensibility, if it had not found an immense pabulum in divine things? On what would that inexhaustible activity, which attended to the various occupations of a religious, and the counsellor of kings and popes, who stood at the head of a European movement which raised the west against the east, have fed, if from his first years it had not had an infinite object—God.

I make these indications with the rapidity which the brevity of a letter requires; you can easily extend them by applying them to various personages and situations in the history of the Church in all ages. All men are not like St. Jerome and St. Bernard; but all require to be occupied and to love. If not well, they will be badly occupied; idleness is generally nothing more than the practice of vice. If good be not loved, evil shall. If our hearts burn not with the flame which purifies, they shall burn with the flame which defiles.

I remain, &c.,

J. B.

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF ST. BRENDAN.

III.—*St. Brendan visits the chief Fathers of Monastic Life in Ireland.—He restores a dead youth to life in Magh-Aoi.—His religious Rule dictated by an Angel at Moyenna.—The Rule of St. Ailbhe: its importance: where preserved: its complete text.—St. Brendan is promoted to the Priesthood.*

ST. BRENDAN, having taken his leave of St. Jarlathe, proceeded towards the north to visit some of the other great Fathers of a spiritual life who then adorned our Church by their learning and sanctity. As he passed through the Magh-Aoi, a vast plain lying between Roscommon and Elphin, he met an afflicted family, who, in tears and mourning, were carrying a deceased friend to the grave. Moved to compassion at their sorrow, he sought to comfort them, and said: "Place your confidence in God, for it is in His power to restore the dead youth to life;" and then St. Brendan prayed with them for a long time, till the deceased rose up, and returned home with his friends in great joy.¹ The fame of this miracle soon spread far and wide. Brendan was conducted to the chieftain of that territory, who offered him a *Ferland*, i.e., a tract of land on which to erect a monastery, wheresoever he might choose to reside: but the saint replied that he would not presume to erect a religious house without the permission of his own spiritual Father St. Erc. Wherefore, bidding farewell to the chieftain and people of Elphin, he hastened back towards his own monastery.

At Magh-Enna, which name still marks a spot near Turlough, in the county Mayo, an angel appeared to him, and, as we read in the "Irish Life," said to him: "Write the words of eternal life which I shall dictate to thee:" and Brendan, at the angel's dictation, wrote the whole of the Ecclesiastical Rule, which was afterwards followed in his religious houses, and led innumerable souls to heaven. It was on account of this Religious Rule that St. Brendan was reckoned among the eight great Patriarchs of the monastic life in our early Church.

No fragments of this "Rule of the Angel" have been preserved to us: and yet, when the writer of the Latin Life of St. Brendan compiled his work, it was still extant: "According to that Rule," he says, "St. Brendan shaped his life, and it is still preserved by the successors of the Saint."² The "Irish

¹ The Irish Life: also *Vita*, cap. xi. ² *Vita*, cap. x.

Life" also attests that "St. Brendan wrote from the angel the whole of the Blessed Ecclesiastical Rule, and that Rule is still extant."

The only monastic Rule that has come down to us from those immediate disciples of our apostle St. Patrick, who at this early period of St. Brendan's life were the Fathers and guides of religious observances in our island, is the *Rule of St. Ailbhe*.¹ It is addressed to Eoghan, son of Saran, abbot of Cluain-Caolain, in the county Tipperary, and is written in the earliest Celtic dialect, so that even the great scholars who compiled the "Annals of the Four Masters" and the "Martyrology of Donegal," deemed it a difficult task to interpret it. Thus, when mentioning St. Eoghan, who is venerated on the 15th of March, the "Martyrology of Donegal" writes: "I think this is Eoghan, son of Saran, of Cluain-Caolain, for whom Ailbhe, of Emily, composed *the very hard Rule*, which begins: 'Say for me to the son of Saran.'"²

This Rule, though also referred to by Colgan,³ Usher,⁴ Ware,⁵ and Lynch,⁶ has never been published. We insert here in full a literal translation of it, as well on account of its venerable antiquity, which brings us back to the first century of the Faith in this island, as for the invaluable details which it presents regarding the daily exercises and duties of the monks at the time of St. Brendan. It is not too much to say that in this respect it is the most precious document that has been handed down to us by our fathers. It tells us the principles which guided the monks in their practices of religious perfection; it sets before us the daily routine of the community life; it mentions the various superiors, their special duties, the virtues to be practised, the faults to be shunned; it descends to the minutest details connected with the religious, and gives even the quantity and quality of the food to be used at their frugal repasts. This ancient Rule consists of sixty-nine

¹ The death of St. Ailbhe is marked by the Four Masters in the year 541. It is twice entered in the Annals of Ulster, viz., at 533 and 541. The Annals of Innisfallen place it in 533. He had attained, however, the very advanced age of about 110 years.

² Martyr. of Donegal, page 77.

³ Colgan, *Acta SS.*, page 328: "Quod autem in Hibernia ante S. Dominicum natum apes et mella fuerint constat ex irrefragabile testimonio regulæ S. Ailbei, in qua num. 37, ita legitur '*Cum sedent ad mensam adferuntur herbae sive radices aqua lotae in mundis scutellis; item poma, cervisia et ex alveario mellis ad latitudinem pollicis, id est. aliquot favi.*'"

⁴ *Primordia*, page 919.

⁵ *Irish Writers*, page 6.

⁶ MS. *De Episcopis Hib.* "Nihil ab ipso (S. Ailbeo) Scriptum fuisse comperi, praeter monasticam Regulam quam ad Eugenium seu Eoganum Sarani filium, de Cluanaolain, instituendum carminibus Hibernicis complexus est, quorum prius hunc sensum praesert:—'*Sarani soboli nostro dic nomine, quod nunc ponderis immensi sit subiturus onus.*'"

strophes, and the Royal Library, Brussels, preserves a very old and complete copy. Another ancient, but imperfect copy, may be seen in the R.I.A. (MSS. 23, p. 3.): it begins with the third line of the 29th strophe. A third copy, also incomplete, is preserved in the Library of T.C.D. I was fortunate enough to discover, among the Colgan fragments in Rome, a Latin translation of the Rule made by that greatest of our hagiologists. It is in his own handwriting, and consists of 69 strophes, precisely as in the Brussels MS. Unhappily, however, the greater part of the writing is effaced by long exposure to damp and dust. I am indebted to our distinguished Celtic scholar, W. M. Hennessy, Esq., for a translation of the Rule, as preserved in T.C.D., and the R.I. Academy, which has enabled me to complete Colgan's text. Some verses wanting in these MSS. have been supplied from the O'Curry MSS. of the Catholic University through the kindness of Mr. O'Looney. The following is the complete text of this venerable Rule:—

“The Rule of Ailbhe of Emily, instructing Eoghan, son of Saran:—

I.

“Say for me to the son of Saran,
That the charge he assumes is not light:
He should be zealous, pure of conscience,
Without assumption of pride, without vanity.

II.

“Let him labour in silence:
Let the words he shall speak be few;
Let him perform the desire of each infirm one,
And help every one that is in sickness.

III.

“He should be sedate, without the fault of dullness:
He should be prompt to everything good:
He should be the servant of all,
And heal the wounds of every soul.

IV.

“Without haughtiness, without double-dealing,
Let him be joyous without laughter, without shouting,
Without self-sufficiency, without arrogance;
Let him shun pride and idleness.

V.

“Without complaints, without grumbling at others’
comforts :—

Let him not go without shoes :
Let his mantle be without ruby-dye,
Without blue, without red, without variety.

VI.

“Without deceit, without cheating of others :
Without going unasked to an assembly,
Without revenge for injury in the heart,
Without dislike for those who love him not.

VII.

“Let him be sedate without haughtiness,
Let him be a wise, devout sage,
Vigilant against anger :
Austere, humble, gentle.

VIII.

“He should be mild, reserved, active ;
He should be modest, generous, bountiful ;
Against the darts of the world he should be watchful ;
With the world’s bounty he should be generous.

IX.

“Though you possess the insipid world,
Give not love to its treasures :
For tribe-possession be not importunate ;
My entire love is not a royal treasure-house.

X.

“The path of Baptism and Communion,
And the precept of Requiems¹ he shall observe :
A holy Confession to another he shall give ;
He shall be silent as to the things disclosed to him.

XI.

“Mourn with each man his sins ;
Should he err, give him aiding counsel :
Do not leave the poor without visitation,
Without the value of their love in all things.

¹ Colgan translates it : “ *mandatum orandi pro defunctis.* ”

XII.

“Without insult, without offence,
Without severe reproof,
Without converse with a passionate man,
Without a loud, high voice.

XIII.

“Let not Satan take thee to his ways;¹
Be submissive to every one who is over you :
It is this that is evil to Satan,
That you be smooth against everything rough.

XIV.

“Always let your offerings be greater
To him that has affronted you ;
With food and gifts
To every one that refused you.

XV.

“With friendliness, devoid of harshness,
Without contention, without lust,
Humble, patient, gentle,
Without weakness, shall his countenance be.

XVI.

“He should be active at praying ;
The Canonical Hours he should not neglect ;
In mind he must submit thereto,
Without vanity, without boasting.

XVII.

“A hundred genuflections at the *Beatus*²
In the beginning of the day before questions ;
Thrice fifty psalms with their prefaces,
A hundred genuflections every evening.

XVIII.

“A hundred genuflections every Matins
Are required, in a devout church,
If you celebrate from John's festival
To the heavy-fasting Easter.

¹ Colgan, “Non trahat te Sathanas in vias suas : seu non consentias suggestionibus Sathanas.”

² This is the Psalm, *Beati Immaculati*, which was commenced at *Prime* and ended at *None*.

XIX.

“With diligence at prayers and Mass,
With devotion and great reverence,
Thirty Psalms every “Matins,”
Twelve Psalms at midnight.

XX.

“Lectio's and celebrations,
With invocation of the Son of God ;
‘Deus in adjutorium’ at the beginning of each Psalm,¹
With a lesson at the end.

XXI.

“Be silent and recollected,
That your prayers may be fruitful :
Give thanks and ask the blessing in the beginning,
After that the Miserere is sung.

XXII.

“The perfect observance of the Canonical hours
Is reckoned the chief rule ;
Correct “Matins,” according to the Divines,
Is at the close and the beginning of day.

XXIII.

“Except you be a Ruler (*i.e.*, Abbot) or Vice-Abbot
Till the hour of one you speak not ;
Afterwards, for those who perform penance,
Each one in his silence shall be silent.

XXIV.

“The *Hymnum Dicat*² should be sung,
At striking the bell for Canonical Hours ;
All wash their hands carefully,
The brethren assume their habit.

XXV.

“Prostrate yourselves thrice earnestly,
After journeying nobly to the chancel,
Without pride, and without anger,
Coming to meet the King of Angels.

¹ The MS. T.C.D. has merely “Deus in adjutorium at the beginning of each psalm.” The fourth line is added in the Brussels MS.

² These are the first words of a beautiful hymn attributed to St. Hilary, which is given in both the T.C.D. and Roman MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, and in the famous Antiphony of Bangor. It is also inserted in Daniel's *Thesaurus*, vol. i.

XXVI.

“ With *fighill*¹ and prayers,
 With frequent confessions,
 Obeying the rules of the gospel,
 And the chaste rule of the monks.

XXVII.

“ A prostration at the door of a church
 Is permitted in a devout place ;
 Prayers and blessings
 Whilst the brethren assemble.

XXVIII.

“ After the head monk, all proceed
 To the cross with melodious choir,
 With fast-flowing streams of tears
 From humble emaciated cheeks.

XXIX.

“ It is not permitted to the brethren to depart
 Until the hour of Tierce ;
 On the conscience of each one, let it be,
 That he await in his place, with strength.

XXX.

“ The striking of the little bell should be long,
 That all may be about it ;
 A ready step with joyfulness,
 With profound humility.

XXXI.

“ The noble God is their Father,
 Holy Church is their Mother :
 It is not humility
 To serve your brethren in mere words.

XXXII.

“ When all come to receive their tasks,
 If anything seems most difficult,
 Let that be the desire of the brethren ;
 Such the rule I have observed.

¹ The *fighill* was a special form of devout prayer, performed, kneeling or prostrate on the ground, with the hands extended in the form of a cross.

XXXIII.

“ He shall be holy and pure of heart,
 He shall be a test of heresy
 Without controversy in words,
 With peace in his actions.

XXXIV.

“ When duties are distributed around,
 Let a task be given to every one :
 Give to each brother easily
 That which he desires.

XXXV.

“ Advance to None, with a chorus of Psalms,
 With fighill-geneflections, as enjoined :
 When the *Beatus* has ceased at the altar,
 Let the bell for the refectory be heard.

XXXVI.

“ At the Cross, before the head of the monks—
 That Demons emit not shouts of triumph—
 With humility, devoid of conflict,
 Let each one confess there his sins.¹

XXXVII.

“ When they are seated at table, let the roots be brought,
 Sprinkled with water, and on clean trenchers ;
 Apples and mead for the seniors,
 A slice² of honeycomb for the inferiors.

XXXVIII.

“ Let the bell be rung for thanksgiving
 To the King who giveth food ;
 From the festival of John of good gifts,
 To the Easter of the glorious Lord.

XXXIX.

“ Thirty ounces of bread,
 With a cup of twelve inches :³
 If hunger requires more
 It is given to each brother at None.

¹ Colgan : “ Singuli prostrati in terra patenter dicant suas culpas.”

² Colgan explains this as follows :—“ Ex alveario mellis ad latitudinem pollicis, id est, aliquot favi mellis.”

³ The word *messar*, used in this line in the original, is explained in O'Curry's glossary to mean a cup four inches every way, *i.e.*, in height, and length and breadth. This corresponds perfectly with the twelve inches of the present strophe. Colgan translates it as follows : “ Panis triginta unciarum et poculum duodecim digitorum, nisi fames plus postulet, prebetur fratri ad Nonam, *i.e.*, tempore refectionis.”

XL.

“ If the *Airchinnech* be a sage,
His rule will not be rigid :
As is the Vice-Abbot
So shall be the Order.

XLI.

“ ‘ Be not too strict, be not too lax,’
Is not a rule without knowledge ;
He to whom the brothers give obedience
Shall not go out of the enclosure.

XLII.

“ Without distraction in the place of prayer,
Without excess of fair strong aliment ;
Whether his food be fat or flesh,
Whether ale, or cream, or new milk.

XLIII.

“ Whether mead or rich beer,
Though desirable for those who are sick :¹
It is dry bread and water-cresses
That is meet for the seniors.

XLIV.

“ According to grade and obedience
It is so that distribution shall he made ;
Though a brother be retiring and humble
Beware that he be not neglected.

XLV.

“ Any one that suffers not correction,
And confesses not his fault,
The confessor shall appoint for him
To go to another monastery.²

XLVI.

“ Let there be no layman or woman
In the monastery with the religious :
Anger-full and discontented are the brothers
Where such people are found.

¹ The MS. R.I.A., has “ Though desirable for mortal men.”

² Colgan : “ Qui non patitur correptionem aut non vult fateri suam culpam, ejus Pater spiritualis abducatur ipsum ad aliquem alium locum.” The R.I.A. MS. has a different reading : “ Any one that suffers not his correction, and confesses transgressions, the confessor shall deny him (reconciliation) until the next bell.”

XLVII.

“Patience, exact submission to everyone,
Whether good, whether bad, whether poor,
Is no fault to a cleric of seven grades:¹
Two-thirds of piety consist in silence.

XLVIII.

“From the eighth of the Kalends of April,—
According to the Rule, be it said ;
None is said in an open devout place²
Until the end of October.

XLIX.

“When a person comes in friendship³
To visit the servants of God,
Let their discourse be
All the good that they have seen.

L

“With modesty and shunning of faults,
Without reproaching any one ;
Let him be in silence as if he had not seen
And had not heard anything.

LI.

“Let the Econome be humble and frank,
Doing all things according to his ability ;
He shall receive with charity and salutation
All who present themselves.

LII.

“A clean house for the guests,
And a great fire ;
Refection, and washing,
With bed-preparation, without sadness.

LIII.

“Let the Airchinnech be chaste and devout,
Mild and meek against every injury ;
Let him so divide the tasks
That the brothers be not over-burdened.

¹ That is, a cleric of the highest grade, *i.e.*, a Bishop.

² Colgan gives a different reading of this verse : “ Ab octavo Kalendas Aprilis, simul cum sua Regula legant Nonam in loco patenti usque ad Octobrem.”

³ The original text has *do chelidhe*.

LIV.

“ Not too strict, not too sparing in correction,
 He shall speak nought of evil :
 He shall make known to the brothers their faults ;
 Let none be idle in his house.

LV.

“ A mild, industrious Econome,
 A gentle, provident vice-Abbot,
 A sensible, gladsome cook,
 Doing all things under the Abbot's rule.

LVI.

“ Let the Priest be pious, clerical,
 Always engaged at his ministry ;
 The Rector accurate, without exception of persons,
 He shall maintain the rules.

LVII.

“ A sedate and truthful messenger,
 Who will treasure no ill ;
 The things that are best that he hears
 He shall relate in his monastery.

LVIII.

“ The religious shall be humble, submissive,
 Who will not say, I will not go ;
 A mild, indulgent *Airchinnech*,
 Who covets not temporal things.

LIX.

“ All shall be obedient to the *Airchinnech*
 In the kingdom of heaven,
 Until the Abbot of Archangels shall say
 ‘ Come hither, my welcome to you.’

LX.

“ How delightful 'twould be then to go,—
 To enjoy great constant pleasure,—
 If without any violation of humility,
 Without transgression, till death.

LXI.

“ A precept¹ to thee from Ailbhe,
 That thy abode be not sorrowful ;
 Thy soul shall be fixed there,
 Though it be not agreeable to thy body.

¹ *Timarnaid* means, properly, a testamentary precept.

LXII.

“ To enforce the clerical rules,
Thou shalt be always quick ;
In the *Reclis* (the oratory) in prayer,
Not engaged in secular pursuits.

LXIII.

“ Not to walk in the broad way
Is odious to Satan ;
The neglect of prayer
Will not lead to heaven.

LXIV.

“ The *muintir* (*i.e.*, monastic family) is ruled by Satan
If it be neglected ;
Therefore, we rule the clerics
That they may be saved.

LXV.

“ A blessing descend upon thee,
And journey not from place to place,
For exhortation or prayer,
Leave not your enclosure 'till death.

LXVI.

“ It is befitting that you observe,
Being engaged until death,
Diligence in Mass-saying, with prayer,
And a body growing slender.

LXVII.

“ If you practice all these observances
You shall live to old age ;
Your city (*i.e.*, monastery) shall be great on earth,
Your monks many in Heaven.

LXVIII

“ If you practice all these observances
You will daily grow better and better ;
You will be illustrious and noble
Until your cell is occupied by another.

LXIX.

“ Read aloud these writings
 In Cluain-Caelain, hide them not,
 O Son, through reverence
 Thou shalt bring them to Eoghan.”

The Irish Tract thus concludes this period of St. Brendan's Life: “ The Saint, having written the Rule of the Angel, and the Rules of the Saints of Erin, with their devout practices and duties, returned to Bishop Erc, and received ordination at his hands.” The Latin Life (cap. xi.) merely states that “ after a short time the holy Senior Bishop Erc ordained him Priest.”

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT
MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “ Monasticon ” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF DERRY.

Dominican Friary,^b which was also called the monastery of the Bann,^b was founded A.D. 1244^c by the O'Cahanes, or rather, as a good authority asserts, by the M'Evelins,^d and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.^e Sir Robert Savage of Ulster, Knt., an excellent soldier, died in 1360, and was buried here.^f

^b *King*, p. 97. ^c *Id.* p. 87. *War. Writers*, p. 77. ^d *Burke*, p. 245. ^e *War. Mon.* ^f *Pembridge*.

⁶ The Dominican Friary was situated on the left bank of the river, in the old town, which was called Killowen. The old parish church is supposed to stand on the site of the ancient church dedicated to St. John, from which the town derived its name. One mile south of Coleraine is *Mount Sandel*, which originally bore the name of *Killsantain*, and probably had St. Sanctain for its patron. In the year 1215, King John made a grant to Thomas Mac Uchtry, Earl of Athol (of whom mention has been already made), of “ Killasantan and the castle of Culrath, &c.”—(*Hardy's Rot. Chart.*, pag. 210; *Rymer's Foedera*, pag. i. 140). An inquisition of 1605 describes this place as ‘*Killsantill, alias Mount Sandall*,’ forming part of the lands of the priory of Coleraine. Mount Sandel is at present “ one of the largest and most perfect raths in the kingdom; it is 200 feet high, surrounded by a deep dry fosse, and encircled near its summit by a magnificent terrace; in the centre is a deep oblong cavity called the Giant's Grave. There is also a very high and perfect rath a little west of the Cranagh; another close to the church of Killowen; and a very curious fort near Ballysally.”—*Lewis, Top. Dict.*

A general chapter of the order was held at Rome in 1484, when a licence was granted on November 10th to Maurice Moral, prior provincial, to reform this friary.^g

Shane O'Boyle was the last prior; on the 1st of January, 1542, he voluntarily surrendered into the hands of the King's Commissioners.^h

Francis Porter, in his annals, tells a story of Bishop Babington having attempted in vain to burn an image of the Virgin Mary, which belonged to this monastery, and the bishop, being instantly seized with a violent illness, died in the month of September, 1611.ⁱ

A few of the ruins of the building remain near the town, on the west side of the river.^k

Derry^j; The metropolis of the county, and a corporation town, sending two burgesses to parliament; it is a good seaport, and will be ever famous for the noble defence it made against King James II. in the year 1689.

^g *Burke*, p. 73. ^h *King*, p. 97. ⁱ *Burke*, p. 245. ^k *Burke*, p. 244 and 245.

^j *Derry*, called in Irish *Daire Calgaich*, i.e., "the oak grove of Calgach," dates back to a very early period of our history. Calgach, which means a "fierce warrior," is supposed to be a form of the Latin name *Galgacus*, which occurs in Tacitus (*Agricola*, cap. 29). In the Annals of Ulster, the foundation of St. Columba's monastery is placed in the year 545, : "A.D. 545, *Daire Colum-cille fundata est.*" The old Irish life of the Saint presents the following narrative :—"Columcille went then to Daire, that is, to the royal fort of Aedh, son of Ainmire, who was king of Ireland at that time. The king offered the fort to Columcille, but he refused it on account of the command of Mobi (Clarainech of Glasnevin). As Columcille, however, came out of the fort, he met two of the religious of Mobi, bringing to him Mobi's girdle, with his consent that Columcille should accept a grant of territory, Mobi having died. Columcille then settled in the fort of Aedh, and founded a church there, and wrought many miracles in it." The same narrative is substantially repeated in the *Liber Hymnorum*, part second, and in the Irish Life by O'Donell. These authorities must more than counterbalance the objections made by Lanigan, *Ec. Hist.* II., pag. 122, and Ordnance Memoir, *Londonderry*, pag. 18. The original, small church erected by St. Columcille was called in later times the *Dubh-reglas*, or "Cella Nigra," to distinguish it from the *Temple-mor*, or great cathedral, erected under his invocation. Tighernach preserves an ancient quatrain, in which St. Columba is said to have passed three years in silent retreat within the enclosure of this church. Derry seems to have been particularly loved by the Saint, even when he was engaged in his Apostolical career among the Picts. There is a very ancient Irish poem, written in the name of Saint Columba, in which he thus eulogises this abode of piety. It is given in full, together with the original text, in Reeve's *Adannan*, page 285, seqq. :—

"The reason I love Derry is,
For its quietness, for its purity,
And for its crowds of white angels,
From the one end to the other.

"The reason why I love Derry is,
For its quietness, for its purity,
Crowded full of Heaven's angels,
Is every leaf of the oaks of Derry.

Inquisition 10th November, 1603, found that the ancient inhabitants of O'Cahane's country granted to St. Columb and his successors, Ardmagiligan, containing twelve quarters of land ; where two chapels, now destroyed, were erected ; the said lands paying the annual rent of 40s. sterling to the bishop of Derry, and the said twelve quarters were only of the annual value of 13s. 4d.^{kk}

Abbey of Canons Regular; St. Columb, of noble extraction, was born at Gartan, in the county of Donegall, in the year 521, and was educated under St. Finian in the great school of Clonard. The noblesse of Kinell-conuill^l granted Dorecalgach^m to their relation St. Columb in the year 535 : but as the Saint could not at that time be sixteen years old, the foundation of the abbey cannot be placed before the year 546, when he may be supposed to have founded itⁿ for canons regular under the rule of St. Augustin ; this abbey was a daughter of that of St. Peter and St. Paul at Armagh, and was in after times dedicated to St. Columb himself ;^o he is said by some to have made a pilgrimage to the abbey of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire,^p and there^q to have concluded his earthly pilgrimage A.D. 597, in the 76th year of his age ;^r he was buried in the abbey of Hy, but was afterwards removed to Downpatrick.

A.D. 695. In a synod held about this time by St. Flann, primate of Ireland, and by St. Adamnan ; St. Mochonna, or Dachonna, subscribed the acts thereof, under the signature of Antistes Dorensis ; this Saint died 3rd May, A.D. 704. ^r

^{kk} *Chief Rem.* ^l *Or Tyrconnel, now the County of Donegall.* ^m *Tr. Th. p. 450.* ⁿ *War. Mon.* ^o *Id. P. Steven's Monast., vol. 1, p. 421.* ^p *Annal. Munst.* ^q *Tr. Th., p. 503 and 506.* ^r *Act. SS., p. 566.*

"My Derry, my little oak grove,
My dwelling, and my little cell ;
O eternal God! in Heaven above,
Woe be to him who violates it."

The prophecy contained in these last lines, that Divine punishment should fall on those who would violate the monastery of Derry was more than once fulfilled in after times. Thus, in 1195, when a body of the Norman invaders plundered the abbey, they were immediately after intercepted and cut off at Armagh ; and two years later, when a large body of the same troops again devastated Derry and desecrated its churches, they were defeated with great slaughter in the adjoining parish of Faughanvale. To pass over other instances, when Derry became the centre of the English military operations in 1596, the cathedral was converted into an arsenal ; but on the 24th of April the gunpowder blew up, bringing destruction on many of the garrison, and utterly dismantling the fortifications of the town, so that it had to be immediately abandoned by the army. For further particulars regarding this venerable See, we may refer to the "Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, 1837," vol. I. ; and Dr. Reeves' "Cotton's Visitation of the Diocese of Derry," published for the I. A. S. in 1850.

⁸ This opinion has been long ago exploded. St. Columba died just after midnight, between Saturday, the 8th, and Sunday, the 9th of June, in the year 597, whilst kneeling before the altar of his monastery, in Iona : and the long chapter in which Adamnan describes the last scenes of the Saint's life, is as beautiful and touching a narrative as any to be met with in the whole range of ancient biography. *Adamnan, "Vit. S. Columb,"* iii., 235.

(To be continued)

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

=====
FEBRUARY, 1872.
=====

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF ST. BRENDAN.

IV.—*St. Brendan founds some Monasteries.—Extracts from Petrie's Letters on Corcaguiny.—Letter of Burton.—St. Brendan prepares for his First Voyage.—Description of the Coracle.—Examples from the Life of St. Columbkille, &c.—Dichuil's Treatise.—St. Enda of Aran.—First Voyage of St. Brendan.—The Islands of Kerry.—Other Islands on the West Coast of Ireland.—Some incidents of St. Brendan's Voyage.*

IT was probably in the year 503 that St. Brendan was promoted to the Priesthood, for it was prescribed by the Canons of our early Church, that only those should be admitted to the holy order of Priesthood who had attained their thirtieth year. Being ordained priest, adds his Life, he embraced the monastic life; and many persons forsaking the world came to him from every side, and received at his hands the habit of religion. He, moreover, "founded cells and monasteries in his own district, but these were not so numerous at this period. It was when he returned from his sea voyage in search of the land of promise, that his rule extended far and wide throughout the various kingdoms of Erin."¹

No territory of our island is so rich in ecclesiastical remains, dating back to the fifth or sixth century, as Kerry. We will hereafter have occasion to mention some of these in detail; for the present a few passages from the letters of Petrie, written in September, 1841, whilst he was engaged in the Ordnance Survey, will suffice to show how fertile in such monuments of former sanctity was the one small district of

¹ *Vita*, cap. ix.

Corcaguiny (in Irish, *Corcadhuine*), at a very short distance from the birthplace of St. Brendan :—

“The Christian oratories in Dingle, or its vicinity rather, built without cement, are the most singular ancient remains of their kind in Ireland or the British Empire. Their form is this : [then follows a bee-hive figure] stone-roofed on the plan of the round houses, and the stones adjusted to one another with wonderful art. The boat-shaped stone houses also interested me exceedingly. . . . The Church of Kilmelchedar is the most beautiful church in the Romanesque or Lombardic style in Ireland. The sculpture and masonwork are excellent. Then, again, the square belfry of the church on Inishclothran, in Loughree, coeval with the round tower and the ogham inscriptions in Kerry, these were all objects of the highest interest to me. I met with one group of eleven or twelve inscribed pillar stones which had escaped O'Donovan and the rest, and I copied them carefully. But I was not able to do a sixth of what should be done, and it would be a sad loss if these remains be not drawn now, for the respect for them which has hitherto saved them from destruction is fast dying away. I left Mr. Wakeman after me at Killarney about ten days ago, with directions to draw the most remarkable things according to a list furnished by O'Donovan. One of these is a singular monument in its way, a sepulchral chamber covered over with ogham inscriptions as fresh as the day they were cut. This cave has removed all scepticism from O'Donovan's mind respecting the antiquity and genuineness of the ogham inscriptions. O'Donovan and I visited it together. . . . The long peninsula of Corcaguiny, or the neck of land stretching into the sea west of Tralee, is the richest in remote antiquities by far that I have yet seen in Ireland, and it is a great pity that they could not be all accurately marked on the Ordnance map, and the most remarkable of them be drawn with ground plans. From a letter which I received from Burton this morning, who stayed after us, I find that a valley of four or five miles in length, now nearly uninhabited, is covered over with those round bee-hive shaped houses, none of which had been observed by O'Donovan or the others. They are usually in groups of four or five each. The letter is a capital one.”

This letter of Mr. Burton, dated “Dingle, September 18th, 1841,” is happily inserted in the Ordnance MSS. He speaks, indeed, of these ancient Christian monuments more as an artist than as an antiquarian, but still there are many of his remarks that will interest our readers :

“After your to me doleful departure on Thursday, I returned to the scene I had pitched on for a sketch and com-

menced one, late as it was, in colours, from which I did not stir until light began to fail, when I wended my way Dinglewards, determined to examine my "Lime-kiln" of the morning, your Dannanian mansion. I found it and descended, when, guess my astonishment at seeing about it the remains of four others, all decided circular houses, and no mistake, very much delapidated, yet quite perfect enough to show what they had been ; the darkness of evening and the rain prevented my examining them, but as I had not finished my sketch at *Con-
uinavioghunee*, the euphonious name of the little black lake, I put off until another visit the note-taking I proposed. To-day being lovely, I started in the morning, and you may be certain kept a sharp look out up the valley, and discerned several other round houses. I paid a visit to a group nearer somewhat to Dingle than the *lime-kiln*, and found either four or five, very imperfect, but with thick walls built of large stones, and one house about the size of the largest at Gallérus. . . . Returning in the evening, I took the old road to Dingle at the opposite side of the valley from that which we went up ; here I found an older road again than *the old road*, to the left of it, quite overgrown with grass, heath, and bog, but still preserving the lichened and time worn stones at the sides. It runs for a long way parallel to the new 'old road,' and I lost it in the sloppy bog. What will you think when I tell you that between the upper and lower end of this side of *Coomawoolèrig* I discovered no less than five or six groups of round houses, each group consisting of five huts ; of these some are small, but some larger than the largest at Gallérus, all much injured, the roofs broken down and filling up the interior space with rubbish ? the houses of each group much scattered, I don't think ever nearer than three feet or so to one another. They are capitally built, with very large stones, and the walls, particularly of the larger ones, immensely thick. I saw some fully six feet. The cause of their decay has been the practise of the peasantry of driving their cattle into them for shelter or to milk. . . . The cyclopean doorway of one of the larger houses at the east side of the valley struck me so much that I sketched it. I afterwards found another curiously similar to it both in style and dimensions: the upper front stone of the former is four and a half feet in length, by two and a half in breadth, and another at its back is of about the same proportions ; the great stone at the side is four feet in depth, but the aperture is extremely low. The large house of which this is the doorway appears to me to have been partly raised on a sort of plinth like the church of Gallérus, but it is

not strongly evident. I found the recess or cup-board repeated in another house. Further on towards Dingle, I came on the last group at that side, the east; one of the edifices here was singular, little more than the foundations remain. It is very remarkable that no trace of fort or trench surround any of these, but they are generally built on some spot jutting beyond or sloping the line of the hill side, and more level than the rest of the ground about. . . . Whoever were the dwellers therein they certainly at one time must have colonized the vale pretty extensively, for it is using by no means too strong an expression to say that *the whole glen is covered with these houses*. The name of the said glen is *Coomawoolerig*, the townland *Ballywolerig*. . . . About a mile from Dingle, on the right hand of the Tralee mail road, was shown a rising grove called *Cunnuckeen* (Cnockeen). On ascending this I found it covered at the top with tumular collections, of stones, and earth, and in the midst a cairn of small stones principally white quartz, overgrown with mosses and brambles: near this and among the tombs lay some stones of a *very long* oval in shape and all inscribed legibly with ogham characters, two of these with crosses. . . . This hill is crowned by a very much damaged earthen rath, within the circle of which are the tombs. . . . You cannot think what a delightful little glen that is of *Coomawolerig*; rambling back by the old road or by the green banks of the little brawling stream that dashes through it, whilst the sun sets behind the western hills, is perfect happiness; not untinged by something of melancholy, perhaps, but what pure happiness is not? No words could paint that stream and its border of emerald, bounded by the grey rocks and dark brown heath; and the saffron sky of evening seen above the high part of the glen, and the open to the left that shows the liquid bay and the mountains of Iveragh shrouding themselves in purple, and then the delicious stillness, enhanced by the lowing of the distant kine, or the shouts of the little barefoot girl who drives her sheep and goats along the grass-grown road. I could not tell you how I felt it, and wish for you to feel it too."

It seems to have been soon after his ordination that St. Brendan began that wonderful series of voyages which rendered his name so popular in the mediaeval legends. It was but natural, indeed, that whilst he rested upon the hill or beside the bay which now bear his name in his native territory, his thoughts should wander beyond the western waves, and that he should sigh for some tranquil spot in the islands of the ocean, where, in peace and solitude, he might

meditate on the truths of Heaven. The illustrious poet, D. F. M'Carthy, thus beautifully pictures the sentiments of our saint :—

- “ I grew to manhood by the western wave,
Among the mighty mountains on the shore ;
My bed the rock within some natural cave,
My food whate'er the seas or seasons bore ;
My occupation morn, noon, and night,
The only dream my hasty slumbers gave
Was Time's unheeding, unreturning flight,
And the great world that lies beyond the grave.
- “ And then I saw the mighty sea expand
Like Time's unmeasured and unfathomed waves,
One with its tide-marks on the ridgy sand,
The other with its line of weedy graves ;
And on beyond the outstretched wave of Time,
The eye of Faith a brighter land may meet,
So did I dream of some more sunny clime
Beyond the waste of waters at my feet,
- “ Some clime where man, unknowing and unknown,
For God's refreshing Word still gasps and faints ;
Or happier rather some Elysian zone,
Made for the habitation of His saints. * * *
- “ The thought grew stronger with my growing days,
Even like to manhood's strengthening mind and limb,
And often now amid the purple haze
That evening breathed upon the horizon's rim,
Methought, as there I sought my wished-for home,
I could descry amid the waters green,
Full many a diamond shrine and golden dome,
And crystal palaces of dazzling sheen.
- “ And then I longed with impotent desire,
Even for the bow whereby the Python bled,
That I might send one dart of living fire
Into that land before the vision fled,
And thus at length fix thy enchanted shore
Hy-Brasail,—Eden of the western wave!
That thou again wouldst fade away no more,
Buried and lost within thy azure grave.

“ But angels came and whispered as I dreamt,
 ‘ This this no phantom of a frenzied brain,
 God shows this land from time to time to tempt
 Some daring mariner across the main :
 By thee the mighty venture must be made,
 By thee shall myriad souls to Christ be won :
 Arise, depart, and trust to God for aid.’
 I woke, and kneeling cried, ‘ His will be done.’ ”¹

The description of the little boat, or *coracle*, in which St. Brendan set out on his holy expedition, as given in the curious tract entitled “ *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*,” gives us a glimpse of the nautical customs of our fathers. It was made, “ as was usual in those parts,” of wattled osiers, lined with thin boards of oak, and covered with hides which were tanned in oak-bark, and softened with butter. A rudder, a mast with a sail, six oars, and two additional sets of hides to provide against casual misfortune, completed the furniture of the tiny vessel.

And yet it is nothing new in the lives of our Celtic saints to find these holy men braving the terrors of the deep in such fragile barks in search of a solitary life, or of a new field of labour for Christ. It was in such a boat that St. Columbkille set out to found his island monastery in Iona ; and from this great centre of religion the disciples of that holy man quickly spread themselves, not only over the mainland of Scotland, but also to the desert islands off the coast ; even as far as the Orkneys and Shetland, and the Faroës. So fragile were these coracles that, Adamnan tells us, St. Berach and his religious crew well nigh found a watery grave between Iona and Tiree, in consequence of the swell raised by a whale intent on pursuing its prey. Again, when St. Cormac, with his abbot’s blessing, three times sailed forth to find a solitary place of prayer in the ocean, he each time failed in his purpose, owing to the storms which arose. In his last voyage he was driven towards the north by the wind for fourteen days, till he came where the sea was filled with a sort of jelly-fish, which clung to the oars, and beat against the sides of the boat in such numbers that Cormac and all his companions gave themselves up for lost. Adamnan, who records this fact, adds, that St. Columba, in Iona, had a vision of all that occurred, and summoning his monks together told them to pray for their brother monks who were far away in the midst of perturbations monstrous, horrific, such as had never been seen before. At their prayers a north wind sprung up which liberated Cormac

¹ “ The Voyage of St. Brendan,” by Denis Florence MacCarthy, page 176. (London, 1857.)

from his tiny assailants, and brought him back safe to Iona to tempt the waves no more.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives us another instance under the year 891: "Three Scots," it says, "came this year from Ireland to King Alfred, in a boat without any oars, having left their country to be on pilgrimage for the love of God whithersoever Heaven might direct them. The boat in which they came was made of two hides and a half; and they took with them provisions for seven days. About the seventh day they came on shore in Cornwall, and thence journeyed on to King Alfred. Their names were, Dubhslane, Macbethadh, and Maclinnen."

Early in the ninth century, the Irish monk, Dichuil, composed his remarkable treatise, "De Mensura orbis terrae." In the seventh chapter he gives an account of some of the most remarkable islands: "Around the coasts of our island, Hibernia, there are other islands, some of which are small, and others are very small (*aliae parvae, atque aliae minimae*). Near the island of Britain, there are many large islands, some small ones, some, too, of a middle size: some of them are in the Eastern ocean, some in the Western, but they are most numerous towards the north. In some of these islands I have myself resided, others I have visited; some I have only seen afar off, some I have read of." Subsequently, he again writes: "In the northern ocean of Britain there are a multitude of islands (the Faroes) which from the north British islands may be reached, with favorable wind, and prosperous voyage, in two days and two nights. A certain religious, named Probus, narrated to me that in summer time sailing in a little boat with two sets of oars, he landed on one of those islands after two days and one night. Some of these islands are small, separated from each other by narrow straits, and for almost a hundred years solitaries from our Erin dwelt in them. But as from the beginning of the world they were uninhabited, so now, in consequence of the Northman incursions, the anchorites have fled from them, but they are full of large flocks of sheep, and of innumerable different species of sea birds. I have never seen these islands mentioned by any authors."¹

In the life of St. Enda of Aran, we find another curious illustration of the wicker-work coracles which were used in those early times. This holy abbot, to test the sanctity of his religious, obliged each one of them to enter a coracle from which

¹ *Dichuil*. "Liber de Mensura orbis terrae," published from the MSS. of the Nat. Library, Paris, by M. Walckenaer in 1807, and by Letronne in 1814.

the skins had been removed, and thus put out to sea. If he was free from every fault he would escape unharmed by the waves, but if guilty of any transgression the coracle would not be sea-proof. Only one was found who did not escape a wetting in the coracle, and this was Gigniat, the cook of the community. St. Enda asked him what fault he had committed, and Gigniat acknowledged that when serving the repast of the brethren he had put a little to his own portion from the portion of Ciaran-mac-an-Tsaer, who subsequently founded the great monastery of Clonmacnoise. St. Enda at once obliged the cook to depart from the island, saying: "There is no room for a thief amongst us."¹

The account of St. Brendan's expedition, as given in the Irish life, is somewhat different from that which we have cited from the Latin tract. "The love of the Lord," it says, "grew intensely in the heart of Brendan, and he desired to abandon his territory, and home, and parents, and he fervently besought the Lord to make known to him some retired, mysterious, unknown land of delight, where he might live in solitude. And as he slept one night he heard the voice of an angel who said to him, 'Arise, O Brendan; the land of promise thou hast asked for, has been granted to thee.' After this, Brendan, filled with consolation at the angel's words, proceeded alone to the summit of *Sliabh-n-Aidche* (now Mount St. Brendan), and looking on the broad, untraversed ocean, he saw in the distance a beautiful, noble island, with the ministration of angels around it. Then he fasted for three days, and again the angel came to him, promising to abandon him no more till he attained that beautiful island, the land of promise for which he yearned. St. Brendan, shedding tears of joy, gave thanks to God for the angel's message to him, and coming from the mountain, gave directions to his people to prepare three large ships, as is commemorated in the poem:

"With three ships the sage set forth
Over the foaming surges of the ocean:
Thirty men with him in the ships
On the waves of the boisterous sea.

"Three sets of oars in each ship,
Sweet the music of their rowing:
Three sails of skins are unfurled
In the three vessels which he steers.

¹ See *Martyrology of Donegal*, 1864, page 83: *Colgan*, "Acta SS." page 711.

“ All were not clerics who set sail
 Under his guidance in his voyage:
 Small was the family, but bright the countenances
 Of all, in the three ships which he steered.”

This first voyage of St. Brendan, as the ancient document just referred to attests, extended only to the various islands which are scattered along the western coast of Ireland. Many of these islands were, even then, the abode of holy solitaries, and some of them still retain memorials and traditions connected with St. Brendan's voyage. One of the largest of these islands is Valentia, called in Irish *Oilean-dairbhre*, *i.e.*, “island of the oak wood,” and famed in profane history as the residence of the celebrated magician Mogh-ruth. It has still the ruins of an old church called Kill-more, *i.e.*, “the great church,” and two holy wells, one of which is called Tobereendowney, *i.e.*, *Tobar-righan Domnaigh*, at which the patron is kept on 22nd March, and the other Tober Finan, *i.e.*, “St. Finan's well,” which is frequented on the 17th of May. The O'Gorman MS. (R.I.A., Dublin), written about the year 1750, whilst giving an account of some of the most remarkable places in Kerry, mentions several small islands lying along the coast. “There are many islands (it says), as Inishvernaird, Sherky, Rosmore, Ormond, and Dinish island; besides the small islands of Dunkerron and Cappanacross, noted for quarries of marble and abundance of physical herbs and oysters. The most remarkable islands are the great Skeligs, formerly very much noted for pilgrimage over most part of Europe. The performing of said pilgrimage would be most impossible, had not Providence preserved and assisted those who undertook it. In said Skeligs is a well on the top of a hill that affords pure clear water, but is observed, as is said, to become dry in case of cursing, swearing, or blasphemy, &c. In said island there are two or three small stonework chapels, each as by appearance capable to stow no more at most than thirty persons, but by report would hold an hundred and more. . . . The other, called the small Skeligs, as well as Beginish, Scariv, and Dinish, are chiefly noted for the abundance of fowl and rabbits in them. Valentia, remarkable for the fort therein erected by Cromwell. The Durzies and Blaskets, chiefly noted as being landmarks generally taken by sailors coming from and going to sea, and other islands of less note.”

The name *Skellig* or *Skerry* is said by Dr. Todd to be of Scandinavian origin. It properly means an island-rock, or “*Scopulus maris.*”¹ The ancient tract “The Wars of the Danes,”

¹ Todd, “Wars of the Gaedhil,” &c., pref., xxxviii.

narrates how, in one of the incursions of the northern pirates, the barren rock on the coast of Kerry, called *Scellig Michael*, the abode of a holy solitary named Etgall or Edgall, was invaded by them, "and Etgal of the Skelly was carried off by them into captivity ; it was by miracle he escaped death at their hands, but he afterwards died of hunger and thirst among them."¹ The Annals of Ulster register this hermit's death in A.D. 823. "Eitgail of Skellig was carried away by the Gentiles, and he soon after died from hunger and thirst."

Smith, in his "History of Kerry," gives some further particulars connected with these islands :

"The first of the Skeligs, or that which stands next the shore, being within three miles of it, is called the *Lemon*, which is a round rock always above water, and consequently no way dangerous to ships. It hath little on it remarkable except its being stocked with several kinds of fowl, as in the second or middle *Skelig*, which stands about a league more to the west, and about six Irish miles from the shore. This rock is composed of a reddish kind of marble, and is frequented by an incredible number of gannets, and other kinds of birds. 'Tis remarkable that the gannet nestles nowhere else on the south coast of Ireland, and though multitudes of them are daily seen on all parts of our coasts, upon the wing and in the sea, yet they were never known to alight on any other land or rock hereabouts except on this island. . . . The great *Skelig* stands about nine Irish miles W.S.W. from Puffin Island. It is a most high and stupendous rock which was, until these few years past, visited by great numbers of people, ever since the time of St. Patrick, says Keating, by way of piety and devotion. The middle part of the island is flat and plain, consisting of about three acres of ground, that were formerly cultivated. This place is surrounded with high and inaccessible precipices, that hang dreadfully over the sea, which is generally rough, and roars hideously underneath. Upon the flat part of the island, which is about fifty yards perpendicular above the level of the sea, are several cells, said to have been chapels, for on this island stood anciently an Abbey of Canons Regular of St. Austin, said to have been founded by St. Finian. . . . The chapels or cells, with the wells of water, are dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. Here are several stone crosses erected, at which the pilgrims perform certain stationary prayers, and have peculiar orisons to perform at each station. . . . The cells or small chapels are built, in the ancient Roman manner, of stone, closed and jointed without either mortar or

¹ "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," page 223.

cement, and are impervious to the air and wind, being circular stone arches at the top."¹

Inishmore and Inishtusker, on the Kerry coast, are often spoken of in the lives of our early saints ; and Gough, when treating of Ventry harbour, which is in the barony of Corcaquiny, writes that "in several of the islands off this point are certain stone cells erected, according to tradition, by the first preachers of the Gospel in these parts : within resembling the most ancient Roman arches, and, like them, built without mortar. They were probably the first edifices of stone in Ireland, and coeval with the round towers. There is one at *Fane*, in Ventry parish, the most westerly land in Ireland, and another at *Galérus*, near Limerick."

The most famous islands, however, with which St. Brendan's name has been associated, on the western coast of Ireland, are the three Aran islands, which, though now connected with the province of Connaught, originally belonged to Munster.² The Life of St. Brendan expressly states that he went to Aran to receive the blessing of St. Enda, and remained three days and three nights in that land of paradise. How striking must have been the scene, when the venerable abbot, surrounded by the religious brethren, hastened to the beach to give the kiss of peace and welcome to the pilgrim sea-farer and his holy companions :

"Hearing how blessed Enda lived apart,
Amid the sacred caves of Ara-Mhor,
And how beneath his eye, spread like a chart,
Lay all the isles of that remotest shore ;
And how he had collected in his mind
All that was known to man of the Old Sea,
I left the Hill of Miracles behind
And sailed from out the shallow sandy Leigh.

"Betwixt the Samphire Isles swam my light skiff,
And like an arrow flew through Fenor Sound,
Swept by the pleasant strand and the tall cliff
Whereon the pale rose amethysts are found.
Rounded Moyferta's rocky point, and crossed
The mouth of stream-streaked Erin's mightiest tide,
Whose troubled waves break o'er the City lost,
Chased by the marble turrets that they hide.

¹ For further particulars connected with these islands, see the "History of Kerry," by M. F. Cusack, 1871, page 386.

² Colgan, *Acta*, page 710, note 18.

“ Again I sailed, and crossed the stormy sound
 That lies beneath Binn-Aite’s rocky height,
 And there upon the shore, the Saint I found
 Waiting my coming through the tardy night.
 He led me to his home beside the wave,
 Where, with his monks the pious father dwelled,
 And to my listening ear he freely gave
 The sacred knowledge that his bosom held.

“ When I proclaimed the project that I nursed,
 How ’twas for this that I his blessing sought,
 An irrepressible cry of joy outburst
 From his pure lips, that blessed me for the thought.
 He said, that *he*, too, had in visions strayed
 Over the untracked ocean’s billowy foam ;
 Bid me have hope, that God would give me aid,
 And bring me safe back to my native home.”¹

The largest of the Aran islands had no fewer than thirteen churches, one of which, called *Teglach-Enna*, was in after times specially dedicated to God, under the invocation of St. Enda. Close by this church was the shrine of the saint, and one hundred and twenty other sepulchres in which none but saints were interred. The Life of St. Ailbhe states that “ God alone knoweth the number of saints who are buried there ;” hence, its popular names, “ Aran of Enda,” and “ Aran of the Saints.” Colgan also writes that “ each of the three islands bear alike the name of Aran ; they are separated from each other only by a narrow strait ; all three are full of cells, sacred relics of the saints, and tombs.” One eulogy, however, of these islands suffices for all. It is a poem in their praise, by the great St. Columbkille : “ Aran, thou sun ! Oh ! Aran, thou sun, my heart is with thee in the west : to sleep beneath thy pure earth is the same as to be under the clay of Peter and Paul. Oh ! Aran, thou sun, my love lies in thee in the west : to be within the sound of thy bells is the same as to be in bliss.”

Giraldus Cambrensis, in his usual style of exaggeration, writes regarding Aran :—“ In the western part of Connaught there is an island called Aran, which they say was blessed by St. Brendan. There human bodies are never buried, and never rot, but lie exposed under the air, proof against corruption. There the wondering mortal can see and recognise his grandfather, and great grandfather, and his grandfather’s

¹ “ The Voyage of St. Brendan,” page 180.

grandfather, and the long line of his progenitors." Lynch, in "*Cambrensis Eversus*," thus criticises this statement:—"Camden demolishes with a single stroke this fabric of fiction regarding Aran, and the Island of the Living: 'the isles of Aran, he says, 'fabulously styled the isles of the Living.' My own opinion is that Giraldus bungled his narrative by applying to Aran what is told of Inisgluair, an island off the coast of Erris, in the county of Mayo, for the bodies buried in that island do not decay, so that one could recognise his grandfather."¹

It is said that St. Enda established ten religious communities on these islands, each one having its own superiors, and, independently of the rest, pursuing its routine of monastic exercises. St. Enda's own monastery was at Killeaney, to the east of the largest island. A book of the Gospels, and a chasuble, which was formerly covered with gold and silver, but in the fourteenth century only with brass, were preserved in the island with great care as relics of the saint. His life ends with the following narrative:—St. Enda, when walking on the sea shore with some of his religious, a little before his death, was overwhelmed with sadness and burst into tears, because it was made known to him from heaven that the day would come when those islands would not be tenanted by monks, but with carnal and irreligious men. In a short time, however, he brightened up with joy when another vision was shown to him, that before the end of the world thousands would once more flock to these islands to escape the contagion of irreligion, and to walk in the paths of perfection.²

The island of Inisgluair, situated about a mile west of the village of Cross, in the barony of Erris, was also visited by St. Brendan, and still honours him as patron. This island is famed in popular tradition as being, through his blessing, "the land of the living;" and O'Donovan tells us that the tradition that no bodies interred there were subject to decay, is still vividly remembered by the inhabitants of Erris and Inis-Seidhe. The island is now uninhabited, but retains the ruins of a church and other traces of ancient religious civilization.

Ardillaun, or "High-island," also lies at a short distance from the western coast of Connaught. The ruins of its beehive houses, cloghauns, churches, and enclosures, prove it to have been at a very early period inhabited by an ecclesiastical colony. O'Flaherty, in his account of Iar-Connaught, describes

¹ *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. 1, page 125.

² For further details connected with these holy islands, see two interesting papers in IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. vii.

it as "anciently called Innishiarther, *i.e.*, the West-island, inaccessible except in calm, settled weather, and so steep that it is hard, after landing in it, to climb to the top!" He mentions an abbey founded there by St. Fechin, of Omay, and gives the names of eleven holy hermits, famed for sanctity, interred within its precincts. Towards the centre of the island is a holy well, and near it is still preserved a sculptured cross, in the earliest style of Celtic Christian art. The remains of many other rudely engraven crosses are scattered through the island. Two of these are represented in the plates of the tenth volume of the Proceedings of R.I.A. (1870), and with them may be seen two other crosses of the little island called Illaun McDara, which is also situated on the west coast of Galway.

I will only mention one other of the many islands on our western coast celebrated in the early records of our saints. This is the island of Innishark, which, though situated off the coast of Galway, belongs to the county Mayo. St. Leo is honoured as its patron, and among the monuments which it retains connected with his name are a ruined church, a *leabuidh*, *i.e.*, a penitential bed, a *tubber-banagh*, or holy well, a stone cross called *leac Leo*, and a *clochan*, or stone-built cell: "of the church, which seems to have been of the usual rectangular shape, there remain parts of the north and south walls, with the east gable. In the latter there are the remnants of what must have been a rather handsome single lancet-shaped window. The *clochan* is situated (within an enclosure, 60 feet in length, and 45 in breadth) at some distance to the southward of the church, on a cliff overlooking the sea. It appears to have been an extremely primitive structure, built without any regard to regularity of form. . . . The outside of the *clochan* appears to have been of a bee-hive shape; however, it is now much dilapidated, more than half of its roof and front being destroyed. The stone cross is much broken and disfigured. In the time of O'Flahertie, the historian, there was a bell belonging to St. Leo on Innishark, but Hardiman, in his notes, written in 1846, mentions that it has long disappeared."¹

It was during his first voyage that St. Brendan was favoured with a vision of the torments of the damned, the details of which are described in the Irish life of our saint, with all the vividness of Celtic poetry:—"The door of hell (it thus begins) was revealed to Brendan, and he saw within the rough blue prison, full of stench, full of flame, full of nastiness; full

¹ Paper of G. H. Kinahan, on the island of Inishark. *Proceedings of R. Hist. and Arch. Association of Ireland*, July 1870, page 203.

of the camps of poisonous demons : full of crying, and of wailing, and of wounds : wretched shouts and great voices of lamentation and moans, and beating of hands of the sinful tribes : a life heavy, sorrowful in the hearts of pain, in prisons of fire, in streams of unceasing flames : in rocks of continual woe ; in black gloomy puddles, in chairs of heavy flame, in an abundance of woe, and death, and crosses, and chains ; in oppressive fights and terrible shrieking of demons : an abode of eternal cold, eternal night, eternal sorrow, eternal pain, eternal avenging flames from the depths of the abyss."

One of St. Brendan's companions expressed a desire to have a vision of this place of dreadful torments : "Obtain the favor for me," he said, "that I may see some of these pains." And St. Brendan having prayed for him, he almost immediately expired, crying out : "Woe, woe, woe, to those who have come, who shall come, and who at this moment come into this abode of torments ;" but St. Brendan again prayed to God in his behalf, and ceased not to pray till the dead man was quickened into life, and resumed his duties among the brethren.

The legend of the mermaid is next told. They met her dead body on the waves, and Brendan having restored her to life, asked her who she was, and whence she came. She replied : "I am one of the inhabitants of the sea : we pray and await the Resurrection." Brendan then baptized her and asked her what was her wish : did she desire to go to heaven or to return to her company of the deep. She replied, but none except Brendan could understand her words : "I desire to go to heaven, for I hear the voices of the angels praising the all-powerful Lord." And then this daughter of the sea peaceably closed her eyes in death.

The account of one island which they visited agrees perfectly with the description of Ardillaun given above. "On a certain day they saw a beautiful island rising high above the waves. They rowed towards it, but could not find an easy harbour. For twelve days they sailed around it, but were not able to enter it during all that time. They heard, however, the voices of people praising the Lord, and they saw a lofty noble church within the island. As they were unwilling to depart from the island, a waxed tablet was let down to them from the rocks, and on it were inscribed the words : 'Do not seek to enter this island : this is not the island granted to you by God : return to your country : multitudes there await you, and hold in mind the words of holy scripture : *Mansiones Domini multae sunt.*' Then sailing away from that island, they bore with them the waxed tablet as a memorial of its

people, and each day they read it with joy, as if it had been divinely sent to them."

Another day, whilst rowing on the sea, they were seized with intense thirst, so that they were nigh unto death. They then saw, at a distance, a small island with clear, pure streams gushing forth from its rocks. The brethren asked: "May we drink of this water?" But Brendan replied: "Let it first be blessed." And when they had given their blessing to it, and chaunted the Allelujas over it, the stream flowed back, and they saw the demon seated on the rocks awaiting to kill those who would drink of its waters. Thus they were saved by the prayers of Brendan; their thirst, too, ceased immediately, and by their blessing that island was thenceforth closed to Satan, and its waters were harmless to man and every other living being.

LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

XXV. THE SCEPTIC'S OBJECTION TO THE MIRACULOUS.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

The state of mind manifested by your last letter is satisfactory; for though you still doubt of the truth of the Christian religion, you would desire it were true; that is, you begin to feel inclined to the side of religion. When we love an object, considered even as purely ideal, it is not so difficult to believe in its existence; just as the hatred of a troublesome reality produces the desire of denying it. The believer who abhors religious truth, is on the road to infidelity, and the infidel who loves it is on the way to faith.

It has been said, with profound truth, that our opinions are the offspring of our actions; or, in other words, that our understanding frequently places itself at the service of our heart. Cherish, my dear friend, those benevolent dispositions towards religious truths; and allow yourself to be carried away by that self inclination "which in the midst of scepticism frequently produces the illusion that you are a true believer." As you have had the fortune not to doubt of Providence, be persuaded it is this Providence that is leading you, in whose all-powerful hand are understandings and hearts.

You lost the faith by following the disordered inclinations of your heart ; and God wishes to bring you back to the faith through the inspirations of that same heart. Begin by loving religious truths, and soon you shall end by believing in them. They require but to be seen to be regarded without aversion ; if they can but come into contact with a sincere soul, they are sure of triumphing. The divine spirit which animates them, communicates to them a holy attraction, which nothing but stony hearts can resist.

At the side of this disposition of mind, which fills me with consolation and hope, I have seen, with some wonder, what, with great serenity, you call a powerful reason which prevents your shaking off scepticism. The regularity of the laws which govern the world, so visible in all the phenomena which come under our experience, inspires you with an aversion to everything extraordinary, and makes you fear that whatever leaves the common order, though it be very beautiful and very sublime, should be limited to the regions of poetry. You are sorry there should be disagreement between the reality and those beautiful creations of prolific fancies and sublime sentiments ; “but no matter how fond of poetry, you would not exchange philosophy for it, though clothed in prosaic garb.” Neither would I exchange the reality for any illusion the most beautiful human fancy could conceive ; I, too, love the truth though dressed in prosaic costume ; but I do not comprehend that this truth should be always found as you indicate “in the ordinary—in the common—in what does not attract attention by its prodigies, or excite our wonder and enthusiasm ; but rather in what is real and substantial, and pursues its course with uniform regularity.” I have no objection to your “discovering a cause for nocturnal noises, which poetical or frightened imaginations attribute to mysterious beings, in the wind, the rain, or the chirping of innocent birds, which never dreamed of being taken for malevolent genii ;” but when you stand animated with that *positive* philosophy before believers, and exclaim, “the ordinary, the ordinary, nothing else squares with the philosophical mind ;” I doubted whether the letter I was reading was from a person so enlightened as you, and I felt a lively desire of revenge, which I hope to have to my complete satisfaction.

First of all, allow me to remark that the want of belief in extraordinary things, is not always a sure sign of much philosophy ; for this incredulity can spring from ignorance, in which case it is stubborn, tenacious, and little less than invincible. We meet this phenomenon in a striking manner when we converse with ill-instructed and proud people. As

the lower orders have often heard that *there are many deceits in the world, and big lies are told*, they take that vulgarity for criterion, and mercilessly apply it to everything out of the common order. I need not protest I do not reckon my enlightened adversary in the number of these ignorant people ; but as you insist on harmonizing philosophy with the ordinary and the *common*, I could not resist the temptation of calling to mind a fact which repeatedly attracted my attention.

Pascal has said, with much truth, that there are two classes of ignorant people—those who are completely so, and those who, having attained the highest degree of wisdom, have a clear knowledge of their own ignorance. The saying is in some manner applicable to incredulity in extraordinary things. Truly wise men have an incredulity on this head, tempered by reason, and ever subject to the conditions of possibility which observation or the light of science has taught them. In general, we might say, these men are incredulists, with some timidity, and not unfrequently incline to believe the extraordinary. When one penetrates into the abysses, as well of the physical as of the intellectual and moral world, the profundities he discovers are such, the mysteries he sees flitting among the shades, pierced by some rays of light, so numerous, that great thinkers—those who have approached the edge of these abysses, contemplating their unfathomable depths—scarcely meet with anything of which they presume to say, this has been, this will not be, this is impossible. Such men do not start at the word *extraordinary*, because they discover in what appears the most ordinary phenomena, a multitude of extraordinary things ; or, to speak with more exactness, a multitude of things more incomprehensible the more ordinary they are.

The incredulity of ignorant people when extraordinary things are mentioned, is very curious. If they hear of an uncommon phenomenon, or of a law of nature which produces something surprising, they apply their sovereign criterion:—"In the world there are many deceits ; I'll not be got to believe that ;" and foolishly shake their heads with an indescribable satisfaction.

You see I am not very indulgent with the enemies of the extraordinary ; but as these observations are not applicable to a person like you, I shall enter on another class of observations about the ordinary and the extraordinary, without abandoning the sphere of facts.

You do not admit that God has spoken to men, but prefer explaining the traditions of the human race by the ordinary method of illusions, impostures, prevision of legislators, or social necessities, &c., &c. All this is very ordinary, and conse-

quently satisfies you. Well, now ; do you believe I can discover in the root of this itself, a very extraordinary thing, which all the philosophers in the world are not capable of explaining ? Here it is ; and I will give you to the end of the world to answer my question, if you do not appeal to extraordinary means. I do not require to remind you of the opinion of the most eminent philosophers regarding the impossibility of man's having invented language. The human race then has received this gift—from whom ? Not certainly from the mute beings which surround us ; behold, then, man communicating with a superior being, and receiving language from him. This does not belong to what you call ordinary and common ; but unfortunately for infidels it is absolutely necessary that it should have occurred.

Another extraordinary thing :—Whence has man come ? Do you admit the narrative of Moses ? If you admit it, what difficulty do you find in the fact that God, who created man, who taught him, who spoke to him once, should speak to him again ? The extraordinary is found equally in one case as the other. If you do not admit the narrative of Moses, I again ask, whence has man come ? From the bowels of the earth, and suddenly ? This would be a most extraordinary thing. How, when once existing, has he been able to propagate ? This is another thing, no less extraordinary. Has he been formed by successive development, passing through the different grades in the animal world, so that the ancestors of Bosuet, Newton, and Liebnitz were some illustrious monkeys, which in their turn were descended from terrestrial reptiles, or sea monsters, and so on to the lowest grade of living creatures ? All these things, I believe, would be pretty extraordinary ; and yet it is certain we must admit the extraordinary narrative of Moses, or some one similar, or else appeal to sudden apparitions, or successive transformations, things which are all very extraordinary.

The origin of the world too involves something which cannot enter into the channel of ordinary events. Appeal to what system you like—to God or chaos, to history or fable, to reason or to fancy ; it is of little importance to the present question ; we meet in all with the problem of the origin of things ; and neither their existence nor their order can be explained without something extraordinary.

Speaking frankly, I am sorry to have to employ this class of arguments to convince one who has studied the natural sciences. What is all nature but an immense mystery ? Have you ever meditated on life ? Has any philosopher ever comprehended in what that magic power consists, which walks by ways unknown ; which acts by incomprehensible means ;

which moves, and agitates, and beautifies; which produces sweetest pleasures, and causes insupportable torments; which is within us and without us; which is not found when sought, and presents itself when unthought of; which propagates in the midst of corruption; which incessantly becomes inflamed and extinguished in innumerable individuals; which flits as an imperceptible flame, in the atmospheric regions, on the face, and in the bowels of the earth, in the currents of rivers, on the surface and in the depths of the ocean? Is there not a mystery, and an incomprehensible mystery here? Do you not see here—do you not palpably feel a something which does not come under that *ordinary thing* you would confound with philosophy?

Electricity, galvanism, magnetism, certainly present extraordinary phenomena. Shall we deny because we do not comprehend them? And shall we delude ourselves into the belief that we comprehend them, simply because some of their effects are visible? When you fix your attention on those secrets of nature, do you not feel possessed by a profound feeling of astonishment? Have you never asked yourself what is there behind that veil with which nature covers her secrets? Have you not felt that small philosophy which cries *the ordinary, the ordinary*, disappear, and discovered the necessity of replacing it with the sublime idea that all is extraordinary? Instead of that little sentiment, which confounds the philosopher into the vulgar, and communicates to him a miserable incredulity with regard to extraordinary things, have you not experienced a secret inclination to see in all parts the stamp of the extraordinary?

On a serene night, when the firmament is displayed to our eyes like a blue mantle set with diamonds, fix your gaze on that sublime spectacle. What is there in those profundities—what are those luminous bodies which have shone during long ages in the university of space, and pursue their majestic course with ineffable regularity? Who has spread that creamy belt, called by astronomers the Milky Way, and which in reality is an immense zone, studded with bodies whose size and distances cannot enter into our imagination? What is there in those infinite spaces where the telescope daily discovers new worlds—in those spaces whose portals are at a distance of which we can form no idea? The nearest stars present to our view, not their present situation, but that which they had many years ago. Light travels at the rate of 55,660 leagues or 20,000 feet a second; and, nevertheless, it has been calculated the luminous ray of the nearest star cannot reach us in less than ten years; what will be the case with the most distant? Do you think that what is taking place in the *Nebulæ*—the re-

volutions being verified in those profundities without end—can be perfectly explained with the little formula—*the ordinary*?

The greatest men have been religious, and no wonder, in the physical as in the moral world, such grandeur, such august shades, such a source of elevated thoughts and sublime inspirations are met with, that the soul feels profoundly moved, and discovers in all a species of religious solemnity. Clearness is the exception, mystery the rule; littleness exists in this or that appearance; but in the essence of things there is a grandeur that exceeds all consideration. We do not feel that grandeur—that mystery—because we do not meditate; but as soon as man concentrates his thoughts, and reflects on that grand total of beings in whose immensity he is submerged, and meditates on that flame he feels burning within him, and which is in the scale of things as a spark of light in an ocean of fire; he finds himself seized by a profound feeling in which pride mingles with depression, and pleasure with solemn dread. Oh! then that philosophy which talks of *the ordinary*—of *the common*—and has a ridiculous horror of everything extraordinary or mysterious, appears little indeed. What! is everything that surrounds us, everything that exists, everything we see, everything we are, anything else forsooth but a union of dread mysteries?

Pardon me, my dear friend, if my pen has run away with me, and I have almost forgotten I was writing a letter. You cannot, however, accuse me of having run into imaginary worlds, for I have not departed from the reality. You provoked me by inculcating the necessity of adhering to *the ordinary, the common, the plain*, leaving aside extraordinary and mysterious things; and I have found myself compelled to interrogate the universe, not the ideal or the fictitious, but the real one before our eyes; and it is not my fault if that universe, that reality, is so grand and mysterious that it cannot be contemplated without a fit of enthusiasm.

Allow us to believe in extraordinary things; with this we do not contradict true philosophy, but act in accordance with its highest inspirations. Let him who does not believe—who is not satisfied with the motives of credibility—raise what difficulties he likes against the truth of our doctrines; but let him take care not to upbraid us with our belief in incomprehensible mysteries, nor accuse us on that score of want of philosophy, for then he undoubtedly improves our cause; the infidel is confounded with the vulgar, and the most eminent philosophers are on the side of the Catholic.

I remain,

Your affectionate friend,

J. B.

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON, S.J.

FATHER FITZSIMON, according to Anthony Wood, the Protestant historian of the University of Oxford, "was a pillar of the Catholic Church, and was esteemed by Catholics as a great ornament among them, and the greatest defender of their religion in his time."¹ Yet few Irishmen know anything of this distinguished Irish Jesuit; and even these few derive their knowledge of him from the meagre memoirs which have been written by Protestants or foreigners.² His Irish brethren have let him sleep in the shade for more than two hundred years—either because, as Father Archdeacon suggests, they had too little time, and too much modesty, to transmit to posterity the deeds of the Irish members of their Order, or because they had not documents enough to write a biography worthy of such a man, and consequently shrank from trifling with his memory.³

It is high time to fling off "the cold chain of silence," and to do for Fitzsimon what has been done for Fathers Woulfe and White by the learned pens of Dr. Reeves, the Most Reverend Dr. Moran, and the Bollandist, Father Victor de Buck. I venture to undertake that task. With the Four Masters, "I deem it a cause of sorrow and regret that the children of Ireland have gone under a cloud; and for the glory of God and the honour of Erin, 'δο cum zlóire Dé azur onórk nA hEreánn,' " I will gather from various sources some rays, that may dispel the obscurity, which hangs over the once bright name of Henry Fitzsimon.⁴

He was born in Dublin in 1567, the year in which the tidings of Desmond's imprisonment, and of O'Neill's defeat and death, thrilled through the heart of the Pale.⁵ The citizens of Dublin were freed for a season from their powerful foes in the North and South. The Fitzsimon family was moreover blessed by the birth of a child, who might one day distinguish himself in fighting against the enemies of the Pale. He did, indeed, defend what Palesmen prized more than property, liberty, and life. By his preaching, his writings, his labours, and his sufferings, he upheld the faith of Dublin and of Ireland; and for defending it, he was condemned to perpetual exile, after having been immured during five years in that Castle of Dublin, from

¹ Wood's "Athenæ."

² Wood; Harris's "Writers;" Ryan's "Worthies;" Dodd's "History;" Oliver's "Coliectanea;" Southwell's "Bibliotheca;" Patrignani's "Menologio;" Moreri, Feller, etc.

³ Arsdakin's "Theologia," vol. 3. p. 224. ⁴ Preface to "Annals of Ireland."

⁵ MS. Catalogus Hib. S.J., 1609, in F. Ffrench's Collections.

the top of which the face of O'Neill "the Proud" had scowled over his cradle.

It is uncertain in what month, in what place, or of what particular family F. Henry was born. In the sixteenth century there were three families of Fitzsimons, "all of name and account, in the county of Dublin—Fitzsimon of Swords, Fitzsimon of Balmadrocht, and Fitzsimon of the Grange;"¹ and, according to a contemporary, "the familie of Fitzsimon was for the most part buried in the Church of St. Tullock."²

At that period many men shed lustre on the name. William Fitzsimon incurred the displeasure of the English on account of his attachment to the faith. Michael was "well known to be a Papist impossible to be reformed;" and Edward, who was Prime Sergeant-at-law from 1574 to 1594, opposed the trial and execution of Archbishop O'Hurley, and, like all the Irish lawyers of his day, he was "a thwarter and hinderer" of the Reformation.³ Father Michael Fitzsimon, the son of a Dublin Alderman, was one of the "eleven priests and Jesuits seized in Munster and Connaught, and brought to Dublin in 1593." He was found guilty of the crime of being a Catholic priest, and was hanged in the Corn Market of the metropolis.⁴ Walter Fitzsimon was twice Lord Chancellor and twice Vice-Deputy of Ireland; he was Archbishop of Dublin for twenty-seven years, and "was a prelate of great gravity and learning, and of a graceful presence, able to strike with reverence all who beheld him."⁵ His namesake, Dr. Leonard Fitzsimon, was well qualified to fill the same See, and he was recommended for it in 1584 by the Jesuit Fathers, Geoghagan and Nugent. They inform us that he was the son of one of the chief gentlemen of Dublin, and was distinguished for his learning and virtue.⁶ Wood speaks of him in the highest terms, and regrets that he could not trace his history after his departure from Oxford. He held a chair of Divinity in Douay in 1580, and according to Father Henry, who distinguished himself there as a professor a few years later, "he reflected honour on his native land, and was one of those principal Irishmen who departed this life, leaving their glorious memories in benediction—having studiously advanced the cause of our country to their greatest power; by whom our said country has received many rare helps, to the great advancement of God's glory, and the discomfiture of heretics."⁷

¹ Description of Ireland in 1598, MS. of Clongowes Library.

² Mr. Gilbert's "Dublin," vol. i., p. 48.

³ Dr. Brady's "State Papers," pp. 9-70 and 127. ⁴ Ware's "Annals," an. 1593.

⁵ D'Alton's "Archbishops of Dublin." ⁶ Dr. Theiner's "Annales," an. 1584.

⁷ Fitzsimon's "Preface to Treatise on the Mass."

It is probable that F. Fitzsimon was a near relative of some or all of these worthies ; but we know that he had a nephew named Cary,¹ and that he himself was linked in kindred with Christopher Cusack, who was of honourable descent and alliance with the noblest ranks :² and with "part of the issue of Adam Loftus, who raised his plentiful brood to noble alliances and lofty estates ;"³ and with Henry and James Usher, the Protestant Primates of Armagh.⁴

Dr. Cusack's nephew was the learned F. Fleming, O.S.F., of the noble family of Slane ;⁵ his cousin was the Superior of the Irish Jesuits, F. Richard de la Field,⁶ one of whose family was made a Count of the Holy Roman Empire for his signal bravery at the battle of Zeuta. From Loftus descends the Marquis of Ely ; from the Usher family come the Dukes of Leinster and Wellington ; and the family of Cusack has produced a Grandee and Captain-General of Spain, and also a Marshal of France.⁷

Usher's pedigree, prefixed to the Elrington edition of his works, seems to point to the immediate family of Father Fitzsimon. It runs thus—"Thomas Fitzsimon, Nicholas, Thomas, Anna Stanihurst (*née* Fitzsimon), Margaret Stanihurst, Dr. James Usher." This would make Father Henry a relative of the Jesuits, Peter and William Stanihurst, who were first cousins of Primate Usher. The second Thomas of the pedigree was, I dare say, the man who owned the castle and manor of Swords in 1547, and the ancestor of F. Henry's "chosen Michael Taylor of Swords, gentleman," who went to the English king in order to obtain leave for F. Henry to return to his native land. He was also the ancestor of Fitzsimon, who, in 1613, was M.P. for Swords, in conjunction with George Blacknie, F. Henry's "singular benefactor during his imprisonment."

From these facts, I think it likely that F. Fitzsimon was the son or nephew of Thomas Fitzsimon of Dublin and Swords ; and that if his father was a merchant, as Wood and others relate, he was such as De Quincy scrupulously describes his own parent to have been—"He was a merchant in the English sense—a sense rigorous and exclusive. That is, he was engaged in foreign commerce, and no other ; therefore, in the wholesale commerce, and no other—which last idea is important, because it brings him within the benefit of Cicero's con-

¹ Bishop Rider's Letter in Fitzsimon's Reply.

² Dedication of Fitzsimon's Treatise on the Mass.

³ "The Mass," p. 300.

⁴ Fitzsimon's "Britannomachia."

⁵ Fleming's Life, prefixed to his "Collectanea Sacra."

⁶ Holywood's Letter of 1605.

⁷ Burke's Landed Gentry, and Usher's Life, by Dr. Elrington.

descending distinction—'as one who ought to be despised certainly, but not too intensely to be despised even by a Roman Senator.' " Yet, most certainly and most intensely would he have been contemned by the Roman Catholics of Dublin, not because "un magazin actuellement ouvert" had thrown its bleak shade over the cradle of his child, but if he had bartered away the Holy Roman Catholic Faith of his family. Ryan says, that Henry's father 'became a Protestant, and took special care to bring up his son in Protestant opinions.' That assertion is without proof: it rests on the weak and unsupported authority of the Protestant Harris, and what we know of the Fitzsimons creates a powerful presumption against it.

F. Henry tells us that he was reared in the Catholic religion until he was ten years of age.¹ When he was three or four years old, he was, perhaps, blessed by Campion, who was called "the angel" by the people of Dublin, and who was living under the hospitable roof-tree of Stanihurst, a kinsman of Fitzsimon, and whose opponent, Dr. Meredith Hanmer, became the defeated adversary, and then the devoted friend of Fitzsimon. As Henry grew up, it is probable that, like his contemporaries the Wadings, of Waterford, he learned to read his "Pius the Fifth," and recited from it the Office of the Blessed Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, and other prayers.² When he was ten years old, he was "inveigled into heresie," as he informs us himself. His father died, I presume, and a paternal government entrusted him to the care of a Protestant guardian. He passed some years at school in Dublin, where, it is reasonable to think, he made great progress, since he was a boy of great natural gifts—"magnis naturae donis instructus."³ He was, no doubt, early distinguished for his love of learning, as he was early and ever so distinguished for his love of truth, that he was able to say:—"I have a natural repugnance to all deceit, and whatever faults I may have had, all my acquaintances will justify me, that I have ever from a child abhorred swearing and lying."⁴ This early abhorrence revealed already the force, the sweetness, the freedom, and fearlessness which characterized him through life. Apropos of his hatred of swearing, I trust the reader will not be displeased if I treat him to a quaint conceit of Fitzsimon on the genesis of Protestant curses.

He says—"For one thing I am very thankful to our Reformers, that they imitate less every day the corrupt custom of our loose Catholics, who swear on every occasion 'by the Masse';

¹ Fitzsimon—"Confutation."

² Wading's Life, by Harold.

³ F. Yong's "Annuae" of 1651. ⁴ "Confutation," and "Treatise on the Mass."

yet I am sorry they have proceeded to a greater inconvenience by what succeedeth. They love rime and poetry in all things, even in their psalms, and why should not a light religion love a light style? They love poetry even in their very positions for Doctorships in Divinity—at least with us in Dublin. Therefore I will, in their affected style, present them this epigram. What it may want in rime shall be recompensed by the pithiness of the matter:—

‘In elder times an ancient custom ’twas
 To swear, in weighty matters, ‘by the Mass ;’
 But when Mass was put down, as old men note,
 They swore then ‘by the cross of this grey grote.’
 And when the Cross was held likewise in scorn,
 Then ‘Faith and Trough’ for common oaths were sworn.
 But now men banished have both Faith and Trough,
 So that ‘God damn me’ is the common oath.
 Thus custom keeps decorum by gradation ;
 Losing Mass, Cross, Faith, Trough—followeth Damn-
 ation.”¹

He elsewhere reveals his horror of swearing, and in many places—for instance, in his Treatise on the Mass, he says:—
 “Some of our Irish gentry think it is all right, if they say their Matins and Lauds, though they be as subject to anger, revenge, wrangling, detraction, lightness, quaffing, fraud, and swearing, as any licentious and dissolute roisterers.”

Thus Fitzsimon grew up with a holy horror of swearing and lying, and his vigorous style of conversations borrowed no spasmodic energy from the fashionable interjections of his day.

Remarking, *en passant*, that this hatred of lying and cursing betrays the presence of many other virtues, I will now follow Fitzsimon to Oxford, whither he went at the age of sixteen.

On the 26th of April, 1583, he was matriculated as a member of Hart Hall, and, according to the Oxford Athenæ, “he was said then and there in the matricula to be an Irishman, and the son of a Dublin merchant.”² In the December following, he, or some other Henry Fitzsimon, was elected student of Christ Church. “Sure it was,” says Wood, “that he being then in his mind, if not before, a Roman Catholic, went beyond the seas and entered the Society of Jesus. His natural disposition being strongly inclined to controversy, he devoted himself to the study of the disputed points of religion.”³

¹ “On the Masse.” ² Reg. Prim. Act. et Elect. Aed. Chr. 1583 ³ Wood’s Athenæ.

Honest Anthony Wood is mistaken here, as we learn from Fitzsimon himself, who is fortunately somewhat autobiographical in his controversial works.

In his Treatise on the Mass, he says:—"It is honourable to reveal the works of God no less in my own cause than in that of others. I will briefly relate a merciful work of God with all humble and grateful fidelitie. In the year 1587, being the twentieth of my age and the tenth of my education in heresie, I came to Paris so far overweening of my profession, that I surmised to be able to convert to Protestancie any encounter whatsoever. Neither did I find any of the ordinarie Catholics, whom I did not often gravel.

"At length, to my happiness, I was overcome by Father Thomas Darbyshire, an owld English Jesuit, who was a nephew of Bishop Bonner, had been formerlie Archdeacon of Essex, and had been a long time experienced in the reduction of many thousands to the Catholic Religion.

"Only to holie water I remained squeamish, I know not how, rather by ignorant than obstinate or malicious doubtfulness. At the same time a vehement tormenting pain seized my third finger of the left hand, with that smarting grief that I thought often to chop it off. No fomentation could qualifie it. A holiday requiring my going to Masse, I would not in the first fervour of my devotion omit it, not knowing then but that I was bound thereto notwithstanding all pain. Repairing, therefore, to St. Severin's church, my pain redoubled in such scorching excess, that I teared and groaned in the greatest agonie; and being near the holie water font, I plunged in my whole hand, not then for devotion, but for refrigeration. To Thee, O Lord, my God! be all praise for ever and ever, who at that very instant, insensiblie, entirelie, abundantlie, didst heal me, without any sensible sign of my former pain, and with exclusion of all paleness thereby procured, in the presence of Mr. Henry Segrave, Mr. John Lea, Mr. Dominick Roche, and many others, giving me occasion to be confounded for my incredulitie, and eternallie thankful for my deliverance. To Thee, therefore, again, and again, be all glory for ever and ever! Amen."¹

Thus, Fitzsimon was convinced, like Pascal, that we must take holy water; but he did not share in the haughty humility which prompted the great Jansenist to say, that "*Il faut s'abêtir et prendre de l'eau bénite.*" He did not think he "stultified" himself by doing what Catholics have done since the days of the Apostles, in their houses, in

¹ "The Masse," p. 115.

their churches, and in the catacombs ; and he ever blessed himself with holy water as eagerly and abundantly as the rest of his faithful fellow-countrymen.

This authentic account of Fitzsimon's conversion disposes of the notion of Wood and others, that while at Oxford, and even before then, he was a Catholic in his heart ; and it gives us to understand that he caused some disedification in Ireland by the pugnacity of his Protestantism, before he went to air his heresy on the Continent of Europe, where, for thirty-six years, he lived, and worked, and travelled, and "promena son orageuse activité," as M. Guizot says of St. Columban.

(To be continued).

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LENTEN FAST.

THE following questions have been received from a correspondent :—

1. Has the usage, which prevails so generally in Ireland, of eating meat at only one meal on Sundays in Lent, obtained the force of law ? There can be little doubt that it had its origin in a belief that those days are part of Lent. And this, apparently, is a mistake ; for, exclusive of Sundays, we have forty fast days—counting Ash Wednesday, the three following days, and the thirty-six week days, which intervene between the first Sunday of Lent and Easter Sunday. Theologians, I think, teach that an obligation is not induced by a custom which proceeds on a mistaken supposition that the obligation already existed.

2. Are persons under twenty-one years of age bound to abstain, or can they take butter at breakfast ?

To give a satisfactory answer to the questions of our correspondent, it will be necessary to call attention to some principles regarding the ecclesiastical fast, which, although they are laid down by almost all standard writers on the subject, are rarely stated with sufficient distinctness in the more compendious treatises which alone are within the reach of many missionary priests.

The law of fasting comprises two distinct precepts. Of

these, the first and principal one regards the quantity of food which may be eaten on a fasting day: the other regards its quality. The former forbids us to eat more than one meal and a collation: the latter restricts us to the use of certain kinds of food. "Adverte, cum communi sententia," says Castropalao, "in jejunio praescribi: [primum,] abstinentiam plurium refectio-
nium: [secundum,] abstinentiam quorundam ciborum."¹

The obligation of fasting admits, then, of various degrees, since the obligation of abstaining from certain sorts of food may be more or less severe. Meat alone may be forbidden; or meat and eggs; or finally, the prohibition may regard meat, eggs, and lacticinia as well.

The Lenten fast includes the obligation of abstinence in its strictest form; so that where its rigour has not been tempered by usage or by dispensation, the use of lacticinia, as well as of eggs or meat, is prohibited, even at the principal meal, on every day in Lent. "Universe praecipitur," says St. Alphonsus, "in diebus quadragesimalibus, abstinentia a lacticiniis."²

In some churches, as, for instance, in many parts of Italy, and especially in Rome, eggs and lacticinia are prohibited on all fasting days throughout the year. But theologians are almost unanimous in teaching, with Saint Thomas, that where this obligation exists, it springs from local legislation or from usage; since the common law of the Church does not prohibit eggs or lacticinia, but only meat, on fasting days outside Lent.³ The reason of this difference is thus explained by Saint Thomas:—"Ova et lacticinia," he says, "jejunantibus interduntur, in quantum sunt ex animalibus exorta carnes habentibus. Unde principalius interduntur carnes quam ova vel lacticinia. Similiter etiam inter alia jejunia solemnus est quadragesimalis jejunium. . . . Et ideo in quolibet jejunio interduntur esus carnum, in jejunio autem quadragesimali interduntur universaliter etiam ova et lacticinia."⁴

The discipline of the Irish Church in reference to abstinence is now in substantial accordance with the provisions of the common law. But it may not be out of place to note, that down to the middle of the seventeenth century it was characterised by excessive rigour in this respect. The use of meat was prohibited on all Wednesdays throughout the year. And in addition to the abstinence from meat, prescribed by the com-

¹ *Opus Morale*. Tract xxv. *De Bulla Cruciatæ*. Disp. unica. Punct. 7, §i., n. 7.

² *Theologia Moralit*, Lib. iv., tract 6. *De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*, n. 1007.

³ The passages in which Saint Thomas, Suarez, Laymann, Lessius, Azor, Sporer, Viva, Saint Alphonsus, and many other writers lay down this exposition of the nature of the ecclesiastical fast, may be seen in a former number of the RECORD. (Vol. vi., No. 61, October, 1869, pp. 23-24.)

⁴ *Summa*, In 2, 2. quaest. 147, art. viii., ad 3.

mon law on Fridays and Saturdays, every Friday during the year, and in many parts of the country every Saturday, was a day of rigorous abstinence from eggs and lactinia, such as is now observed only on two or three days in the first and last weeks in Lent. Besides, in many districts, all Fridays throughout the year were observed as days not merely of abstinence, but of strict fast.¹

Notwithstanding the extraordinary rigour of this discipline, to which, strange as the statement may seem at the present day, our forefathers clung with a tenacity which amounted almost to obstinacy,² the abstinence prescribed on ordinary fast days occurring outside Lent, was strictly within the provisions of the common ecclesiastical law. On the Vigils of festivals, therefore, and the Ember days of Advent, Pentecost, and September, the use of eggs and lactinia was allowed—

¹ "Accepimus . . . piam et antiquam inter Catholicos istius Regni Hiberniae hactenus consuetudinem viguisse feria quarta a carnibus, feria vero sexta et nonnullis in locis etiam Sabbato, ab ovorum et lactiniorum esu abstinendi." Bulla CLEMENTIS VIII. *Accepimus*. (13 Mart. 1598.)

"Ex usu Ecclesiae Ardmachanae abstinentum erit ab esu carniū omnibus feriis quartis per annum, feriis etiam sextis ab esu ovorum et lactiniorum . . . Praeterea omnibus feriis sextis per annum, jejunatur passim a devotioribus, quod ab aliis tribuitur devotionis magis quam obligationis esse. Quomocunque autem fuerit, sive obligationis sive devotionis," etc. *Consultatio Ecclesiastica ex Actis Syn. Provinciae Ardmachanae*. (19 Febr. 1614.)

"Jejunium quadragesimale cum feriis sextis per annum . . . observetur." *Decret. Syn. Provinciae Tuamensis*, A.D. 1658.

A number of documents fully illustrating this feature of the discipline of our Irish Church, will be found in the *Collections* from the MSS. of the Very Rev. Dr. Renchan, late President St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Edited by the Rev. Dr. M'Carthy. Dublin, 1861.

² Clement VIII., in 1598, issued a Bull, empowering the Irish bishops to dispense with many of these austerities. The bishops of the province of Dublin, assembled in Provincial Synod at Kilkenny, in 1614, under the presidency of Dr. Eugene Mathews, Archbishop of Dublin, published this Bull, and, availing themselves to a certain extent of the authority which it communicated, dispensed with the more rigorous portions of the abstinence previously observed. In several points, however,—the abstinence from meat on Wednesdays throughout the year, and from eggs on Fridays and Saturdays—no change was made, the bishops evidently fearing that a relaxation of the ancient discipline in these respects would shock the tender consciences of the faithful. "Commutationem circa esum carniū feria quarta aut ovorum feria sexta extra quadragesimam . . . Archiepiscopus non committit, neque ad eam faciendam quemquam delegat; si autem progressu temporis visum fuerit expedire, tunc eam delegabit."

And, although the Archbishop was invested with authority to legislate in this matter for the whole of Ireland, he showed a decided unwillingness to interfere with the existing discipline outside his own ecclesiastical province. "Neque commutationem cum aliis extra provinciam faciendam, donec ab Ordinariis locorum illorum requiratur aut significetur, expedire ut fiat."

Dr. Moran (*History of the Archbishops of Dublin*, vol. i., p. 271), tells us that the faithful did not avail themselves even of the modifications granted by the Synod: "Very many continued to observe the former fasts in all their rigour: and, sixty years later, we find another dispensatory Bull published by Clement X., and another Synod notifying to their flocks that they were free from any obligation of observing the ancient disciplinary usages."

except, of course, when a fast day fell on Friday (and in some parts of the country on Friday or Saturday), when, by virtue of the rigorous abstinence already described, the use of eggs and lactinia was forbidden, quite independently of the fast, as the use of meat on Fridays is forbidden now.

The only remnant of the severe discipline which formerly prevailed in Ireland is the abstinence from eggs, still very generally observed throughout the country, when a fast day falls on Friday. But with the exception of this obligation, and even this has been abrogated in several dioceses—Cashel, Limerick, and others—the abstinence now observed in Ireland on fast days outside Lent is in exact conformity with the provisions of the common ecclesiastical law.

Frequently the term Fast is employed to designate only the law restricting the number of meals, which is thus distinguished from the other precept, known as the law of abstinence.¹

It is important to observe that the two obligations are perfectly distinct. This is plain from the nature of both precepts. The law of abstinence, binding from midnight to midnight, prohibits the use of certain sorts of food: the law of fasting which binds during the same interval, renders it unlawful to take a second meal; obviously either obligation may exist independently of the other.

Thus, on Fridays throughout the year, there is an obligation of abstaining from meat (and by the common law, on Saturdays also), but no restriction as to the number of meals. Another instance, as we shall see, and a more striking one, is the obligation of abstinence on the Sundays of Lent. And thus, on any fast day, as all theologians are agreed, persons who are exempt from the obligation of fasting, so that they can take their usual number of meals, may, nevertheless, remain bound by the law of abstinence.

On the other hand, a person exempt from the obligation of abstinence, may still remain subject to the prohibition of taking a second meal. "Privilegium," says Bonacina, "concessum in uno praecepto, non extenditur ad aliud, et ille cui concessa est facultas comedendi carnes, non potest ex vi hujus privilegii, multiplicem refectioem sumere."² The truth of this opinion, long debated by theologians, was placed be-

¹ Thus Benedict XIV. writes:—"Decrevimus ne ulla generalis pro aliqua civitate concedatur facultas adhibendi carnes ad mensam tempore quadragesimae nisi conditio servandi jejunii sive unius comestionis interponatur. Encycl. *Libentissime* (10 Jun. 1745).

² *Opera Moralia*, Tom. ii., Disp. xi. *De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*. Quaest. I, punct. ii., n. 3.

yond all controversy by several encyclicals issued by Benedict XIV. on this subject.¹

We have seen that according to the common law, with which the present discipline of the Irish Church is in substantial accordance, abstinence from meat alone, is prescribed on fast days outside Lent. Is it, then, to be inferred that with the exception of the Lenten fast, no restriction is placed on the use of eggs, butter, cheese, and other lacticinia? By no means. For whilst considering the obligation of abstinence, we must not lose sight of the obligation regarding the number of meals. In the early ages of the Church one meal only was allowed on a fasting day. If this obligation were still in force, the use not merely of meat or eggs or lacticinia, but even of strict fasting fare would be unlawful, except at the one meal allowed by the law. Its rigour was, however, modified by a custom which gradually sprang up, and which, in the course of time, rendered it lawful to take moreover a slight repast or collation. But this collation, having been introduced by custom alone, theologians teach that, in all respects—both as regards the quantity and quality of food which may be taken at it,—it is necessary to conform to the established usage.¹ Now, in this country, custom has not sanctioned the use of eggs, butter, or cheese at the collation. And, consequently, they cannot be taken except at the principal meal, even on days when they are not forbidden by the law of abstinence.

The law of fasting, it is hardly necessary to add, is not binding on persons under twenty-one years of age. But all children over seven years old who have come to the use of reason, are bound by the law of abstinence. And, it should be observed, theologians in laying down this principle, make no distinction between the various portions of the obligation of abstinence—from meat, from eggs, or from lacticinia.³ Billuart, Henno, and a few other writers, in

¹ Vid. Bullarium Benedict XIV. Encycl. *In Suprema*, (22 Aug. 1741) : Encycl. *Libentissime*, (10 Jun. 1745). In the latter he says:—"Putabamus illos qui ob legitimam causam . . . quadragesimae abstinentiam non observarent, minime solvendo a jejuniis ita ut liceret ipsis mensam bis instituere."

² See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. vi., No. 66, March, 1870, p. 278.

³ "Colligitur, quarto, pueros qui ad rationis usum pervenerunt (quod accidere consuevit post completum septennium) obligari legibus Ecclesiasticis, consequenter teneri . . . ad abstinentiam a lacticiniis et cibus vetitis in die jejunii."—BONACINA. *De Legibus*. Quaest. i., punct. vi., n. 8.

"Lege jejunii, qua parte continet a carnibus aliisque cibus vetitis abstinentiam, astringuntur omnes Fideles Christiani rationis usum habentes, uti est omnium recepta sententia."—CASTROPALAO. *Opus Morale*. Tract 30, *De Virtute Temperantiae*. Disp. 3, punct. v., n. 1.

"Post septennium (quando non constat usum rationis nondum venisse) tenentur

defining the extent to which children are bound by the law of fasting, say that they are bound only to abstain from meat. But this cannot be regarded as equivalent to a statement that a distinction is to be made between the age at which children are bound to abstain from meat and the age at which they are bound to abstain from lacticinia. For those writers, as we shall afterwards see, explain the obligation of the law in reference to countries where, according to their view, the obligation of abstaining from lacticinia has fallen into disuse, even as regards adults. The meaning, then, of the passages referred to is, that children are subject only to the obligation of abstinence, and are not restricted as to the number of meals.

We may now proceed to the examination of the questions which have been proposed:—

1. The restriction of which our correspondent speaks is not a matter of usage or of mere popular belief. In Ireland, at all events, the practice in each diocese is regulated by the nature of the permission given by the Bishop at the beginning of Lent. In some dioceses, meat is allowed only once on Sunday; in others it is allowed both at breakfast and dinner. And there can be no question as to the competence of a Bishop to restrict the permission to one meal, or to allow the use of meat twice or thrice on Sundays as he may think fit.

Even on the Sundays in Lent—although, as our corres-

pueri . . . ad abstinenciam a cibus vetitis.”—VIVA. *Cursus Theologico-Moralis*. Pars 1, quaest. iii., art. ii., n. 5.

“Communis et recepta sententia est omnes fideles usum rationis habentes debere a carnibus ovibus et lactiniis abstinere.”—CATALANI. *Universi Juris Theologico-Moralis Corpus Integrum*. Pars 4, quaest. i., cap. vi., n. 1.

“Pueri dum ad usum rationis pervenerint tenentur . . . Ecclesiae praeceptis. . . Ita de abstinencia a carnibus et lactiniis.”—SANCHEZ. *Opus Morale in Decalogo*. Lib. 1, cap. xii., n. 6.

“Pueri rationis compotes . . . debent . . . abstinere a carnibus et reliquis cibus interdicitis.”—AZORIUS. *Institutiones Morales*. Lib. 7, cap. xvii., quaest. 2.

“Omnes habentes usum rationis tenentur servare . . . abstinenciam a carne et lactiniis.”—RONCAGLIA. *Universa Moralis Theologia*. Tract. 9, cap. ii. quaest. 3.

“An pueri, postquam ad rationis usum pervenerint, teneantur observare leges Ecclesiasticas nimirum . . . abstinere a carnibus vel a lactiniis diebus vetitis? Resp., teneri observare.”—SALMANTICENSES. *Cursus Theologiae Moralis*. Tract. II, cap. iii., punct. iv., nn. 51-2.

“An pueri statim ac pervenerint ad usum rationis tenentur ad leges ecclesiasticas audiendi sacrum, abstinendi a carnibus vel lactiniis, &c.? Negant S. Antoninus et alii dicentes non teneri statim sed post aliquod tempus . . . Sed haec opinio merito rejicitur communiter.”—LIGUORI. *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 1, tract. ii., *De Legibus*, n. 155.

pondent justly observes, they are not fasting days¹—meat is forbidden by the ecclesiastical law, which imposes a rigorous abstinence from meat, eggs, and lacticinia on every day, Sundays as well as week-days, from Ash Wednesday to Holy Saturday.²

A question might, perhaps, be raised as to whether this law is still in force in Ireland so far as regards the abstinence from eggs and lacticinia on Sundays. However, the question is scarcely a practical one; for, at least, by dispensation of the Bishops, their use is allowed without restriction on Sundays in, probably, every part of Ireland. But there can be no doubt of the obligation to abstain from meat. Its use, therefore, is allowed solely by virtue of the dispensation which the Bishop of each diocese is authorized by the Holy See to grant. And, of course, the Bishop in granting this dispensation, can grant it for one meal, or for several, or without any restriction, according as he considers it expedient.

But it may be asked, if the obligation be removed from any part of the day, it is not thereby removed absolutely, since the obligation of fasting is one and indivisible? No. The obligation of *fasting* may indeed be regarded as indivisible:³ not so the obligation of *abstinence*. “*Obligatio abstinendi*,” says Sanchez, “*est dividua: quare potest quis pro parte diei id praeceptum servare, et pro parte diei ejusdem non servare.*”⁴ There is, therefore, no reason why meat may not be allowed during a portion of the day, although the obligation of abstaining is not altogether removed.

Besides, as we shall see, in connection with the second question, the Sacred Penitentiary has expressly decided that the dispensation from abstinence can be thus limited.

¹ We read in the Canon Law:—“*A prima Dominica quadragesimae usque in Pascha Domini, sex hebdomadae computantur . . . ex quibus, dum sex Dominici dies . . . abstrahuntur, non plus quam triginta et sex dies remanent . . . Sed quatuor dies prioris hebdomadae ad supplementum quadraginta dierum[adduntur]. Cap. quadragesima 16, dist. 5, de consecratione.*”

² “*Ex dictis habetur, omnes utriusque sexus fideles tam seculares quam Regulares teneri omnibus diebus quadragesimae, etiam Dominicis abstinere ab ovis et lacticiniis nisi per Bullam aut Pontificis privilegium a dicta obligatione excusentur.*” SALMANTICENSIS. *Cursus Theologiae Moralis*. Tract 23, cap. ii, n. 37.

³ “*Essentia praecepti [jejunii] consistit in unica comestione . . . facta secunda comestione . . . jejunium amplius servari non potest.*” LIGUORI, *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. iv. tract. 6. *De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*, n. 1030.

“*Sicut si praeceptum esset ne limites alicujus loci transires, sola prima transgressione praeceptum contradiceres, non vero ulterius progrediens.*” — CASTROPALAO *Opus Morale*. Tract xxx. *De Virtute Temperantiae*. Disp. iii., punct. 2, sec. ii., n. 8.

“*Dispar autem,*” says St. Alphonsus (*ibid.*) “*est ratio praecepti abstinendi a carnibus.*”

⁴ *Tractatus de Matrimonio*. Lib. 3, disp. xviii., n. 22.

2. It will not be out of place in dealing with the second question proposed by our correspondent, to examine a more extensive one, of which it is a branch :—How far are persons under twenty-one years of age, affected by the law of abstinence, at breakfast on fasting days? This question, it will be observed, regards the use of meat and eggs as well as of butter and other lactinia. And, first, with reference to meat.

Persons who are exempt from fasting *ratione aetatis*, can eat meat *toties quoties* on any fast day—and, therefore, at breakfast, when its use is allowed by the Bishop of the diocese, provided that he does not restrict his permission to the principal meal.

The reason is plain. For, such persons are not bound by the law of fasting; in other words, they are not restricted as to the number of meals. And although in the absence of a dispensation, the law of abstinence would forbid their eating meat, this prohibition is removed by the Bishop, when he permits the use of meat to the people of his diocese.

Hence, the case was thus decided by the Sacred Penitentiary:—"Fideles qui ratione aetatis . . . jejunare non tenentur, licite [possunt] in quadragesima, cum indultum concessum est, omnibus diebus in indulto comprehensis, vesci carnibus . . . *quoties per diem edunt.*"¹

But, as already explained, it is competent for a Bishop, in allowing the use of meat, to allow it under certain restrictions; for instance, permitting it at the principal meal only. Sometimes this is done by a clause expressly referring to the case of persons exempt from the obligation of fasting, thus:—"Those who are under age are allowed their usual number of meals, but they are allowed to use flesh meat, only at dinner." Or thus:—"We grant to all who are obliged to abstain, permission to use flesh meat in Lent, at the one principal meal only."

A few years ago, the Sacred Penitentiary issued a decree, throwing a good deal of light upon this point, in answer to a question proposed by some Belgian priests regarding the interpretation of the decree of 1834, already quoted. The Congregation was asked whether that decision, allowing the use of meat *toties quoties* in the case of persons exempt from fasting could be acted upon in a diocese, the Bishop of which allowed "meat and eggs to be eaten once a day by the faithful, and eggs more than once by those who are exempt from fasting." The answer was in the negative.² It will be observed that

¹ Decr. S. Penitentiariae, (16 Jan., 1834.) See RECORD, vol. i., No. 3, Dec., 1864, p. 142.

² Decr. S. Penitentiariae (27 Maii, 1863). This Decree may be seen in the RECORD, vol. i., No. 3, December, 1864, p. 142.

this decree fully recognises the Bishop's authority to restrict the use of meat, in the case of persons exempt from fasting, and even interprets his concession in this sense, although the restriction is not plainly stated in his Lenten Regulations, but is only a matter of inference from the clause, in which, after allowing the use of meat and eggs, he gives such persons express permission to *eat eggs more than once* in the day.

On the other hand, it is obvious that unless the Lenten Regulations contain some form of words expressly or virtually limiting the permission to the principal meal, for persons who are exempt from fasting on account of youth or of old age, they may eat meat *toties quoties* in accordance with the Decree of 1834.

It is well to observe in reference to this Decree, that it regards not only persons who are exempt from fasting on account of their age, but also those who are exempt on account of being engaged in some laborious occupation—"ratione aetatis vel laboris." The Sacred Penitentiary, however, declared in 1863, that it is not to be extended to the case of persons exempt from fasting on account of illness.¹ But, of course, such persons can be allowed to eat meat *toties quoties* whenever, in the judgment of competent medical authority, the observance of the law, in this respect, would be injurious to them.

We have already seen that children over seven years of age, who have come to the use of reason, are bound by the law of abstinence from eggs and lacticinia. But it by no means follows, as our correspondent's question seems to imply, that therefore they must abstain from eggs and butter at breakfast during Lent. For they are also bound by the law of abstinence from meat, and we have seen that in the absence of a special restriction imposed by the bishop of the diocese, the permission given to the faithful generally, to eat meat at dinner, authorizes its use *toties quoties* by all who are under twenty-one years of age.

It is, in fact, a plain inference from the Decree (16th January, 1834) of the Sacred Penitentiary,² and also from the principles already laid down, that unless the bishop specially limits the

¹ See RECORD, vol. i., No. 3. December, 1864, pp. 142-3, where a letter will also be found from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to the late venerated Bishop of Southwark, in which his Eminence explains the grounds on which this distinction was made.

² "Concessa facultate comedendi carnes, intelligitur pariter concessa facultas comedendi ova et lacticinia. Quia cui majus conceditur, censetur etiam minus concessum virtualiter in eo contentum. Si ergo ova et lacticinia virtualiter in carne continentur et sementinam originem ab illa ducunt; ideo dispensatus ad carnes . . . censetur pariter dispensatus ad ova et lacticinia."—CATALANI *Universi Juris Theologico-Moralis Corporis Integrum*. Pars 4, quaest. i., cap. ii., n. 9.

permission of eggs and lacticinia to the principal meal, their use becomes lawful, without any restriction, to persons who are exempt from fasting, on account of youth or of old age.

For, such persons are under no obligation as regards the number of meals : and the bishop's dispensation takes away the obligation of abstaining from eggs and lacticinia. So far therefore as eggs or lacticinia are concerned, all restriction is removed.

The plain rule, then, is, that such persons can eat *toties quoties*, whatever the faithful of the diocese are allowed to eat at the principal meal—provided, of course, that the bishop does not expressly or virtually restrict the dispensation to the principal meal, for persons who are exempt from the obligation of fasting.

In very many, and, probably, the majority of dioceses in Ireland, eggs are not allowed during Lent as freely as lacticinia. For instance, they are usually forbidden on all Fridays. In such cases, of course, the law of abstinence obliges even persons under twenty-one years of age to abstain from them.

Sometimes, too, when eggs are allowed, the obligation of abstinence may be removed only from the principal meal, even for those who are not bound to fast. And it would seem to follow, from the Decree of 1863, that we should understand such a restriction to be conveyed, when the bishop, after allowing the use of eggs and lacticinia, expressly states that *lacticinia* may be taken *more than once* in the day.

As lacticinia are invariably allowed without any restriction, except on two or three days in the first and last weeks of Lent—Ash Wednesday and Good Friday in all parts of Ireland, and in many dioceses the Wednesday of Holy Week as well—the only question which can arise in reference to them, is whether persons under age can take them on those days.

The common law, binding all children who have attained the use of reason, to abstain from lacticinia, would undoubtedly render it unlawful for them to take lacticinia on any day when the bishop does not allow their use, even at the principal meal. But is this portion of the law binding in Ireland? Many continental theologians, especially German, French, and Belgian writers, state that the obligation of abstaining, even in Lent, from lacticinia, has, in many countries, long since, fallen into disuse. Thus, Laymann, writing in Munich La Croix in Cologne, Sporer in Passau, and Reiffenstuel in Ingolstadt, testify to the abrogation of this portion of the law

in many parts of Germany.¹ Collet gives similar testimony as regards France² and Henno, for Belgium.³

But in Ireland—and we may add in Belgium also⁴—there can be no doubt that the obligation of abstaining from lacticinia on some days of the first and last weeks of Lent, is still in force as regards the faithful generally. Are all children, therefore, who have attained the use of reason, bound by this obligation?

Bonacina, in his Treatise on Laws, referring to the opinion of several theologians who held that, by virtue of usage, children were exempt from it, at least for some time after attaining the use of reason, says —“*Consuetudinem non reprobō, ubi legitime recepta est.*”⁵

Of the existence of such a custom in some parts of Ireland, there can be no reasonable doubt; but whether it exists in any particular district is, of course, a question of fact which must be decided by an actual examination of the usage of the locality, and not by an exposition of theological principles. It may, however, be useful to observe that the fact of persons who are exempt from fasting *ratione ætatis*, making free use of eggs and lacticinia on days when the faithful of the diocese are allowed to use them at the principal meal, cannot be regarded as evidence of the existence of a custom exempting such persons from the law of abstinence. For we have seen that in such cases the use of eggs and lacticinia is permitted in accordance with the principles which regulate this obligation

¹ “In quibusdam Ecclesiis permittitur esus ovorum et lacticiniorum, etiam in quadragesima; sicuti in his Germaniæ provinciis.”—LAYMANN. *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. 4, tract viii., cap. i., n. 3.

“Quod autem attinet ad has partes septentrionales, saltem per consuetudinem absolute licita sunt lacticinia uti et ova per quadragesimam in diocesi Coloniensi, Monasteriensi aliisque vicinis.”—LA CROIX. *Theologia Moralis*. n. 1261.

“Jejunium requirit abstinentiam . . . in quadragesima ab ovis et lacticiniis, secluso privilegio et consuetudine contraria . . . quali de facto gaudemus Germani in omnibus Provinciis superioribus, nimirum ob penuriam ciborum quadragesimalium, præsertim olei et piscium.”—SPORER. *Theologia Moralis super Decalogum*, Pars iii., Appendix de Jejunio, sect. i., n. 54.

“In Germania ex antiqua consuetudine videmus permessa ova et lacticinia omnibus jejuniiis totius anni, idque factum creditur ob defectum olei atque aliorum ciborum quadragesimalium, qui alibi abundare solent.”—REIFFENSTUEL. *Theologia Moralis*. Tract x. *De Præceptis Ecclesiæ*. Dist. ii., n. 10.

² “En France, on peut manger du beurre et du laitage pendant le careme.”—COLLET, *Traité des Indulgences et du Jubilé*. chap. v., art. ii, § v., n. 4.

³ “Etsi prohibeatur ubique ovorum comestio in quadragesima non est idem de lacticiniis, ut caseo, lacte, butyro, quæ ex consuetudine recepta et juri communi derogante, conceduntur Belgis, et quibusdam aliis.”—HENNO. *Theologia Moralis et Scholastica*. De Virtutibus et Vitiis. Appendix ad tract i., quaest. i., concl. 2.

⁴ This is evident from a letter addressed by the Bishop of Namur to his present Holiness on the 22nd of February. 1858, in reference to the abstinence from eggs and the lacticinia required for gaining the jubilee of that year. The bishop says:—“In dioecesi Namurcensi jejunium rigorosum solummodo servatur die Cinerum et feria sexta hebdomadae sanctæ.”

⁵ BONACINA. *De Legibus*. Quaest. i., punct. vi., n. 8.

and independently of any usage at variance with it. The existence, therefore, of such a usage can be ascertained only by examining whether, in a particular district, a well-established custom has sanctioned the use of eggs or lacticinia by such persons on those days of special abstinence when eggs or lacticinia are not allowed at the principal meal to those who are bound to fast.

In some instances it may be found that usage has introduced a distinction between the various portions of this obligation; so that abstinence from eggs, for instance, would be regarded as obligatory for all children when they have completed their seventh year, or at least very soon afterwards, whilst the obligation of abstaining from butter would be considered to commence at somewhat later age; and milk would be given without scruple by pious parents to children of twelve or thirteen years old.

But there are probably few parts of Ireland where the obligation of abstinence, in its most rigorous form, is not generally observed by young persons, for some years at least before they become subject to the law of fasting—a usage in full harmony with the teaching of St. Thomas:—"Conveniens est ut etiam in hoc tempore ad jejunandum se exercent, plus vel minus secundum modum suae aetatis."¹

W. J. W.

ROMAN CHRONICLE.

ADDRESS OF THE LADIES OF IRELAND TO THE HOLY FATHER.

ON Friday, the vigil of the Epiphany, the beautifully bound, and tastefully illuminated address of the Irish ladies was presented to the Pope. Previous to its presentation it was kept at the Irish College, where many—not Irish only, but Americans, English, and Italians—had an opportunity of examining it, and all were unanimous in pronouncing it an excellent work of art, and a splendid testimonial of Irish faith and love for the Holy See. Monsignor Kirby, Rector of the Irish College, to whom was committed the duty of presenting it, desirous of giving to it the importance it deserved, obtained

¹ "Summa. In 2.2. Quaest, 147, art. iv., ad 2. Many reasons are put forward by theologians in support of this counsel:—"Confessarii aut alii quibus adolescentum cura demandata est," says Bonacina, "debent eos ad jejunium inducere, prout expedire judicaverint: tum ut adolescentes incipient assuescere jejuniis: tum ut turpes illecebras comprimant quibus quamplures saepius succumbunt; jejunium . . . remedium optimum est ad superandas tentationes et ad vitanda luxuriae peccata." (*De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*. Quaest. i., *punct. vii.*, n. 6.)

an audience for all the Irish residents in Rome, clergy and laity, in order that they might be present on the occasion of its presentation, and, by adding their voice to that of the Irish ladies, might testify anew, in their own name and in the name of the whole Irish people, their unalterable attachment to the Vicar of Christ, and their profound sorrow for the sacrilegious spoliation and persecution of which he is the victim. Accordingly, at half-past eleven o'clock on Friday, all the Irish residents in Rome assembled in the Consistory Hall of the Vatican, and shortly afterwards his Holiness entered, accompanied by Cardinals Barnabo, Berardi, and Sacconi, Monsignors Negroni, Pacca, and Bisogno, General Kanzler, and all the leading members of the Pontifical Court. Amongst the Irish clergy present we remarked Monsignor Kirby and the students of the Irish College; Rev. Fathers Mullooly and Costello, of San Clemente; Fathers O'Hanlon and Carey, and the students of St. Isidore's; F. O'Keeffe, Prior of the Augustinians; Dr. Smyth, Fathers Ffrench, Lambert, of the Society of Jesus; and Dr. O'Callaghan, Rector of the English College. There were also present Miss Sherlock, Miss Rea, Mr. Oliver, Count and Countess Redmond, Count and Viscount Baterot, Mr. and Mrs. Connolly, &c.

His Holiness looked remarkably well; his step was firm, and his voice as clear and sonorous as ever; as yet there is no sign of feebleness or old age on his person. When he entered he smiled affectionately on his Irish children, and said how happy he felt to be among them. When his Holiness was seated on the throne, Monsignor Kirby introduced Miss Sherlock, who read an Italian translation of the following address of the Irish ladies:—

“MOST HOLY FATHER,

“We, the devoted daughters of Catholic Ireland, kneel at the feet of your Holiness, desirous to give expression to the sentiments of veneration, gratitude, and affection towards your sacred person, with which our hearts are filled. Obedient to the teaching of the glorious apostle of our nation, St. Patrick, who declared that all who would be the children of Christ must be children of Rome, and treading in the footsteps of the faithful Irish people, who, through long ages of persecution, were ever devotedly attached to the See of St. Peter, we acknowledge and venerate in your Holiness the Vicar of Christ Jesus; the successor of the Prince of the Apostles; the centre of Catholic unity; the infallible teacher of all Catholic truth. With unbounded gratitude we recognise in your Holiness the tender Father who, when famine devastated our country, set an example of beneficence to the whole world by contributing

most generously to the relief of our suffering and afflicted people. Most Holy Father, we know not in what terms to express our feelings of sorrow and indignation at the recent iniquitous and sacrilegious invasion and usurpation of the Pontifical city and dominions—an act of outrage and injustice to which history furnishes no parallel. Our prayers and supplications are offered, and shall, without intermission, be offered, to the almighty and all-just God for your Holiness, with firm confidence that He, who sent His angel to loosen the chains of St. Peter, and snatched him from the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the Jewish people, will speedily deliver the successor of St. Peter from his persecutors, and will teach justice and the fear of God to the nations who now rage against the Lord and His anointed.

“May that all-bountiful God, who, for love of His Church, has already preserved your Holiness to preside over it during the same length of time as the Prince of the Apostles, prolong for many years yet to come your life on earth, that you may continue to govern His people by your wisdom, instruct them by your teaching, and sanctify them by your example. Most Holy Father, we all most humbly crave for ourselves and for our families the Apostolic Benediction of your Holiness.”

The beautifully illuminated volume, containing the address and names, was then presented to his Holiness, who examined it carefully, and expressed the greatest pleasure and satisfaction at the way in which the Irish ladies had shown their devotion to him; he observed in particular the beauty of the illumination and of the old Irish characters in which the address was written. The address was examined also by the Cardinals and Prelates present, and all were struck with its exquisite beauty and the admirable taste with which it was got up. It reflected immense credit on the King's Inns-street Convent School where it was executed. When his Holiness had made his remarks on the work of art thus presented by the Irish ladies, Monsignor Kirby read an address in the name of the deputation present, of which the following is a translation:—

“MOST HOLY FATHER,

“The sacrilegious crime committed against the rights of your Holiness and against those of the entire Catholic Church by the invasion of your States, and especially of Rome, has excited the indignation of the whole Catholic world. The grief which the Irish nation felt was intense, for it considered the crime as an outrage committed against its own existence as a Catholic nation. Nor could your Irish daughters remain aloof from sharing in the common grief. The injustice and

violence offered to your Holiness so moved them that words cannot express their sorrow, as it would also be impossible to describe the fervent prayers, the holy communions, and the other exercises of Christian piety which they continually perform, in order to obtain from Heaven those succours for your Holiness which are denied you by the powers of this world. In testimony of their devotion to the See of St. Peter, and of their filial love for your Holiness, they have sent the present address, as well as an offering of £3,000 which has already been presented to your Holiness. Miss Sherlock, of Dublin, distinguished for her zeal for religion, has just had the honour of reading that address for your Holiness. It has been signed by 200,000 of your Irish daughters, including those of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, to whom also the cloistered religious of Ireland have wished to unite themselves.

“And we, most Holy Father, Irish residents in Rome, approach your throne to give echo to the sentiments which our mothers, sisters, and other relations express in that address to your Holiness. With them, and with the entire Irish episcopate, clergy, and people, and in unison with the Catholics of the whole world, we declare our unalterable attachment to, and filial love for your Holiness, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the pastor and infallible teacher of the Catholic Church. We also protest against the sacrilegious violation of your rights, for we recognise in you the only true and legitimate Sovereign of Rome, and of the patrimony of the Church. Most Holy Father! to-day is the vigil of the Epiphany of our Lord, and it suggests to us two thoughts. One is that a miraculous star called the nations, in the persons of the holy Magi, to the cradle and to the faith of Jesus Christ. That star disappeared from the eyes of the Magi when they arrived in Bethlehem, but only to re-appear more luminous in the Eternal City of Rome, where it has shone for nineteen centuries in the Chair of St. Peter, to point out to all the mystical Bethlehem of the Church where Jesus Christ, His true faith, and eternal salvation are alone to be found. And now, in our days, this star shines forth with new brilliancy acquired from the definitions of the Immaculate Conception of Mary and of the Papal Infallibility. The splendour of this star—of this Chair of St. Peter—is increased still more by the glorious Pontificate of your Holiness, already prolonged beyond the years of St. Peter, by the innumerable benefits which it has rendered to religion, and by the heroic virtues of your Holiness, which every day render it more and more the admiration of the Christian world. The other thought suggested by to-day is this: The holy Magi going to the infant Saviour brought Him their gifts of gold, incense,

and myrrh. Imitating them, we also offer the incense of our fervent prayers that the Lord may preserve your life until you see the triumph of His Church: the myrrh of our sorrow at seeing continually the violence of which your Holiness is the victim, and the persecutions to which faith, morality, the clergy, the religious orders, and the sacred virgins of Christ are every day exposed. There is, finally, the third gift of gold: but this is only trifling in comparison with the necessities of your Holiness, and the love which we bear you. May your Holiness deign to accept these our fervent wishes and humble gifts, whilst prostrate at your feet, we humbly implore the Apostolic Benediction."

Monsignor Kirby having concluded his address, presented to His Holiness an offering in the name of those present.

His Holiness then made the following beautiful discourse:—
"This proof of the loving devotedness of the Irish nation to the Holy See is, indeed, nothing strange to me; for every year of my Pontificate has been marked by repeated proofs of such affection. Each year, and each season, but in a particular manner in the mournful circumstances of the present times, Ireland has multiplied her deeds of devoted attachment: She sent me her gold—she shed her blood in my defence. It is not many years since I saw in this city a band of Irish youths who came to devote themselves to the service of the Holy See, ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of justice and religion and the Throne of St. Peter. Therefore, I needed not this new proof to convince me of your affection; and yet such renewed protests are not without their fruit. They are welcome and dear to me, because they inspire me with fresh courage and renew my strength to combat the enemies of God and of His Church: May the Irish nation be ever blessed by God! May it ever prosper under the protection of the great St. Patrick, from whom it inherits such a spirit of love in the unity of faith and union with this Holy See. May all your holy desires be also crowned by the blessings of God, and when the end of your mortal pilgrimage shall have come, may you gather the fruits of faith when you shall need faith no more, but without its aid shall see God face to face, and praise and love Him for all eternity. This is the prayer which I to-day offer for you all, for your fellow-countrymen, for the 200,000 ladies who have signed this address. May 200,000 blessings be granted to them! Nay, more, again and again, a million times, may all those blessings of heaven be granted to Ireland which strengthen woman's weakness and redouble the vigour of man, and, together with these blessings, may the mercy and the graces of God for ever rest upon your country!"

After this discourse, at which all present were deeply moved, His Holiness descended from his throne, and each one had the consolation of kissing his hand and of having a few words addressed to him by the Vicar of Christ. One of the leading Catholic journals of Rome, *La Voce della Verità*, gave, on Friday evening, the 5th instant, an account of the audience, in which it mentions the address in the following terms:—

“The deputation presented to His Holiness a magnificent volume, a real *capolavoro* of perfect good taste, containing an address, with more than 200,000 signatures of Irish Catholic ladies, and at their head we read the most illustrious names of the Irish nobility—the Lady Mayoress, the Marchioness of Londonderry, the Countess of Granard, the Countess Dunraven, the Viscountess Castlerosse, &c. The binding is in green *marochino*, with most rich ornaments, among which we see frequently repeated the shamrock and the Irish cross. In the middle, on one side, are the arms of the Holy Father, and on the other the arms of Ireland. The writing is in the old most beautiful Irish ornamental characters. The title is a splendid piece of ornamental design, and the leading parts of the address are done on a ground of gold, written with a perfection which we have never seen surpassed.”

A letter from one of the ladies of the deputation to the *Wexford Independent*, who is herself an artist in illumination, gives the following description of the album:—

“I rejoice to see the beautiful art of illumination in the convents of the land which first gave it birth, for Ireland was a land of science, art, and intellectual education (as we see from her antique remains) when England was nowhere. The first five pages of the album are beautifully illuminated on vellum. It begins with the title-page—‘To His Holiness Pius IX., from his Devoted Daughters of Catholic Ireland.’ Then comes the address with the names of the committee and subscribers. The style of the illumination is Celtic (misnamed Anglo-Saxon, because the art was carried into English monasteries by Irish Monks), and the letters of the address are also of the Irish character, although the language is English. The combination of colour is most pleasing—scientific, I may say. The design simple, yet elegant, and in the best taste; and the finish and delicacy of execution perfectly exquisite. Altogether, I beg to offer my sincerest congratulations to Miss Alicia Ansel, of the King’s Inns-street Convent Schools, Dublin, to whose genius we owe this work, the beauty of which sheds not only a lustre on herself and teachers, but also reflects some back on her compatriots.”

FRAGMENTA HIBERNICA.

(Continued from page 135.)

AD hoc lux venit ut in tenebris versantem illuminaret—Is aire tra tanic intshoillsi, i. in Slaniccid, cotartad sollsi eolais ocus irse do Thomas boi indhorchaib aineolais ocus ainirsi.

Infer degitum tuum huc, et vide manus meas—Tuc domer ille, feg latt molama.

Id est, proba nunc quod prius dubitabi[a]s—Demniget innossa inni imarabi do chuuntabert ochian.

Parvum fuit oculis se videndum prebere, si non preberet etiam manibus contrectandum—Robo bec la hIsu athaidbsin do roscaib Tomais, minethidnaicend diathur ocus dia iarrad o lamaib.

Et affer manum tuam, et mite in latus meam, et noli esse incerdulus sed fidelis—Sin uait dolaim, ocus taber amthoeb, ocus nirbat ancretmech hosund immach, act corbat cretmech.

Non solum manus et pedes, ut ait Lucas, quibus indicat clavorum claruere vestigia, sed etiam latus quod unus militum lancea aperuit; ut Iohannes dicit, ostendit, videlicet, latus dextrum—Ninama tarfaid Isu sunn do Tomas folliuchta naclo ro thecht inalamu ocus inacossaib, amal innisis Lucas, act tuarcaib do slicht ingoi rothect ina thoeb, amal indises Eoin, i. inathoeb nhdes codemin.

Respondit Tomas et dixit ei—Ro [th] recair Tomas, ocus ise atbert :

Dominus meus, et Deus meus es tu—Is tu mo Coimde, is tu mo Dia.

Apte ab apostolo duobus nominibus appellatur, qui duobus substantiis humanitatis adunatur; qui duabus legibus, i.e., veteri et nova, predicatur; cuius precepto presens vita contemnitur et futura adquiritur—Cubad dogarar sund onaspul

TRANSLATION OF THE IRISH TEXT—*continued.*

Ad, etc.—For this the Light, that is, the Saviour, came to bestow the light of knowledge and faith upon Thomas, who was in the darkness of ignorance and unbelief. Infer, etc.—Put thy finger hither, behold for thyself my hands. Id, etc.—Confirm now that about which thy doubt existed for a long time. Parvum, etc.—It were a small thing for Jesus to show Himself to the eyes of Thomas, had He not allowed Himself to be felt and examined by the hands. Et affer, etc.—Stretch forth thy hand, and place it in My side, and henceforth be not unbelieving but believing. Non, etc.—Not only did Jesus then display to Thomas the manifest prints of the nails which He had on His hands and feet, as Luke narrates, but He showed him the print of the spear which He had in His side, as John narrates, namely, in His right side in particular. Respondit, etc.—Thomas answered and said: “Dominus,” etc.—“Thou art my Lord; Thou art my God.” Apte, etc.—Appropriately is he called by two names, by the Apostle, who is composed in unity of two natures, that is, of the humanity and of the divinity; who is proclaimed by two laws, namely, the Old Law, and the New Testament, and from

o dib nanmannaib intii tairises cohoentadach o dib naicent-aib, .i. hou doenacht ocus o diadat, ocus erdercaither ondib ractaib, .i. ho phetairlaicc ocus nuthiadnaisse, ocus isa comairle coma ainsium intshaegail ocus saint imon mbiad do-docaide.

Dixit ei Jesus—Atbert Isu fri Tomas.

Quia vidisti me, et credidisti—Uair itconnarcas, isaire romcredis ;—

Id est, quia vidisti signa passionis, credidisti gloriam resurrectionis—Uair itconnarcas comartha inchesta, isaire rocretis gloir na esergi.

Quia vidisti umanitatem, credidisti divinitatem—Uair atconnarcas mo doenacht, rocretis modheacht.

Quia vidisti oculis, credidisti corde—Uair itconnarcas o roscaib, rocreris ochride.

Beati qui me non vident, et crediderunt—Mogenar donforind nacumfacatar, ocus romcretsit.

Letificat nos valde hec sententia in qua, nimirum, nos signati sumus, sed si fidem nostram oberibus sequamur—Failt-nigid comor in taithesca int Shlaniceda nageinte. Aris dib roboi briathar occa sund, don forind narabater nafrenarcus, ocus ro chreit ho iris forpthe, ocus nosinntshamlaigend o chaengnimu.

Hille vere credit qui operando exercet quod credit—Uair ise iarthir credes coforpthe intii chomailles in maith cretes ho menmain.

Hic eis beatitudinis premia promittuntur qui Dominum oculis corporalibus non viderunt, sed corde credulo credunt, et hore confitentur—Tairngerid Isu sund finfed ocus fochraice forordai don forind na facatar horoscaib corpda ocus nos credet hocride ar medon, ocus nosfaismet o belai b sechtair.

Hec est enim vera fides ;—crede quae non vides, et quod

whose advice spring disregard for the world, and desire for the unending life. Dixit, etc.—Jesus said to Thomas. Quia, etc.—Because thou hast seen, therefore hast thou believed Me. Id, etc.—Because thou hast seen the signs of the passion, thou hast believed the glory of the Resurrection. Quia, etc.—Because thou hast seen my humanity, thou hast believed my divinity. Quia, etc.—Because thou hast seen with the eyes, thou hast believed with the heart. Beati, etc.—My blessing upon the people who have not seen me, and have believed me. Letificat, etc.—This declaration of the Redeemer rejoices the Gentiles very much ; for it was of them his words were on that occasion, of the people, namely, who were not in his presence, and who believed with perfect faith, and imitated him by good deeds. Hille, etc.—For verily he believes perfectly, who practices the good which he believes in his mind. Hic, etc.—There Jesus promised surpassing felicity and remuneration to the people who saw him not with corporal eyes, yet believed him with the heart within, and confessed him externally with the mouth. Hec, etc.—For, in truth, perfect faith is to believe the unseen goods, and keep the most divine precept with fortitude and perseverance, until through

ratione confirmas auctoritate custodias, ut ad veram speciem pervenias—Arisi anives forpthe iarfhir credeam na maithe nemaicside, ocus coimet na timna is diada cosonairt, ocus codling curonech trias in iressin cusinfhirkne, .i. cofegad De isin [fh] infed ocus isintshochradacht hita fiad aingliu.

Hec est historia huius lectionis—Ise sin etergna fhollas na liachtansa.

Hec hautem lectio sensum habet spiritualem ad Christum et ad ecclesiam pertinentem—Techtaid tra in liachtusa etergna siansaide is cubaid fri Crist ocus fris in eclais.

Mistice ergo hocto dies hocto libri sunt novi Testamenti, qui nomine dierum nuncupantur, quia sicut corporali lumine nostram corpus illuminatur, hita spiritali lumine nostra anima ad Dominum mandata dirigitur, Christo dicente—Mad iar sians tra na hocht lathi atberair sund, ise dofornet sin oct liubair nanufhiadnaise, ocus ainm lathi forraside ar a sollsi ocus ar anetrocta : uair amal inorchaiter incorp sechtair ho shollsi grene ocus narend archena, is amal sin inorchather in animn ar medon ho shollsi spiridalda na timna diada, amal demniges Isu feissin, conaber.

Si quis ambulaverit in die non hoffendit—Cipe imthiges is imlo, .i. cipe chomailles mothimmna, ol Isu, nocobenfa ailbeim.

Noffensum enim iter agimus si secundum Scripturarum divinam totius vitae nostrae cursum peragamus—Uair imdhigitne cen ailbem diatochaithem aimsir arnuli bethad dorer na scriptrai noibe.

Discipuli hautem intus significant aeclesiae[am], remotis Judaeis, et scismaticis et ereticis, et falsis fratribus in secreto dimisis sanctitatis suaesedibus socialiter pace sedere—Nadisciplu tra ar medon ise dofornet iar sians .i. ruin, in eclas do chumsanud co sidamal ina noime ocus inahinnracus fodessin iar nhdicher uathi Judaige ocus indiaigtaide, eritecda ocus brathar togaethach, ocus cec uilcc ar chena.

that faith the true appearance is reached, namely, seeing God in the felicity and splendour in which he is in presence of the angels. Hec, etc.—That is the manifest interpretation of this lesson.

Hec, etc.—This lesson has, moreover, a spiritual interpretation applicable to Christ and the Church. Mistice, etc.—For if the eight days are mentioned mystically there, they signify the eight books of the New Testament, which are called days from their light and brilliancy ; for, as the body is illumined externally by the light of the sun and of the stars likewise, in the same way the mind is illumined internally by the spiritual light of the divine precept, as Jesus himself certifies, when he says : Si, etc.—Whosoever walks in the day, whosoever, that is, practises my precept, says Jesus, shall meet no obstacle. Noffensum, etc.—For we walk without an obstacle, if we spend the period of all our life according to the holy Scripture.

Discipuli, etc.—Now the disciples within mystically signify the Church peacefully reposing in her sanctity and bliss, after expelling Jews and lawless persons, heretics, and false brethren, and every other evil.

Tomas hautem, qui abisus scientiae interpretatur, doctores aeclesiae significat—Tomas tra, dianad etercert anma abisus scientiae, .i. abis fessa, ise doforne naforcetlaide eolcha nasedhmand ineclas.

Si enim sine dentibus caput egrotat, hita sine doctoribus aeclesia non valet—Uair nach tarba in cend cena denta, hominigther na biada dona ballaib, is amal sin nach tarba in eclas cena hecnaide minigit glanruin na screptra noibe dona hiresechu.

Venit Ihesus—Tanic Isu chuca, doirsib foriata.

Significat signa adventus Christi, id est, pax, sermitas, concordia et fraternitas, unitas et caritas, mansuetudo atque simplicitas—Ise doforne sin iar sians, conid comartha techta Crist cusna hirisechu diambe occu sid ocus rethinche, cocridetu ocus brathardhacht, oentu ocus deircc, censa ocus diute.

Et stetit in medio eorum—Ocus taruster eterra ar medon.

Significat presentiam divinitatis Christi in ecclesiae Catholica permanere, sicut ipse ait—Ised doforne sin conid frecnairc Crist iar nadheacht don eclais noib, amal rothairngir dia aspalu, condhebert :—

Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consumationem seculi—Biatsa dogres, ol Isu, oc furtacht, ocus oc foiridin na hecailsi noibe.

Et dixit eis—Ocus ise roraid [f]riu, oc bennacher doib: pax vobis—Sid duib.

Significat Ecclesiam pace continere[i]—Ise doforne sin, conid imshid ocus imchocredetaid chongabar in eclas, amal rogell beos dia aspalu, con dhepert: pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis—Doberim mo shid duib, ol Isu, facbaim mo shid ocaib, .i. facbaim in sid nerchradech, boberim duib in sid suthain.

Tomas, etc.—Thomas, too, the interpretation of whose name is abyss of knowledge, signifies the learned instructors whom the Church possesses. Si, etc.—As the head is useless without its teeth, by which the food is made small for the members, so the Church is useless without her learned men, who explain the pure mysteries of the Scriptures to the faithful.

Venit, etc.—Jesus came to them, the doors being shut. Significat, etc.—That signifies mystically, that the signs of the coming of Christ to the faithful are their possessing peace and serenity, concord and fraternity, unity and charity, meekness and simplicity.

Et stetit, etc.—And he stood within, amidst them. Significat, etc.—That signifies that Christ is present in his divinity in the holy Church, as he promised to his apostles, when he said: Ecce, etc.—I shall be constantly protecting and guarding the holy Church.

Et dixit, etc.—And Jesus said to them, in blessing them, peace be to you. Significat, etc.—That signifies that the Church is preserved in peace and concord, as he also promised to his apostles when he said:—Pacem, etc.—I give you my peace, I leave my peace to you; I leave, that is, the very cordial peace, I give you the lasting peace.

(To be continued.)

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

=====
MARCH, 1872.
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“INFAMOUS PUBLICATIONS.”—WHO WROTE
THEM?

MR. GERALD FITZGIBBON, Master in Chancery, has lately published a pamphlet entitled “Roman Catholic Priests and National Schools.” His object is to call public attention to certain “Infamous Publications,” by Roman Catholic Priests. He says that he became aware of these publications for the first time on reading Mr. Leckie’s “History of European Morals.” He quotes from Mr. Leckie the following passage:—

“It was the custom then (*i.e.*, in the twelfth and following centuries), as it is the custom now, for the Catholic priests to stain the imaginations of young children, by ghastly pictures of future misery; to imprint upon the virgin mind atrocious images, which they hoped, not unreasonably, might prove indelible. In the hours of weakness, and of sickness, their overwrought fancy seemed to see hideous beings hovering around, and hell itself yawning to receive its victim.

“Few Englishmen, I imagine, are aware of the infamous publications, written with this object, that are circulated by the Catholic priests among the poor. I have before me a tract ‘for children and young persons,’ called ‘The Sight of Hell,’ by the Rev. J. Furniss, C.S.S.R., published ‘*permissu superiorum*,’ by Duffy, Dublin and London,” from which he makes extracts, which we shall see later on.

“Of this terrifying theology,” says Mr. Fitzgibbon, “I knew nothing, until I read Mr. Leckie’s note. But I am not so indifferent to the condition of my fellow creatures, both present and prospective, as to be satisfied with reading the small portion set out in his note, of what he designates as the ‘Infamous Publications,’ to which he refers. I have, therefore, read all the books written by Father Furniss.”

Fermenting with this newly acquired knowledge, “Protest-

ants and Dissenters," he cries, "believing that both you and your representatives in Parliament were ignorant of the kind of lessons prepared for the schools now imperatively, not to say insolently, demanded at your expense, I felt it as a duty to communicate to you the knowledge of these books to which my own attention was but recently, and accidentally called."

He considers that his discovery throws quite a new light on the question of National Education.

"I therefore say to all, whether Protestants, Presbyterians, or Roman Catholics, who would not send their children to the priests' schools, to learn the terrifying theology which they claim a right to teach, that the time has come, and the battle is at hand, in which it *must* be decided whether your children, and your children's children, are to be the religious and rationally adoring worshippers of an Almighty, whose attributes are infinite wisdom—inexhaustible goodness and mercy—boundless benevolence—and forbearing grace and indulgence to the frailties of his fallen creatures—or whether they are to be the benighted, quailing, terrified, and conscience-stricken slaves of a crafty and mendacious priesthood. These are the issues to be decided in this battle of the *priests*, which *must* now be fought, and which must decide tremendous issues."

What, then, has Mr. Fitzgibbon discovered? What are these "Infamous Publications," which have excited such horror in his soul, and have aroused him to go forth to battle?

They are the well-known work of the Jesuit Father Pinamonti, called "Hell opened to Christians," and ten little "Books for Children," by the late Father Furniss, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.

These books treat of many things besides hell. Their venerated author, who had consecrated the last fifteen years of his life almost exclusively to the care of children, has poured out his piety and the tenderness of his loving heart, in the first two books, called "Almighty God," and "God loves little children."

Few men have ever loved and laboured for children as did Father Furniss. But as it suits the purpose of Mr. Fitzgibbon to represent the good priest as a kind of ogre or child-devourer, he has carefully abstained from quoting either of these books, though he says that he has read them. On looking through his pamphlet again, we find we are mistaken. He has quoted *one* paragraph from the second book. Father Furniss seems to have fallen into some error in attributing to Blessed Bonaventura, when a child, more vocal prayer than she could possibly have said. Mr. Fitzgibbon eagerly seizes

on this very unimportant and harmless mistake, and sprinkles his page with notes of exclamation intended to indicate the credulity of Catholics and the knavery of priests.

We are sorry to say that this is but a specimen of Mr. Fitzgibbon's candour throughout. He has made no attempt fairly to represent Father Furniss's moral or dogmatic teaching. But he has searched through his books for extracts which would *tell* with his Protestant readers, even for mere expressions on which he could found a charge or an insinuation. Thus, if Father Furniss speaks of a child having "the misfortune to fall into mortal sin," Mr. Fitzgibbon prints the word *misfortune* in capital letters, because it suits him at that place, where he is giving the history of a horrible and deliberate murder, to *insinuate* that Father Furniss considers such mortal sin as rather a weakness than a crime. On the other hand, where it suits him to accuse Father Furniss of absurd and atrocious rigorism, he himself speaks, as we have seen, of God's "forbearing grace and indulgence to the frailties of his fallen creatures;" and then, because Father Furniss has spoken of a child in hell as "it," Mr. Fitzgibbon fastens on this pronoun, prints it for half a page in capital letters, and not merely insinuates, but declares, that Father Furniss must speak "of an infant, so young as not be, as yet, entitled to be designated as a person, *i.e.*, a rational and accountable agent." Candour would have taught Mr. Fitzgibbon that, as Father Furniss is writing for children of both sexes, he uses sometimes the convenient "it" to be more general, and not in order to designate infancy. Mr. Fitzgibbon has here made, not a mistake, but a deliberate perversion, for Father Furniss expressly explains that he is only speaking of children old enough, "knowingly and willingly to break God's commandments." Mr. Fitzgibbon has also read the examination which precedes the final sentence to hell, in which the plea of ignorance (a good plea sometimes) is supposed, *in the case*, not to be valid. But in reading this examination, Mr. Fitzgibbon was looking, not for explanations of difficulties, but for materials of accusation. He therefore finds a paragraph called "Examination about sins;" and another called "Examination about good works." Father Furniss has, of course, only enumerated such sins or good works as belong commonly to children. Remembering how Jesus Christ has taught us that, on the one hand, we shall give account even for "an idle word" at the day of judgment, and that, on the other hand, even a "cup of cold water, given in His name, will not lose its reward," Father Furniss has placed in his catalogues sins great and small—mortal and venial—as well as good works of various kinds and degrees. Mr. Fitz-

gibbon reads these catalogues. Works of piety neglected or performed come first, as belonging to the first table of the law. This will serve his purpose. So, referring to the examination about sins, he writes:—"The first and most prominent in this category of offences are stated to be 'morning prayers, and night prayers, how often not said? Curses, little and great—Mass not heard on Sundays—behaving bad in chapel.'"

Mr. Fitzgibbon says nothing of the sins which immediately follow in the list, which are "disobedience to parents; quarrels, fighting, hatred, revenge; immodesties in thought, word, and action; reading bad books; going into bad company; stealing, if it was only a pin."

How shall we qualify Mr. Fitzgibbon's conduct in calling those sins, which he selects, the "most prominent in the category," in order that he may insinuate that Father Furniss thrust little children into hell for nothing worse than omitting their prayers, or looking about them at mass-time?

Or again, how, but by retorting his own epithet of "mendacious," shall we qualify his conduct in composing his next paragraph? Wishing to insinuate that priests, like the pharisees, "tithe mint, and anise, and cummin, omitting the weightier things of the law, judgment and mercy and faith," Mr. Fitzgibbon quotes from the list of good works the following:—

"Every prayer the child said in its life—how often, on awakening in the morning, it made the sign of the cross, and said, Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, I give you my heart and my soul. How often it said its morning prayers; how often it made the sign of the cross before and after meals; how often it said, my Jesus, I do all for you; how often it said its night prayers, and examined its conscience; how often it heard holy Mass; how often it went to confession and holy communion; how often it made a visit to the blessed sacrament, and to the image of Mary."

Here Mr. Fitzgibbon ends his quotation, and makes this remark:—"Such are the first and most conspicuous in the list and record of the good works for which the child is to get credit."

He knew full well that, *immediately* after this list of acts of piety proper to children, Father Furniss gives the following:—"Every good work it did to the poor, how often it was obedient to its parents, how often it was kind to its companions, how often it read good books."

It would not serve Mr. Fitzgibbon's purpose to let his readers know that priests teach charity, kindness, obedience to

parents, love of reading, so he deliberately *suppresses evidence*. Mr. Fitzgibbon has had the bad taste to write, that if any of the Roman Catholic judges on the Irish Bench can believe the doctrines taught by Father Furniss, he is "disqualified for the seat of justice."

We will not say that any one who can sift facts and report on evidence as Mr. Fitzgibbon does, is unfit to be a Master in Chancery, but merely that we hope that no case in which Catholics are interested may ever be dependent on his fairness.

So much for our author's method. As to the topics he discusses they are many, besides the doctrine of hell, which first moved his bile. He touches on purgatory, masses for the dead, emblems of devotion, assassination, confession, home-rule, without any particular order. We cannot follow him over his whole ground. We will deal with some of his minor accusations however, before we enter upon the main topic—the *infamy* of picturing hell to children.

Some of our readers may, perhaps, remember how the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance laid his lance in rest to do battle with the giants, whom his distempered fancy made him see before him on the plain, flinging their arms about with blood-thirsty violence. They were but harmless windmills after all, grinding corn for the people's food, and the poor knight errant, struck by one of the sails, happily escaped from the encounter with a tumble on the ground and a broken rib.

We think Mr. Fitzgibbon has also mistaken windmills for giants. If, instead of standing aloof from the millions of his fellow-countrymen, he would have gone to witness a Children's Mission, that he might test his theories by facts, he would have seen hundreds of sweet, bright-faced, intelligent, happy children, throng with eagerness to the sermon, and when the sermon was over, and the preacher of God's terrors passed through the church, he would have seen these little ones, not shrinking from him in dread, but importuning him with smiles for a word or a blessing; and we should never have read those silly words about "benighted, quailing, terrified, and conscience-stricken slaves of a crafty and mendacious priesthood."

He might also, by the same easy process of verifying his theories, have learned another fact, which good sense alone would have taught one less prejudiced. Mr. Fitzgibbon, throughout his pamphlet, imagines that priests must make great income from the sale of "emblems," *i.e.*, scapulars, medals, crosses, and the like. Had he asked any priest he would have been told that commerce, *i.e.*, to buy at one price and then sell at a profit, is forbidden to priests and nuns; and that especially to sell anything that has been *blessed*, with

a charge for the blessing, is simony, forbidden by canon law as well as by the law of God.

Of course Mr. Fitzgibbon would not have believed a "mendacious priesthood" asserting anything. But a few hours' observation of the ragged children flocking to a mission, in a church where no entrance charge is made, and receiving *presents* of such emblems from nuns and priests and pious laymen, when unable to purchase in the shops, would have opened even *his* eyes to the fact, that to work for children must entail much expense and bring no profit to the priest.

Mr. Fitzgibbon is especially fired with indignation at the thought that "emblems" may be blessed, and may impart a blessing to those who use them. We extract a passage from his pamphlet, which is about the most curious specimen of misconception arising from prejudice that we have met with in controversial literature:—

"I know not to what extent these emblems are a source of revenue to the Church, but that the use of them is held to be of paramount importance may be inferred from the evidence of Mr. Grace as well as from that of the Cardinal. A power in the clergy to impart the virtues ascribed to these emblems, and the power to refuse, imports an extent of despotic authority, derived from God, from which no believer can possibly escape. When the view of death presents itself to the prostrate invalid, and a crucifix is offered to him, to which 'the strange undefinable power of ecclesiastical benediction, in his behalf, has communicated the body, soul, divinity, of the Incarnate Word, by an action more stupendous than the creation of the world, whereby the departing soul can speak up to heaven, and be heard and obeyed there, whereby it can spend the satisfactions of Jesus, as if they were its own, and can undo bolts and bars in purgatory, and chose by its determinate will whom it will liberate, and whom it will pass over.' What price, in worthless worldly wealth, can possibly be adequate to the value of such an emblem, especially when offered to him on his death-bed !!!"

Our Catholic readers will be startled at the supposed quotation in the above passage. They will wonder where Mr. Fitzgibbon heard of the mysterious crucifix "to which ecclesiastical benediction has communicated the body, soul, and divinity of Jesus Christ." We must solve the riddle for them. The words in inverted commas are Mr. Fitzgibbon's *interpretation*, made—we believe, in good faith—of a passage in one of the Christian Brothers' books, which he has himself correctly quoted at p. 60. The extract is as follows, and is itself borrowed from Father Faber's "All for Jesus."

“ ‘What goes to the saving of the soul?’ ”

“ The book answers—

“ ‘Allsorts of things—water—oil—candles—ashes—beads—medals—scapulars—have to be filled with a strange undefinable power by ecclesiastical benedictions in its behalf. The body, soul, divinity of the Incarnate Word have to be communicated to it over and over again, till it becomes quite a common occurrence, though each time it is in reality a more stupendous action than the creation of the world. It can speak up to heaven, and be heard and obeyed there. It can spend the satisfactions of Jesus, as if they were its own, and can undo bolts and bars in purgatory, and choose, by its determinate will, whom it will liberate and whom it will pass over.’ ”

Mr. Fitzgibbon, to whom, naturally enough—living as he does isolated from nearly all Christendom—all these theological and technical expressions are as great jargon as his own law-terms would be to a young lady fresh from a convent-school, rashly tries to interpret them without a guide. The first clause asserts that various material things may, by the benediction of a priest, be filled with a strange undefinable power. This, according to Father Faber, is *one* of the helps God has given the soul for its salvation. The next is the institution by Jesus Christ of the Holy Eucharist. This is expressed in the second clause—“The body, soul, divinity of the Incarnate Word have to be communicated to it (*i.e.*, to the Christian soul), over and over again.” The third is prayer—“It can speak up to heaven and be heard and obeyed there.” The fourth is indulgences—“It can spend the satisfactions of Jesus,” &c. We need not say that Father Faber’s rapid summary, of which the above is only a part, is not made for the instruction of the ignorant, but as a reminder to the well-instructed. Each phrase is the abridgment of a treatise of theology.

We do not, assuredly, blame Mr. Fitzgibbon for not being able to understand these phrases, but we do blame him for not asking an explanation, before he rushed into print, from some of “that large class of Roman Catholics, long and deservedly respected, and justly claiming credit for a full measure of learning and intelligence,” of whom he speaks in another place.

They would have told him that the second, third, and fourth clauses of the quotation are not, as he supposes, an amplification of the first, but distinct propositions. They would have informed him that the pronoun “it,” in the second clause, refers to the *soul*, not to water, oil, and the rest, and

that there is no ecclesiastical benediction to which the power is attributed of communicating the body, soul, and divinity of the Incarnate Word to a crucifix !

No doubt, such inquiry from living Catholics might not have converted Mr. Fitzgibbon to their faith, yet it would have prevented him from misrepresenting their doctrine, and attributing to them what never entered into any brain but his own. It would have taught him that the notion of a dying Catholic purchasing, at the cheap cost of all his worldly wealth, the marvellous crucifix, is a supposition in which he need not have indulged ; and it would have spared the three notes of exclamation with which he very properly qualifies it.

Let us suppose a parallel case. A priest unlearned in the law, finds in a legal handy-book the following account of the Court of Chancery :—

Qu.—"What goes to the protection of an orphan?"

Ans.—"All sorts of officials—chancellors, vice-chancellors, and masters in chancery, have to receive a strange, undefinable jurisdiction in courts of equity in its behalf. Petitions have to be filed, affidavits made, injunctions granted ; demurrers or disclaimers may follow ; counsel will plead ; interlocutory decrees will be pronounced ; facts have to be cleared up ; masters in chancery may examine these for years before they report. The report may be excepted to, disproved, and overruled ; or may be confirmed and made absolute."

What, we ask, would Master Fitzgibbon think of an ignorant priest, who, having stumbled on the above passage, should found upon it a tirade against masters in chancery, and paraphrase it after this fashion :—

"Masters in chancery have to receive an undefinable jurisdiction, by which *they* file petitions, make affidavits, grant injunctions and demurrers, disprove and overrule reports, or make them absolute."

And if, after this lucid *interpretation*, he should exclaim :

"Such a power in the masters in chancery, to grant or refuse injunctions, imports an extent of despotic authority, derived from the crown, which no citizen can possibly escape?"

We assure Mr. Fitzgibbon that the above is not a whit more foolish than his own language.

We have given this as a specimen of Mr. Fitzgibbon's blunders. There are many others equally ludicrous, which we have not space to notice. One, however, there is which cannot be palliated by ignorance of theology. He writes :—

"The portion of the Irish people, for whose edification these books were fabricated, are assumed to be of Celtic race. Dis-

senters from Roman Catholic doctrines are all confounded together, and spoken of as the Saxon invaders, and oppressors of the Celtic Irish."

Knowing, as we did, that Father Furniss, the author of "these books," was himself an Englishman, of an old Yorkshire family, and that his principal labours were in England not in Ireland, we were astonished to learn that he speaks of "Saxon invaders." Father Furniss was too well read in history to confound Saxons with Normans, and though he loved the Irish, he was too fond of his own country to make an Englishman, whether Saxon or Norman, a synonym for a Protestant. We have looked in vain through Father Furniss's books to find any expression on which Mr. Fitzgibbon could base his assertion.

But we have said enough on these incidental matters to show the animus of this author, as well as his incompetence to deal with questions of theology. Let us come now to the substance of his pamphlet.

Its object is to show that the teaching of Roman Catholic priests is so "hideously blasphemous," and so "marvellously adapted to promote and encourage the gratification of diabolical appetites," such as that of murder, that it is a crime in any government to subsidize schools under the control of priests. As one, therefore, of that small redeeming class of Irishmen "to whom nothing is so congenial as peace and tranquillity, nothing so essential as friendly intercourse, mutual confidence, universal toleration, and consequent liberty of thought and useful action," Mr. Fitzgibbon "has felt a goading sense of duty to raise his voice," at the evident risk of his reputation and even of his life (see page 87, 88) against the "debasing impressions and demoralizing despotism of the Roman Catholic priesthood, with which the rising and future generations in these islands are now menaced."

Having finished his task, he exclaims:—

"Is it not time for every man who is yet alive, and who has anything to lose, to get off the night-mare which paralyzes him, and to speak out—to get upon his feet—and to strike in defence of his liberty, his property, and his life!!"

Evidently, Father Furniss, whether he succeeds or not in terrifying children, has terrified at least one grown-up man!

Two Catholic doctrines developed by Father Furniss seem principally to have offended Mr. Fitzgibbon—that which declares hell to be the penalty for even one mortal sin unforgiven, and that which pronounces that the most grievous mortal sin is forgiven at once to the true penitent.

From these two doctrines preached to the people—so says

our Master in Chancery—come by logical sequence all the murders in the country.

How so, it will be asked?

Do you not see, says Mr. Fitzgibbon, that the murderer, thirsting for vengeance, and having heard that one mortal sin condemns to hell, waits till his enemy has committed even the least of that kind, such as losing Mass, and immediately shoots him, that he may send him to hell. Having done this, and thereby slaked his thirst for blood, he remembers the second doctrine, that even the greatest mortal sin, such as the murder he has just committed, will be forgiven at once to the contrite sinner, and therefore—but we must let Mr. Fitzgibbon tell us, in his own words, how the Catholic murderer proceeds:—

"His hands reeking with the blood of his victim, the murderer is to extend them towards Heaven and say, 'Oh, my God, I am very sorry that I have sinned against thee, *because thou art so good*, and I will not sin again.' As it may be some days or a week before he can go to confession, which is the *second* part, and the final completion of the remedy for mortal sin, he must instantly, after saying the act of contrition, *intend or resolve in his mind*, to go, as soon as he can, to confession; upon forming which resolution, he is on pain of committing another mortal sin, to believe, *and not even to doubt*, that, by the act of contrition and the intention to confess, 'he has become the child of God again!!'"

No Catholic needs to be told what an utter parody this is of the moral teaching of the Church and of the Catholic conscience. But on what passage of Father Furniss is it founded? Mr. Fitzgibbon quotes the following:—

"Jer. viii.: *Shall not he that falleth rise again?* If you catch a fever, you get rid of it as soon as you can. If you break your arm, you get it mended as soon as you are able. Do at least as much for your soul as for your body. If you commit a mortal sin, and you die with that mortal sin on your soul, you go to hell for all eternity! Therefore, do not keep that horrible monster, mortal sin, in your soul for one moment. But you say, 'What must I do? which is the way? how am I to get the sin forgiven?' Listen, and you shall hear what you must do: *Make an act of contrition directly, and go to confession as soon as you can.* Remember these two things.

"1. *After mortal sin make an act of contrition directly.* Do not delay for a day, an hour, a minute, a moment. Say any act of contrition; for example, the act of contrition of blessed Leonard: 'O my God, I am very sorry that I have sinned against thee, because thou art so good, and I will not sin

again.' But you say, What is the use of making an act of contrition directly after a mortal sin? I know I can get my sin forgiven by going to confession, but what is the use of making an act of contrition until the time comes when I can go to confession? I will tell you the use of it. It may be some days, it may be a week, before you can get to confession. Do you think God wishes you to remain in mortal sin for a week, or until the time comes when you can go to confession? Certainly he does not. But can you get your sin forgiven before you go to confession? Certainly you can. But how? Through the great mercy of God, at any moment of the day or night, whenever you will, if you make a sincere act of true contrition, with the intention of confessing it, at that moment God forgives the sin, and you become the child of God again. How good God is, that a sinner should not be obliged to remain in mortal sin, and a state of damnation, one moment longer than he wishes it himself! St. Thomas says: 'However little the sorrow may be, if it is only true contrition, it takes away the sin.' Q. 1, 3, 4. But you ask, what does St. Thomas mean when he says, 'that this sorrow must be true contrition?' He means just this, that you must be sorry for offending God *because he is so good*, and resolve not to offend him again. St. Alphonsus says the same. *De Pœnit. Perit. iv.*

"2. *Go to confession as soon as you can.* Besides making an act of contrition directly after mortal sin, you should go to confession, and *confess the sin as soon as you can.* First, because you are obliged to confess every mortal sin. Jesus Christ has instituted the sacrament of Penance, to forgive all mortal sins to those who are contrite of heart, and confess them sincerely. *John xx.*: 'Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them.' Secondly, although you may hope that the mortal sin has been forgiven, if you made a sincere act of contrition, still you feel more secure about the forgiveness of it, after you have received absolution in the sacrament of Penance."

The only remark we will make on this paragraph, and on Mr. Fitzgibbon's strange deductions from it, is, that surely, if this doctrine is so criminal, Father Furniss ought not to be singled out for reprobation as having taught it.

Mr. Fitzgibbon mentions a Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin—the Most Rev. Dr. Murray—"whose memory is, and will for generations be, justly respected by the friends of toleration and of Christian charity."

We know not whether Mr. Fitzgibbon will modify his estimate of Dr. Murray, or whether, on the contrary, he will

recover from his fears of the effects of Catholic teaching, when we tell him that the venerated prelate taught precisely the same doctrines as Father Furniss on the matters in question, and in still more powerful language. Dr. Murray has left behind him two volumes of sermons. There are, amongst others, discourses on judgment, and on hell, which in vividness of description equal or surpass the language of Father Furniss. They differ only in style, as the language of a bishop addressing his flock must differ from that of a priest writing for children.

We recommend to Mr. Fitzgibbon's meditation the following passage :—

"Sinners ! you have lent me your attention while I spoke to you of the overwhelming anguish of those companions in crime who have gone before you into eternity. Allow me now to say of yourselves, and I say it with a bleeding heart, that while you continue in your present state of enmity with God, though you may have incurred the guilt of but one mortal sin, it is as certain as the Word of God is true, that you deserve the same miserable doom—that, were you at this instant to die, you would fall with the rapidity of lightning into the same horrible dungeon of torment and despair. What, then, my brethren, let me ask you, is this scene of woe, the place in reality on which you fix your choice for your everlasting habitation ? With the graces of your God ready to support you in the way to heaven, with the invitations of Divine mercy sounding in your ears, and the glories of His kingdom beaming on your view, do you really choose to mark out your dwelling in eternal flames ? And when the prophet says : 'Which of you can dwell with devouring fire ?' (Isaias xxxiii. 14), are you ready to step forward and say : Yes, I am he who can not only brave the hottest vengeance of the Omnipotent, but who, in preference to the joys of heaven, which I reject, choose to plunge into the fiery gulf for ever ! O senseless man ! escape it while you may : you stand on the verge of a precipice ; one instant may complete your irreparable ruin. Is it not owing to the undeserved mercy of God that you are not now overwhelmed with despair among the damned ? Have you not reason to say with David : 'Unless the Lord had been my helper, my soul had almost dwelt in hell.'—(Ps. xciii. 17). Are you sure that he will wait for you one week, one hour more ? Are you sure that in one hour more the smoke of your torments will not already be ascending before His throne ! Oh, let this instant assure your return to God : put it not off till to-morrow : to-morrow may be too late Walk not in the way which led them to destruction. Again, I say to you, let this day, this hour, assure your sincere and final return to God. From this

moment make a total and eternal divorce with sin ; weep over your past transgressions in sentiments of deep compunction ; fly to the saving tribunal of Penance, where the blood of Jesus is still ready to plead for your pardon." . . (v. i., p. 110—112).

Such is the language of the venerable pastor, whom Mr. Fitzgibbon has justly praised. Will he now venture to call him, like Father Furniss, an abettor of murder, or to class his discourses with the books of Father Furniss, as "infamous publications?"

But, should he be resolved to include both bishop and priest in common reprobation, he must go further still. St. Peter is also, and still more, an abettor of murder on the same grounds. We suppose that no one who bears the name of Christian will deny that the Jews, who clamoured for the death of Jesus Christ, were as blood-thirsty and more guilty than even the assassins of Irish landlords. Now it happens that in the Acts of the Apostles we have the abridgment of some sermons addressed by St. Peter to these very Jews. If Mr. Fitzgibbon is indignant with Father Furniss that he says so little against murder, when writing for children, who are not much addicted to that crime, what will he say of St. Peter's address to the crucifiers of the Son of God? The first sermon is recorded in the 2d chapter of the Acts of the Apostles:—"Ye men of Israel," he says, "hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved among you by miracles. . . you, by the hands of wicked men, have crucified and slain." When he had finished his sermon, his hearers (we quote from the Protestant version) "were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and the rest of the Apostles: Men and brethren, what shall we do? Then Peter said unto them: Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you and to your children. . . then they that gladly received his word were baptized."

Father Furniss, addressing baptized Christians, says—"After every mortal sin 'repent and confess, and you shall receive pardon.'" St. Peter, addressing unbaptized Jews, says, "After your sins, murder included, repent and be baptized, and you shall receive pardon." Confession has been called a laborious baptism. Therefore, if Mr. Fitzgibbon is angry with Father Furniss for his easy terms of pardon, what will he say to St. Peter?

The second sermon is very similar. After reproaching the Jews for preferring the murderer Barabbas to Jesus Christ, and of murdering the Author of Life, St. Peter thus proceeds. He first palliates their guilt, and then promises immediate pardon to repentance:—

"And now, brethren, I know that you did it through ignorance, as *did* also your rulers.

"But those things which God before had shewed by the mouth of all the prophets, that his CHRIST should suffer, he hath so fulfilled.

"Repent therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.

"You are the children of the prophets and of the testament which God made to our fathers, saying to Abraham: *And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed.*

"To you first God raising up his son hath sent him to bless you: that every one may convert himself from his wickedness."

We cannot help thinking that had Mr. Fitzgibbon lived in the days of St. Peter, and been among his opponents, say, for example, among the disciples of Simon Magus, he would, by the same mode of reasoning he now adopts and with more plausibility, have proved that the Acts of the Apostles was an "infamous publication," and that life was not safe where men like St. Peter were allowed by the government to promise blessings to repentant murderers.

We are not aware that Mr. Leckie attributes to pictures of hell the extreme social consequences which the imagination of Mr. Fitzgibbon has conjured up. With the former they are consigned to infamy, as "atrocious images" which, once impressed upon the mind, will take effect in "hours of weakness and of sickness." This, of course, must be said on the supposition that there is no hell, otherwise, as St. Chrysostom argues: "If the thought of hell were not very useful, God would not have threatened it."

Shakspeare knew better than Mr. Leckie or Mr. Fitzgibbon the power of this thought, *when entertained*, to deter from crime, as also the wretched care some men take not to entertain it; when he put into the mouth of Autolycus, the "snapper-up of unconsidered trifles," the following prescription for a roguish life: "As for the life to come, I sleep out the thought of it."—*Winter's Tale*, act iv., sc. 2.

These authors are worse than Shakspeare's rogue, inasmuch as they would rid men of the troublesome thought of hell, not only in sleep but in waking hours. Mr. Fitzgibbon gives to his own pastors the (we suppose) well-merited praise that "They make sparing and rare allusions to that 'hangman's whip'—the fear of Hell. They do not presume to depict the torments reserved for the wicked. They pretend not that any human being ever had the privilege of seeing the dungeons of Hell, and of returning to describe the torments there inflicted. They presume not to pronounce against any man, or class of men, the dreadful judgment of never-ending tor-

ture ; and they caution all others to beware of committing such an offence—telling the proud in spirit ‘not to judge lest they be judged.’”

Thus, then, unless Mr. Fitzgibbon belie the gentlemen whose cause he defends, an Episcopalian church in Ireland must exactly verify the satire of Pope :—

“To rest, the cushion and soft dean invite,
Who never mentions Hell to ears polite.”

Catholic priests, however, who believe that at least one “human being,” whom they can trust, He who called Himself the Son of Man, our Lord Jesus Christ, did see the dungeons of Hell, and did describe the torments there inflicted, are not so sparing of their own delicacy, or of that of the souls committed to them ; and they do “presume to depict the torments reserved for the wicked.” Catholic priests also, though they judge no individual soul, have no hesitation in declaring to their hearers “what classes of men” will be doomed to never-ending torture. They tell their hearers that “he that believeth not the words of Jesus Christ shall be condemned.” They tell them what kind of men shall “be cast into the exterior darkness where is weeping and gnashing of teeth.” They tell them to what classes of men, placed on His left hand at the judgment day, Jesus Christ will say : “Depart from Me you cursed into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels.” They say, with St. Paul : “Know ye this and understand that no fornicator, or unclean, or covetous person (which is a serving of idols) hath inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.

“LET NO MAN DECEIVE YOU WITH VAIN WORDS. For because of these things cometh the anger of God upon the children of unbelief.

“Be ye not therefore partakers with them.”

Here, then, we join issue. Mr. Fitzgibbon would have Catholic priests as silent about Hell as his own ministers at the present day, and to silence them, besides the charge of abetting murder, in the course of his very incoherent pamphlet, he seems to take for granted these three propositions :—

1. That the priests who preach eternal punishment must be necessarily cruel tyrants.
2. That the people who believe it must be crouching and degraded slaves, moody and morose.
3. That it makes of God a monster, more like to Moloch than to Christ.

We must reserve the discussion of these assertions for our next number.

(To be continued.)

SOME RELICS OF THE HOLY CROSS, FORMERLY
PRESERVED IN IRELAND.

THE following documents, besides their value in connection with the precious relics which they authenticate, have a good deal of historical interest. They tell their own story simply and emphatically, and need no preface. Some of the names to which they refer are among those best known in our annals, civil and ecclesiastical. We shall only then notice briefly the lives of the two distinguished bishops whose signatures attest these documents.

DR. JOHN VERDON, Bishop of Ferns, was a native of the county Louth, a student of the Irish College, Lisbon, and P.P. for many years of St. Peter's, Drogheda. In the government registry of 1704, he returns himself as 41 years of age, ordained at Lisbon, in 1687, by Cardinal Verissimo, and Parish Priest of St. Peter's, Drogheda. We learn more of his life and character from a letter of James III. to the Pope, dated St. Germain, June 16, 1709. After deploring the fierce persecution still raging in Ireland, and the great want of priests, the Prince adds: "Quapropter Joannem Verdun, e clero seculari, S.T.D. et Vicarium Generalem diocesis Armacanae, virum magnae pietatis, prudentiae et zeli, multisque jam annis in vinea Domini cum fructu laborantem, populo ac clero imprimis gratum, nominavimus ad Episcopatum Fernensem in Lageniensi provincia, in qua non est alius episcopus nisi Dublinensis."¹

Dr. Verdon was consecrated in that same year, but we have not been able to find the exact date. The time of his death is also a little uncertain. It most probably occurred towards the end of 1728, or in the early part of 1729—(*Hib. Dominicana*, p. 504).

The biography of the other illustrious witness is better known. DR. MOYLAN was born in the city of Cork, September 17, 1735; studied first at Toulouse, then at Paris, where he was ordained priest in 1761. For a short time he had charge of a little parish in the suburbs of Paris, but felt himself called to a higher state, and entered a Carthusian monastery to carry out God's will more perfectly. His health, however, soon failed under the strict discipline of the monks, and he retired to Lisbon for rest and change of air. Soon after he returned to Ireland, where he was at once distinguished for zeal and prudence.

¹ The reader must remember that the Stuart family exercised their privilege of nominating Bishops to the Irish sees for nearly a century after the deposition of James II. We believe the last instance in which the "Pretender" used this power was in the appointment of Dr. Troy to Ossory, in 1777.

Dr. Moylan was elected Bishop of Kerry, April 15, 1775; and translated to Cork, to succeed the unhappy Lord Dunboyne, May 20th, 1787.

This meek and saintly prelate departed this life Feb. 10, 1815, in the 80th year of his age. He is buried on the Gospel side of the high altar in St. Mary's Cathedral, North Parish, Cork, beneath a white marble slab, on which is inscribed a chaste Latin epitaph, written by his friend, the "octogenarian," which commemorates the chief events and merits of the good bishop's reign.

The first manuscript, containing Col. Butler's deposition, and the attestation of Dr. Verdon, is one page of large folio, written in a clear hand, but has no seal, and is probably only a faithful copy, made certainly more than a century ago. This document has been religiously preserved by the clergy of Wexford, and is, we believe, still in their hands. We have copied the old spelling, capitals, &c., exactly.

RELIC of the HOLY CROSS authenticated

by the Right Rev. John Verdon, Bishop of Ferns.

I doe hereby depose and testify in the Presence of Almighty God that the Relicke of the Holy Cross in a silver case, which is at present in my custody, and has been so for several years past, has beene in my Grandfather, Edward Butler, of Mohikores time, as I have been credibly told, sent from Rome by the Right Rev. Fäther in God Nicholas Ffrench, Lord Bishop of Ferns, with authenticke attestation in parchment, and a great seal to it, of its being a true piece of the Holy Cross upon which our Blessed Saviour suffered, with Directions that it should be always carefully preserved, and kept from time to time in my said Grandfather's and his posteritic's custody, for the use of the Cathedrall Church of Fernes aforesaid; and for as much as the said authentick attestation from Rome, with some pattents and writings belonging to the said family, was lost in Crümwel's time, by the advice of the Right Rev. Father in God Doctor John Verdon, our present Lord Bishop of this diocese of Ffernes, have made this deposition before him, and doe certify the same under my hand and seale in my Chappell of Murphyn, Saint Basilius Day, being the fourteen day of June, in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, and in the seventy odd year of my age, to the End this my Deposition and Testimony may be preserved to posterity.

WA; BUTLER.

I do affirm Coll. Walter Butler of Murphyn, whose hand and seal is to the foregoing deposition, has avowed all the

contents, as therein inserted in my presence, and that having inquired into and examined all I could the Truth of the same, cannot doubt but the forementioned Cross, in a silver case, is part of the true Cross upon which our Blessed Saviour suffered, and that the same was sent with authentick attestation, as usual in such cases, by my predecessor of good memory, Nicholas Ffrench, Lord Bishop of Ffernes, to be kept and preserved for the Cathedral Church of this dioces: in witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day, year, and place as above.

JOHN VERDON.

DOCUMENTS and papers relating to the RELIC of the HOLY CROSS in the Ursuline Convent of Blackrock, near Cork.

Whereas, out of the Generall trust and confidence I have and do repose in Garrett Ffennell, Doct. of Physick, I have delivered him and permitted to his safe keeping a piece of the Holy Rood. I do hereby declare and will that the same shall rest and remain in the custody and keeping of the said Doctor Ffennell, or such other as by his will or otherwise he shall remitt the keeping hereof, and put it in such hands for any of my succeeding heirs of the house of Ormond as shall profess the true Catholick faith and Roman religion, and that the said piece of the Holy Rood shall be delivered to my said heir for professing the Roman Catholick Ffaith to remain as a sacred monument in my house. And in case the Catholick and Roman church do flourish hereafter in this kingdom as heretofore it hath, and that then it shall appear by any present Testimony or other evident probabilities that my successors have by the said piece, but by way of trust and safe keeping for the use of any church, convent, or other person or persons, spertuall or temporall, I do hereby upon my blessing enjoin any said succeeding heir to restore to the same as he shall see cause, and if not such cause shall appear to leave it as monument to my posterity. In witness whereof, I have here laid my seal and subscribed my name this 15th day of Feb., 1632.

WALTER ORMONDE.

Present, Edmund Pierce,
Edward Comerford.

Whereas Walter Earl of Ormonde, left a token in a green plush bagg for the use of my family in the keeping of Doctor Ffennell, which my grandfather afterwards put into your keeping, I doe therefore hereby order you to keepe the same till farther order from me. dated the 16th Jan., 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.

ORMONDE.

To Valentine Smyth.

INSTRUMENT concerning the portion of the Holy Cross enclosed in this green velvet bag.

This portion of the Holy Cross was deposited in the hands of Doctor Fennell by Walter Earl of Ormond in the year 1632. By him it was handed over to James 2nd Duke of Ormonde, who, in the year 1691, deposited it in the hands of Val. Smith, Esq., of Carrick-on-Suir, who gave it, according to the directions he had received from the said Duke, to Mrs. Ellen Butler, relict of Colonel Butler, of Westcourt, who left it, at her death, in the hands of Mrs. Margaret Kavanagh of Borris, wife of Richard Galway, Esq., of Kilkenny, who gave it to Mrs. Mary Kavanagh, of Borris, wife of George Butler, Esq., of Balleragget, who delivered it into the hands of the Right Rev. Francis Moylan, R. C. Bishop of Cork, to be disposed of by him according as it appears to have been the intention of the first possessor.

This 18th day of May, 1801, signed by me,

MARY BUTLER, of Ballyragget.
FRANCIS MOYLAN, B. of Cork.

WE, the undersigned, Francis Moylan, Rom. Cath. Bishop of Cork, do by these presents, certify that on the 6th day of the month of July, one thousand eight hundred and one, we have, after celebrating Mass, *de Cruce*, deposited in the Ursuline convent of this city of Cork, a portion of the Holy Rood in a silver case, which we received in a green plush bag from dame Mary Kavanagh, wife of George Butler, of Ballyragget, Esq., who received it from dame Marguerite Kavanagh, wife of Richard Gallway, of Kilkenny, Esq., with whom it was deposited by dame Ellen Butler, sister of John Butler, of Killeagh, Esq., and wife of Col. Butler, of Westcourt, who received it from Valentine Smith, Esq., and that I believe it to be, from the vouchers I have seen, a true portion of the Holy Cross; and, therefore, to be exposed to the veneration of the faithful.

Given under my hand and seal the year and day above mentioned.

FRANCIS MOYLAN, B. of Cork.

QUESTION REGARDING THE LENTEN FAST.

IN the diocese of Dublin, "whilst the law of fasting remains in full vigour, the law of abstinence is suspended until the 17th of March." Does this imply that all the faithful in the diocese, even those who are bound to fast, can take eggs or butter at the collation ?

The clause quoted by our correspondent, so far from implying that butter is allowed at the collation to persons who are bound to fast, furnishes, on the contrary, distinct evidence that it is forbidden. For, the obligation of abstinence alone is removed ; every restriction, therefore, which exists independently of the law of abstinence, continues in full vigour. But the use of eggs or butter at the collation on week-days during Lent, is at variance not merely with the abstinence, but with the fast as well. And consequently, the dispensation granted by His Eminence does not remove the prohibition.

That the use of butter at the collation on a fast day is forbidden by the law of fasting, is a plain inference from the principles laid down by the standard writers on this subject, and explained in the last number of the RECORD.¹ For, the law of fasting forbids us, except at dinner, to eat at all on a fasting day. A relaxation in the rigour of this law has, indeed, been introduced by usage ; but, to what extent ? No further than this, that a collation may be taken, the nature of which, in every respect, must be regulated by the approved custom of the country.² And since it is not usual, in Ireland, to take butter at the collation, it follows that, in this country, that portion of the law of fasting which prohibits the use of butter, except at dinner, still retains its binding force.

But it may be asked, do not theologians lay down this distinction between the obligations of fast and abstinence, that the law of abstinence regards the quality of food which may be eaten on a fasting day, while the law of fasting restricts its quantity ; if, then, the quantity allowed at the collation, eight ounces of solid food, be not exceeded, how

¹ See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. viii., No. 89, February, 1872, pp. 220-31.

² "Hoc præcipue advertendum est quod cum collatio ista sit per consuetudinem introducta, in ea non liceat aliud circa qualitatem, quantitatem et tempus, quam habeat consuetudo hominum timoratorum in unaquaque patria."—LA CROIX, *Theologia Moralís*, Lib. 3, pars ii., *De Fejunio*, n. 1297.

can the use of butter be a violation of the fast? This distinction by no means implies that the use of meat, eggs, or butter at the collation is consistent with the observance of the fast. The law of abstinence regards quality, inasmuch as it prohibits certain kinds of food—meat, eggs, and lactinia. The law of fasting does not, in this sense, regard quality; for the restriction which it imposes regards all food without distinction. But since it thus prohibits indiscriminately the use of every sort of food, except at dinner, it is obvious that, except at dinner, nothing can be eaten—meat, eggs, lactinia, fruit, bread, or any food whatever—except by virtue of a relaxation of the law of fasting. In consequence of the usage which has introduced the collation, this law has been relaxed to a certain extent. But the relaxation, as we have seen, does not extend to any sort of food, the use of which at the collation is not in accordance with the approved custom of the country. Hence, theologians teach that fish cannot be eaten except where custom warrants its use,¹ a restriction which, it is obvious, is imposed by the law of fasting, since fish is never forbidden by the law of abstinence. And so, too, in this country, since custom has not authorised the use of butter at the collation, it cannot be taken without breaking the fast.

Again, if butter were forbidden at the collation by the law of abstinence only, and not by the law of fasting, it could be eaten, in this country, at the collation on every fasting day outside Lent. For, outside Lent—for instance, on the Vigil of the Assumption—the law of abstinence does not forbid eggs or butter, but meat alone. The prohibition to eat butter comes therefore from the law of fasting which, since it forbids us to eat, except at dinner, anything not allowed by the approved custom of the country, prohibits, of course, the use of butter at the collation.

So far, then, as the collation is concerned, persons who are bound to fast are in precisely the same position as if no dispensation from abstinence had been granted. And this is the teaching of Saint Alphonsus:—"Dispensatis [ab abstinencia carniū]" he says, "non permittitur in collatiuncula alius cibus, nisi ille qui permittitur non dispensatis."²

But it is unnecessary to quote the authority of theologians, for the point has been decided by the Holy See. Benedict XIV., in his Encyclical *Libentissime*, written for the purpose

¹ A good deal of misconception exists in reference to this question. See Saint Liguori's treatment of it (*Theologia Moralī*, Lib. 4, tract. vi., *De Præceptis Ecclesiæ*, n. 1028).

² *Theologia Moralī*, Lib. 4, tract. vi., *De Præceptis Ecclesiæ*, n. 1027.

of removing all doubts regarding the effects of a dispensation from the obligation of abstinence, expressly declares that persons thus dispensed must, if they are bound to fast, eat only fasting fare at the collation.¹ And a few years afterwards, Clement XIII., renewing the Decree of his predecessor, severely reprobated the doctrine that lacticinia may be taken at the collation by a person bound to fast, but dispensed from the obligation of abstinence. In his Bull, *Appetente*, after exhorting Bishops to root out every custom and novel doctrine at variance with the observance of the ecclesiastical fast, among which, he says, this doctrine must no doubt be reckoned, he goes on to declare that all persons dispensed from the obligation of abstinence are, except as regards the principal meal, on precisely the same footing as if they had received no such dispensation—"Tam dispensatos a carnium abstinence, quam quovis modo jejunantes, *unica excepta comestione, in omnibus aequiparandos iis esse quibuscum nulla est dispensatio*; ac propterea tantummodo ad unicam comestionem posse carnem vel quae ex carne trahunt originem,² adhibere."³

W. J. W.

¹ "Respondemus . . . quibus concessum est vesci carnibus . . . opus habere in refecti-
uncula *eo cibo eaque portione uti*, quibus vescuntur homines jejunantes rectae et
meticulosae conscientiae."—Encycl. *Libentissime* (10 Jun. 1745).

The following passage, in which his Holiness explains in this Encyclical, the
circumstances in which a general dispensation from the law of abstinence may be
granted, is not without interest at present :—"Quindecim abhinc annis per totam
fere Europam morbus invaluit . . . ita ut ex una civitate in aliam, ex una provin-
cia in aliam, haec funesta lues promanaret . . . Si medicinae professores
acciti, monitique graviter ut nihil a veritate alienum respondeant . . . fatean-
tur . . . morbum esse talis naturae . . . ita ut nulla aetas libera et
incolumis esse queat : et affirmant illis ipsis qui inter cives salvi et integri numer-
antur, eandem perniciem imminere ; id preterea conferre plurimum ad ejusmodi
luem depellendam aut evitandam, si tum aegrotantes tum sani a piscibus et
oleo . . . abstineant . . . tunc procul dubio causa sufficiens judicanda est . . .
et quae semper probata et in posterum probanda videtur, ut nempe populus
. . . a carnibus abstinendi praecepto non teneatur."

² In explanation of this clause, S. Alphonsus (*Theologia Moralis*, *ibid.*), quotes
the words of the Canon Law :—"Quae trahunt originem sementinam a carnibus,
ut sunt ova et lacticinia."—*Can. Denique*, dist. ii.

³ BULLA CLEM. XIII. *Appetente* (20 Dec., 1752).

FRAGMENTA HIBERNICA.

(Concluded from page 240.)

Infer digitum tuum huc—Tuc domer ille.

Significat ecclesiam vocari ad fidem per gratiam Spiritus Sancti, qui est digitus Dei—Ise deforne sin in eclas do thocured cohiris, ocus co cretium tria rath in Spiruta noibe, dianad ainm inscriptuir, Degitus Dei, .i. mer De. Isaire tra doberair ainmm meoir for in Spirit noeb, uair amal inchoisces fer cumachtach ona meor ingnim is ail lais dogenam diathimthirib, is amal sin rofhailsig intather nemdai donahiresechu aruine ocus a derrite trias an Spirit noeb; no amal is tri halta atat is in meor, is amal sin ise in Spirit noeb in tres persa na deachta uaisle.

Vide manus meas—Feg latt molama.

Id est, crede humanitatem et potestatem meam—Credit mo doenacht ocus in chumachta fuarus on athair nemdai, amal chomaides Isu ria aspalu conabair.

Data est mihi omnis potestas in coelo et in terra—Tucad damsá, ol Isu, comus cec neich bus maith liumm dodenam anim ocus hi talmáin.

Et afer manum tuam, et mitte in latus meum—Sin uait do laim ocus tabair amthaeb.

Id est, in Scripturam sanctam,—Creit isinscriptuir noib fhaisnedes glanruín mochuirpsiocus mfhola.

Respondit Tomas, id est, credit ecclesiae[a], decete scriptura—Ro[fh]recair Tomas .i. cretid eclas innufhiadnaise cec maith forchanus in scriptuir diada.

Et dixit: Dominus meus et Deus meus es tu—Ise atbert; istu mo Choimdiu, istu mo Dia.

TRANSLATION OF THE IRISH TEXT—*continued.*

Infer, etc.—Put thy finger hither. Significat, etc.—It signifies that the Church is invited to faith and belief through the grace of the Holy Ghost, whose name in Scripture is digitus Dei, finger of God. The name finger of God is given to the Holy Ghost, because as a powerful man points out with his finger the work which he wishes to be done by his attendants, so the heavenly Father manifested to the faithful his mysteries and secrets through the Holy Ghost. Or, as there are three joints in the finger, so the Holy Ghost is the third person of the noble divinity.

Vide, etc.—Behold for thyself my hands. Id, etc.—Believe my humanity and the power I received from the heavenly Father, as Jesus testifies to his apostles, when he says: Data, etc.—There hath been given to me ability to do every thing I wish in heaven and on earth.

Et afer, etc.—Stretch forth thy hand, and place it in my side. Id, est, etc.—That is, believe in the holy Scripture, which discloses the pure mysteries of my Body and my Blood.

Respondit, etc.—Thomas answered, the Church, that is, of the New Testament believes every good which the Scripture proclaims.

Et dixit, etc.—What he said was: Thou art my Lord; Thou art my God.

Significat fideles divinitatem et umanitatem Christi credentes—Is doforne sin iar sians nahiresechu credit coforphthi deacht ocus doenacht anoentaïd oen persaine hi Crist.

Hec iuxta sensum dicta sunt—Is sin etergna shiansaide naliactansa.

Moraliter hautem octa dies octa virtutes animae sunt quibus unusquisque iustus regnum pertingit eternum—Mad iar mbestataïd tra na hocht lathi atberair sund, ise doforne sin, na hocht sualci enechdai triasaroichend cec firen dochum nime.

Primae virtus animae fides, secunda castitas, tertia humilitas, quarta caritas, quinta prudentia, sexta temperantia, septima fortitudo, octava iustitia—In cetna suaïg dib sin in ires, in tanaise in genus, in tres in umaloit, in cethrumad in dercc, in cuiged in trebaire, in sesed in mesardhacht, in sechtmad int shonarti, intochtmad in fhirinde.

Discipuli hautem Christi qui intus perseverant, id est, perfecti omnes, qui semet ipsos considerant, qui semet ipsos discipiunt, qui nec proximos iudicant—Deisciplu tra Crist ar medon ise doforne sin, na doine foirpthe nosfegat fen cofuirecher, ocus nosderoiliget fen ar inisle, nimidet traacoibnestu.

Qui sic vivit intus videtur, et inter discipulorum Christi vere connumeratur—Inti ordaiges a bethad fon indussin is ar medon ata, ocus is airmide iarfhir etar desciplu Crist.

Tomam hautem moraliter nosbiscum tenemus, qui abisus scientiae interpretatur, si cuncta quae agimus per spiritum sapientiae secundum Scripturam ordinemus—Is ann tra thecht-mait iar mbesdataïd Tomas, dianad eterchert iar tinntud anmma abisus scientiae, imad fessa, intan ordaigimit ar nuli gnimradu iar comairle inecnai, ocus na screbtra noibe, ar is dorcha cec oen inecmais ecnai.

Sapientiae enim nos illuminat, ipsa nos ordinat, ipsa nos s[u]adet mundum discipere, Deum diligere, nudos vestire, pau-

Significat, etc.—That mystically signifies the faithful, who believe perfectly the divinity and humanity in the unity of one person in Christ. Hec, etc.—That is the mystical interpretation of this lesson.

Moraliter, etc.—But, if the eight days are there mentioned morally, they signify the eight excellent virtues by which every faithful person reaches heaven. Primae, etc.—The first virtue of those is faith; the second, chastity; the third, humility; the fourth, charity; the fifth, prudence; the sixth, temperance; the seventh, fortitude; the eighth, justice.

Discipuli, etc.—The disciples of Christ within signify the perfect persons who examine themselves diligently, and humble themselves because of their lowliness; and who, moreover, do not judge their neighbours. Qui, etc.—He who regulates his life in that manner is within, and truly reckoned amongst the disciples of Christ.

Tomam, etc.—Then, indeed, we morally possess Thomas, the interpretation of which name, according to the sense of the word, is much knowledge, when we regulate all our actions according to the advice of wisdom and the holy Scripture, for dark is every one in the absence of wisdom. Sapientiae, etc.—For it is wisdom enlightens and regulates us; wisdom also enjoins on us hatred of the world and

peres satiare, caduca contempnere, aeterne complecti—Arise in ecna non imorchaigend ocus nonordaigend, ise din erailes oirn miscais intshaegail, ocus grad do Dia, biad do bochta, etach do nochta, dinsem na nercrahide, ocus saiter na suthaine.

Omnia bona quae agimus esse bona per sapientiam noscimus, et mala quae fugimus esse mala per sapientiam discimus—Uair na maithe do gniam ise inecna erailes ornn a nhdenam, ocus na hulca imgabamit ise inecnai erailes ornn laim do thabert friu, ocus a nimgabail.

Venit Ihesus, ianuis clausis—Ocus tanic Isu anhdochum, doirsib foriata.

Id est, Christus ad nos, sensibus nostris contra malai obdunatis, intrare festinat—Ised doforne sin, .i. hodunmaitne ar cetfaide fria cec nolcc, ocus fricec nanoirches, connic Crist do fhedliugad ocus do aittreb induind.

Oportet enim ut nostra visio corrumperetur, ne aliena concupiscat, ne rem proximi desideret, ne seculi vanitatis occupetur, ne preconum aspectibus dilectetur, ut possinus cum profeta dicere—Uair dlegar dinn arnimcaissin dothimorcain, naroshanntaigemmm indmas in choibnesaim cohinilmain, naron-tairmescther ho dimaines ocus o anoirches intshaegail, narup oirfited lind fegad furseori ocus daine descairdechu, acht condheb inni atber infaid, oculi mei semper ad Dominum—Mo-roise ocus mindfethium cus in Choimidid dogres, ol infaid.

Oportet quoque ut aures claudant[ur], ne vocem [vox] obtrectoris recipiatur; in hoc enim pene vitium universum genus humanum labitur; ne verbum otiosum audiatur, ne otiosis et inanibus fabulis dilectentur—Dlegar tra coimet inet-sechta, naraoetsium coherfhetech fri hecnach na adchosan, uair is mor is lethreta in cined doenna fris in dualaigsin inecnaig, naropoirfited lind tra etsecht fri briatraib dimaine, na fri sclaiab anoirchessa intshaegail.

love of God; food to the poor, clothing to the naked; indifference to the transitory and zeal for the abiding. Omnia, etc.—For the good deeds we do, wisdom it is which enjoins us to do them; and the evils we avoid, wisdom it is which enjoins us to put them from us, and avoid them.

Venit, etc.—And Jesus came to them, the doors being shut. Id, etc.—That signifies when we close our senses against every evil and every vanity, Christ comes to rejoice us, and dwell in us. Oportet, etc.—For it is right, indeed, that our vision should be checked, that we may not desire the wealth of a neighbour with excessive longing; that we may not be confused by the indolence and vanity of the world; that we may not be pleased with beholding flatterers and uncharitable persons, but say what the Prophet says: Oculi, etc.—My sight and my intentions always towards the Lord, saith the Prophet.

Oportet, etc.—It is right too to guard the hearing, that we may not eagerly listen to the blasphemy of detractors, for very much inclined is the human race to this vice of blasphemy; and moreover, that listening to idle words or useless tales of the world may not be agreeable to us.

Oportet quoque labia obstruantur, ne mendacia loquantur, ne stultiloquia, ne scurrilia, sed sobria, et pia, et iusta, ne respondeatur maledicumpro maledico, sed cum David dicatur—Is coir dun tra srian do thabert riarmbeol, naroluaidemm breicc no borberlabra, na briatra doescairdechu, acht corolabram briatra cundla craibdecha, na tardum mallachta ar mallachtain, act corochanumm inrochan infaid remuind, conepert: Benedicam Dominum in homni tempore—Bennachfat dogres in Coimdid, ol in faid.

Istis ergo sensibus per ordinem obstructis, Christus in suum templum adest, et pacem inter corpus et animam facit, ut caro subdatur spiritui et spiritus Deo, terrena desserens desiderio Christi inardescat, ut cum Apostolo dicat—Ho dunmait ar cefadai fon indussin fria cec nanoirches, ticc Crist chucaind diarnoemad oculus diarnaittreb, oculus dogni sid eter ar corp oculus ar nanmain, corrupriarach ar coland di arnanmain, oculus ar nanimm do Dia, condhergem na maithe talmandai ar grad Crist, oculus conepram immaille fris in aspul: Utinam densolvi, et esse cum Christo—Ropad he momian, ar intaspul, etarscarad mo chuirp oculus manmma, ar daig combeind immaille re Crist.

Hec iuxta moralem intelligentiam—Ise sin eterгна besta na liachtanaso.

Hocta hautem dies secundum anagogen hocta tempore vitae sunt—Mad iarnagoig tra na hocht lathi atberair sunn isin dofornetisin, ocht naimsera in betha doennai.

Expletis enim sex vitae presentis temporibus, et tempore sanctorum patrum requiescendi extra corpus consummato, octavum tempus futuri examinis adveniet—Uair iarforba sesed noes intshaegail hi fhus, oculus in sechtmad oes hicomshined friu, .i. oes cumsanta nafhiren iar scara fria a corp, doraga indsin intochtmad oes, .i. oes fluigell bratha. Din bedit desciplu Crist ar medon, .i. in eclas ulide, oculus comthinol

Oportet, etc.—It is proper for us also to place a restraint upon our month, that we speak not falsehoods or proud and uncharitable, but modest, charitable words; that we give not curses for curses, but sing what the prophet formerly sang, when he said: Benedicam, etc.—I will bless the Lord for ever, saith the prophet.

Istis, etc.—When we close our senses in that manner against every vanity, Christ comes to us to sanctify us, and dwell in us, and makes peace between our body and soul, that so our body be obedient to our soul, and our soul to God; that we may avoid earthly goods through love of Christ, and say with the apostle: Utinam, etc.—It were my wish that my body and soul should separate, that I might be with Christ. Hec, etc.—That is the moral interpretation of this lesson.

Hocta, etc.—If, however, the eight days are there mentioned anagogically, they signify the eight periods of human life. Expletis, etc.—For after the completion of the sixth age of the world, and the addition of the seventh age, the age, that is, of the rest of the faithful after parting with their bodies, then comes the eighth age, namely, the age of waiting for the judgment. The disciples of Christ will be within too, that is, the whole Church and the universal congregation

coitchend nashirian airmither ar chorp do Crist, biaid a noibnesaib¹ ocus inoireraib na flatha nemdai.

Et Tomas cum eis, id est, abisus scientiae—Biaid Tomas imalle friu, immad fessa.

Non enim tunc latebit quod nunc latet—Uair nibahanfhollas donafhirenu thall cec ni is anfhollus doib ifhuis.

Nulla enim erit ignorantia quando fons scientiae potabitur—Uair nibia doib nach naneolas intan ibdait nafireoin topur infhirfessa, ocus infirecnaí.

Nulla tenebre erunt quando vero lux apparebit—Nibia tra docha and, ar bid follus do chach infhirshollsi.

Tunc tota Trinitas apparebit—Isand sin busfollus in Trinoit donafirenuib.

Tunc humanitas Christi apparebit—Isand sin arthraigfes doennacht Crist.

Ubi enim fuerit corpus, illic congregabunt aquile—Uair du ambia doennacht Crist, isann berther nanoib ocus nafhireoin.

Januis clausis—Dorsib foriattaib.

Tunc enim ianua regni celestis clusa erit—Ised doforne-sin comba duntai illo bratha doras naflatha nemda fris inuli peccachu.

Nullus enim fornicator, nullus avarus, nullus iracundus, nullus superbus, nullus invidus, aut dolosus in illud celeste regnum intrabit—Uair niraga etradach, na sanntach, fergach na diumsach, formtech na celgach is inflaith nemdai.

Nulli denegabitur digno, nulli prestabitur indigno—Nigetar ar nach sindraicc, ni tidnustar donach esindraicc.

Tunc summa pax erit, summa quies—Isand sin bess sid ocus cumsanud fororda dona noemaib ocus donafirenu.

Nullus labor, nullus dolor—Nibia doib saeth na galar.

of the faithful, who are reckoned as Christ's Body, will be in the delights and honours of the heavenly kingdom.

Et Tomas, etc.—And Thomas, that is, much knowledge, will be with them. Non, etc.—For every thing will not be dark to the faithful there which is dark to them here. Nulla, etc.—For the faithful shall have no ignorance, when they drink of the well of true knowledge and true wisdom. Nulla, etc.—There shall be no darkness there, for to each shall the true light be manifest. Tunc, etc.—There shall the holy Trinity be manifest to the faithful. Tunc, etc.—There shall appear the humanity of Christ. Ubi, etc.—For where the Humanity of Christ is, thither shall the saints and just be carried.

Januis, etc.—The doors being shut. Tunc, etc.—That signifies that the gate of the heavenly kingdom shall be shut against all sinners on the day of judgment. Nullus, etc.—For the fornicator or the avaricious, the passionate or the proud, the envious or the deceitful, shall not enter into the heavenly kingdom. Nulli, etc.—It shall not be refused to any worthy person; it shall not be granted to any unworthy person. Tunc, etc.—Then shall there be peace and tranquillity for the saints and the faithful. Nullus, etc.—They shall not have labour or disease.

¹ This word proves the inaccuracy of Dr. O'Donovan's assertion, that oibnes wants the plural.—(Ir. Gram., page 94).

Nec paupertas nec senectus—Nibia doib bochtai na senntai.

Nec ulla mors, nec ulla nox—Nibia tra doib bas na dorcha.

Nec ulli cibi desiderium, nullum sitis aggrab[v]at incendium—Nibia din mian bid na dige.

Sed erit presentia umanitatis et divinitatis Christi et presentia summae sanctae Trinitatis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti—Acht biaid ann frecnarcus deachta ocus doennachta Meic De, ocus frecnarcus na noeb Thrinoti, Athar, Meic, ocus Spiruta noibe. Alim trocaire De uli cumachtaig; rohisam uli ionentaidsin in secula seculorum. Amen.

Nec, etc.—They shall not have poverty or old age. Nec, etc.—Moreover, they shall not have death or darkness. Nec, etc.—They shall also not have a desire for food or drink. Sed, etc.—But there shall be the presence of the Divinity and Humanity of the Son of God, and the presence of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

I beseech the mercy of God Almighty; may we all reach that Unity for ever and ever, Amen.

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON, S. J.

(Continued from page 220.)

LET us listen a little longer to F. FitzSimon's own account of his conversion. He says:—

“Because I embraced the Holy Catholic Faith, Mr. Hewetson terms me an apostate, and so does Mr. Rider, who tried to corrupt me and win me back with the promise of a prebend. I cannot hate the person of one sometime deluded, considering my own misfortune to have been miscarried. Ignorance of childhood and blind education deceived me. I was defiled, I confess, with the same or like errors which I now discover and prosecute. Why do I spend so precious time and so much pains? Only to confound my errors and to do satisfaction to truth and religion which I impugned.”¹ “This also was the cause that, for two years after my return to Dublin, I was burning to dispute with the ringleaders of the Reform—I wished it even, for this reason alone, that where my error had given disedification, my condemnation of error might wipe away the stain.”²

“I confess to the temperate Protestant reader to have been a long time brought up in Protestantie, and to have waded therein with confidence, professing it in Catholic countries, not

¹ “Confutation,” p. 273, etc.

² Dedication of “Britannomachia,” to F. General Aquaviva.

without as well *danger as firm intention to have died for it*. And when I did abandon it, it was not for any greater temporal preferment as is known publicly by what I then was, and by what possibilities I had in respect of what I now am, and do pretend to be.”¹

“The cause of my first conversion from it was, principally, because I observed the form of belief called the Creed and the Reformed Gospel, to be, in all articles, opposite to one another. I report me even to your arbitrament therein, after reading my examination of the Protestant belief towards all the articles of the Creed, whether I had mistaken or no. Next, as after I addicted myself to the divers controversies of both sides, examining them curiously, with their allegations, I was much more confirmed to be a Catholic, by viewing, beside the Creed, all the whole doctrine of Christianitie from Christ’s time, hitherto to be wholly repugnant to Reformations; and when Reformers pretended the contrary—that they and the ancients did not disagree in religion—such imposture I found to be so enormously sycophantical and hypocritically pretexed, that I blushed to have ever been of that profession, which could neither purchase nor retain any virtuous mind, but by such forging and dissembling to be that most which, according to truth and plain dealing, with all vehemencie, it contradicted and was least. So is it plainly confessed by Eber, who succeeded Luther and Melanchthon at Wittemberg. Lastly, when I came to God’s Holy Book, the divine Scriptures, and compared them in their originals to the translations of Reformers, and these to them, I then, indeed, viewed all to be treason and traps—all to be a transfiguration of the angel of darkness into an angel of light, and true godliness to be, as Christ in his passion, blasphemed, derided, spoiled, crucified, and buried. So with me, it all rose the third day, and appeareth after with hands, side, and feet pierced in such palpable manner that, of a doubtful disciple, by so manifest revelation, I then and now say, ‘My Lord and my God,’ as he then and now answered my soul, ‘Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed.’”²

“Now, Mr. Rider counsels me to go back to Protestancie, and he would corrupt me with a prebend. I have chosen for my counsellor the Word of God to be my compass and card in his holy ark: by which I learn to divert and ply from you as from the rocks and shelves of certain ruin, by these sea-marks following placed at your entrie. ‘Observe those that make dissensions and scandals contrary to the doctrine

¹ Chapter to Temperate Protestant Reader, in reply to Rider.

² To the Temperate Protestant Reader.

which you have learned. That which you have heard from the beginning let it abide in you. If any preach otherwise than you have already received, be it accursed. Be not misled by variable and strange doctrines. Avoid them ; for such do not serve Christ our Lord, but their own bellie, and by sweet speeches and benedictions seduce the hearts of innocents. By these counsels I was prevented from being counselled by you.' —(Rom. 16 ; 1 John 2 ; Galat. 1 ; Heb. 13 ; Rom. 16)."

Here F. FitzSimon gives seventeen texts, that made an impression on him, and flooded his mind with light. His biographers say, that he embraced the truth the instant he saw it. He had the courage of his convictions, and in this, his character and conduct contrast singularly with those of the Protestant primates, Loftus and Usher, who knew the truth, yet had not the courage to follow it. Loftus was an apostate English priest, and when he had one foot in the grave, he began to read Catholic books and to think of becoming a Catholic ; but he was prevented by fear and human respect, as we are informed by F. FitzSimon in a passage which shall be fully quoted in another part of our narrative. Poor James Usher even asked to be admitted into the true Church before he died, and he stated that he was prevented from becoming a Catholic through the fear of falling into poverty. His letter, in which he craves to be received as a subject and pensioner of the Holy Father, is extant,¹ and is in the hands of an English Catholic nobleman.

It would have been well for these men to have borne in mind, and carried out in their lives, the warning words of our Redeemer—What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, if he lose his own soul? I doubt not but FitzSimon would have got "a prebend," a bishopric, or a primacy, if he had remained in "Protestancie," and become a minister. He was a man of transcendent talents, and would have been a great champion of the established or garrison Church. He would have lived luxuriously in the land of his fathers, slept in a bed of down, and died in a palace. But he "denied himself, took up his cross, and followed Christ" ; he lived five years in prison, and twenty-six in exile ; he spent his last winter in a poor, wet, cold cabin—a fugitive on the Dublin mountains, with little to warm him save the love of his fond and faithful mountaineers. He died of cold, damp, and hunger ; but he died in the arms and caresses of his God. He was loyal to the truth, and with characteristic courage and generosity he would have sacrificed his life for it. In the turbulent times of the League, and on the

¹ Most Rev. Dr. Moran's Speech in 1867.

morrow of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he did not shrink from proclaiming his Protestant opinions in the French metropolis, well knowing that thereby he exposed himself to death, and "firmly intending to die," in defence of what he considered the truth.

A contemporary of his showed a like courage in the same cause. A Polish Protestant, named Lancisky, heard that heretics were condemned to be hanged, if they did not renounce their errors; he put a halter round his neck, walked through the streets of his native city, and presented himself before the authorities, saying that he was ready to die for his religion, and would never renounce it through fear of torture or death. This brave and honest young Protestant became, some years after, "the venerable Father Lancicius, of the Society of Jesus," and he narrowly escaped dying for the Catholic faith at the hands of Protestant Bohemian boors, who killed his companion, an Irish Jesuit Father, named Meagh.¹

How long young FitzSimon lived exposed to a like danger from the Parisian citizens; how often he disputed on matters of religion, "with all encounterers whatever;" how long he remained in vehement conflict with the ideas of those around him; how many he "gravelled" before he was converted by the "owld Jesuit," it were hard to tell. All we know is that he had been studying at the University of Paris, before the time of his reception into the true Church. In his book, entitled "*Britannomachia*," or the "*Battle of the British Parsons*," he glories in the fact, that the great French University owed its origin to Irishmen, and he thankfully records that it "brought him back to the true fold."² From these words we may conclude that other forces and influences, besides the talent of F. Darbyshire, contributed to his conversion, which was determined or precipitated by his trial of strength with that holy man. However that may be, we may be sure that he placed himself under the guidance of his conqueror and master, and, with God's grace working on his native generosity, straightforwardness, and single-mindedness, he made such rapid progress in piety under such a director, that the saintly F. Young declared him to be "a man endowed with great gifts of grace and holiness."³

He could not desire a safer guide, as F. Darbyshire had been chosen by the French Jesuits to direct their own novices

¹ Smidl's "*Bohemia*," S.J., Lives of F.F. Mede and Lancicius.

² "*Britannomachia Ministrorum*," by FitzSimon.

³ *Iit. Annuae Prov. Hib.* 1641-1651.

in the way of perfection, and had done so with such success as to more than justify their choice.

This holy English priest threw up his living and dignities, rather than obey the spiritual tyranny of Elizabeth. By his learning and virtue, he won the esteem of his countrymen ; at their request he went to the Council of Trent, where, through his representations, the Fathers of the Council passed their decree "de non adeundis Haeticorum ecclesiis." When he brought the decision to England, he was seized and thrown into a loathsome dungeon, from which he was some time after sent into exile. At the age of forty-five he entered the Society of Jesus, in which he worked for the greater glory of God, to the age of eighty-six, and to the year 1604, when he went to receive the reward of "a good and faithful servant." He drew all hearts to himself by his gentleness and charity ; he attracted crowds, not only of children, but of grown and cultivated men, to his Catechetical Instructions in the streets of Paris ; and it is not unlikely that FitzSimon went first to his catechism, and then went to "gravel" him, and pelt him with objections. This good father converted many thousands to the Faith,¹ not the least remarkable of whom were F. FitzSimon, and George Gilbert, a distinguished English gentleman, who became the friend and protector of Fathers Campion and Parsons, and ended his days in the society to which they belonged. I shall dismiss this short tribute, due to a man to whom F. FitzSimon and Ireland are much indebted, by recording that, as F. Henry's finger was healed, so F. Darbyshire's leg was cured by what looks very like a miracle. Some French doctors held a consultation on this father's state of health, and came to the conclusion that it was necessary to cut off his leg in order to save his life. The old father heard this with alarm, and, as it was the Feast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, he prayed to them to cure him, and he was instantaneously healed.²

There was another "owld Jesuit" at Paris in those days. He was F. Richard Flaminius or Fleming, a priest of exalted virtue, "præclaræ virtutis sacerdos,"³ and an Irishman well versed in the hagiology of his native land. This father compiled a catalogue of the Saints of Ireland, which FitzSimon published afterwards with additions of his own ; and it is probable that it was he who kindled in the young convert that passion which he says he had for "ransacking all libraries in his way in search of Irish antiquities." No doubt FitzSimon cultivated the acquaintance of that learned and holy man, and

¹ FitzSimon, see *supra*. p. 219.

² Patrignani's "Pie Memorie ;" Tanner's "Societas Jesu."

³ Hist. S. J., an. 1581.

perhaps also he was not a stranger to another distinguished Irishman, who in after years became a Jesuit, and was hanged in his religious habit in his native town of Youghal. He was Captain La Branche, a commander, or, as some say, a "colonel" of cavalry under the League, he was then very young for such a position, and he was one of the largest, handsomest, and most dashing officers in the contending armies. Having passed some years in the service of France and of Spain he entered the Society of Jesus. To Irishmen he was known as Dominick O'Colin, chief of his clan, or, as Nieremberg calls him in Spanish, "Capitan de su pueblo."¹

Perhaps FitzSimon's fiery spirit prompted him, too, to fling himself into the arena of political passions, to join the League against the Huguenots, to "put on the morion, gird the sword, and trail the pike," as did the masters and students of the warlike university to which he belonged. However, he did not neglect his studies in those wild times; the university closed its schools, but the Jesuits, Bellarmine and Tyrie, insisted on keeping their halls open to the youth of the metropolis. I think the young convert availed himself of the opportunities thus offered him, and went to hear the Scripture lectures of the learned F. Lorinus, and to drink in learning from the lips of F. Darbyshire, F. Fleming, F. Tyrie, a learned Scot, and perhaps of the great Bellarmine himself, who was then in Paris.

During the five years that elapsed between his conversion and his entry into religion he must have revised philosophy, mastered the whole course of divinity, and probably received holy orders, since he was appointed to a distinguished chair of philosophy immediately after his novitiate.

The catalogue or list of Irish Jesuits, which was written in 1609, states expressly that he studied divinity during four years.² He read it partly in Paris, and partly perhaps in Rome, and perhaps at Douay, and it would seem that he studied under professors of the Society. In his reply to Rider he says:—

"Mr. Rider speaks of my 'being brought up' in one of the brazen-faced colleges of the Jesuits, and says that, 'with all my jesuitical and transmarine logic, I cannot make one sound syllogism from Bede's words to prove Scriptures to have been in an unvulgar tongue, and if I do, I shall be his 'Magnus Apollo, his great Prophet.'

"Behold, reader, what a high preferment is offered me for so small pains in the thing itself, although to the partie it may be a hard task, by reason that *the man accustomed in words of reproach, in all his days will not be instructed.*

¹ Nieremberg's Varones Ilustres.

² Catalogue Hib. S. J., in Collections of F. Ffrench.

“Nevertheless, if I can by a vulgar similitude, I will accommodate this easie matter to his capacitie. . . . An enthymeme is less than a syllogism, and yet this hard riddle is separated in less than an enthymeme, and consequently I must be more than a great Apollo to Mr. Rider. I had rather by much to enjoy my ould priviledge, during his prejudicated conceit—that he esteem me an apostate rather than an Apollo, a proselyte than a prophet, a dolt than a doctor. For, ‘quod ille maledictum vehemens existimat laudem ego duco maximam,—his greatest dispraise is my desired disblame.’

“He speaks of ‘my being brought up in the brazen-faced colleges of Jesuits.’ That this is said by a man either brought up in Brazen-nose College of Oxford (wherein his countrymen are only trained), or at least, which to all men is known, if not brought up, thrust down in the iron-faced counters of London for debts and cheating. What, think you, would not another beside a Jesuit, having such evident advantage and inequality over him, interchange some quips with him? But one brought up in the Jesuits’ colleges, wherein the greatest number of princes in Christendom are brought up, cannot esteem a minister, lately, beside all other infamies, by public court condemned for a simoniacal cozener, in selling one and the same benefice, as Beza did his priorie, to two or three divers persons.”¹

This is the hero who was made Protestant Bishop of Killaloe! However, he was better than many of his brothers on the Reformed bench. Let us listen to a few more words which F. FitzSimon sends to his Lordship’s address, and which show that he paid a visit to Rome at this period, since he could not have gone thither from the time he entered the Society in 1582, till the publication of his confutation of Rider in 1607. In this book he says:—“Mr. Rider, do not St. Bernard’s words nearly belong to you, in your last attire wherein I did behold you, when you came forth in your short cloak and short cassock, ungirded, and lifted before and on both sides, to present in sight a great trunk pair of French russet or dowk purple leather breeches? And at other times, when you ruffle and glitter in your satin gown faced with velvet, in your silks, in your pontificalibus? Upon my conscience, among all the princes of blood of the clergy whom I viewed in Rome and elsewhere, I did behold none so player-like, or whose altars were less bright than their spurs, as yours and your own self. What I might say of others of the same crew I leave to another time.”²

The reader may feel tempted to ask why I treat him to

¹ Replie to Rider’s caveat.

² Confutation of Rider, p. 20.

these elegant extracts, and the reader has a right to know. The reasons are, that I cannot get at the original manuscript sources, from which I might draw materials for an accurate biography; to borrow an expression of Sir Walter Scott's, I wish to "baste him in his own sauce;" I wish to give not only the mere fact, as stated in his book, but also the paragraph or framework in which it is set; and as the style is the man—"le style c'est l'homme"—and as FitzSimon's works are very rare, and scarcely come-at-able, I venture to give some samples of his style. It is very hearty and fresh, though it may not be fragrant to the nostrils of the nineteenth century.

He is accused of pride by Usher;¹ he is too rhetorical according to Sall; and his helpless antagonist, Dean Rider, complains, that he was too fond of proclaiming his controversial victories in a stentorian voice. FitzSimon himself declares that he goes straight to the point, and does not look for any help from rhetoric. He had a tongue which his foes felt to be as sharp as an Irish *skein*; he had a logic which he wielded with the same power, with which his namesake and contemporary, Jenkin FitzSimon, captain of O'Neill's Gallowglach guards, plied his terrible *tuadh* among the ranks of the terror stricken "Sassenachs." He applied to himself the words of Horace:—

"Namque in malos acerrimus,
Parata tollo cornua."

He felt some pride in striking a salutary fear into the souls of the enemies of truth, and he could well say with the satirist:—

"Yes, I am proud, I must be proud to see
Men not afraid of God, afraid of me."

I shall have to quote passages from F. Henry from time to time; and my readers may be disedified at his "cut and thrust" controversy, at his honest, open, rough, blunt, and bold style, which entitles him to a place among the gladiators of controversy, and to a notice in the next edition of Nizard's "Gladiateurs de la République des Lettres." To prevent our susceptibilities and our sense of the *τό πρέπον* from being shocked, let us bear in mind that none of his contemporaries could take up a stone first and fling it at him; that among the controversialists of his day we find the loud echoes of

¹ Usher's Letter to FitzSimon, in Life of Usher.

the fishmarket, and the perfumes of the sea ; and that his style was acidulated by the remembrance that he was betrayed into Protestantism, and that the churches of the Isle of Saints were profaned by Protestant ministers, whom he looked on as owls, that hated the light and came to build their nests and bring up their "plentiful brood" 'mid the ruins of the sanctuary. He did not write "with his gloves on," as our Gallic friends say. He did not, as the polished Bernardin de Saint Pierre, write his books on the knees of nature ; but, like his confrère, F. Holywood of Artane, he composed them on his own knees in a loathsome, darksome, dirty dungeon, distracted by the clanking of his chains, the grating of prison bolts, or the cries of his fellow-prisoners. It is true that he revised or supplemented in his cell on the Continent what he wrote in his cell in the Castle ; but then, he says, he wrote after the wear and tear of a hard day's work, when others thought he was asleep. He did not gild the pill which he administered to the Ministers ; if he placed his heavy hand on their wounds and poured salt into them, we must not be disedified at that : it was the fashion of those times, as is well-known to those acquainted with the controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, here are some words addressed to the polished and painstaking Balzac : "Balzac, my dear friend ! don't lick and bite your paws like a bear, to produce, in six months, a letter of three pages." "Stancari, although a minister himself, declares that, if an apothecary could bray and pound in one mortar one hundred Luthers, two hundred Melanchthons, three hundred Bulingers, four hundred Calvins, and five hundred Bezas, he could not find one ounce of theology ; and, I say, that if a man pounded, pulverised, pressed, and 'quintessenced' fifteen hundred parsons, he would make an awful 'restaurant' and cordial of crime, a gravy of ignorance, a treacle of malice, an extract of folly, an 'alchermez' of lust, a 'confection' of nonsense, a pie or paté of perfidy, a consommé of madness, a decoction of barbarity, a gelée of gluttony, and a 'panspermie' of all imaginable iniquities."¹

This elegant *morceau* may serve as a specimen of the style of those days, and will teach us not to be scandalized at the energy and outspokenness of F. FitzSimon, who has few passages equal to the quotation given above.

Having said this much, once for all, about the style, let us now return to the man, and his acts, and history.

¹ P. Garasse, quoted in a sketch by P. Carayon, S. J. ; see also M. Nizard's "Gladiateurs."

II.—*He enters the Society of Jesus.*

While at Paris, and, I dare say, in his travels to "Rome and elsewhere," FitzSimon enjoyed the society of his friends, Segrave, Roche, and Lea, who most probably were respectively related to the two Segraves of Dublin, who entered the Society of Jesus a few years before this time, and to their namesakes, Dominick Roche and John Lea, who were Jesuits very soon after. This connexion, and his acquaintance with the Irish, English, and Scotch Jesuits previously named, and his knowledge of the writings, deeds, and sufferings of the Jesuits, and his own burning desire to suffer and even die for the Faith, drew him powerfully to that Society which had converted him to the Church. Hence he says, "To my Fathers and Brothers of the Society of Jesus, I cannot choose but applaud, that as they are known to be most behated by the precursors of Antichrist, so also they may presume to be most persecuted by Antichrist himself, as, by their very name of Jesuits and whole profession, his adversaries. And I glory as much as in any other commendation of my Order, that by heretics we are called the janizaries of the Pope, who most impugn the impiety of heretics, who most rescue others from their conjuration, who most arm others against their fraud; and who most by them are abhorred, rejected, and by prisons and penalties most of all Catholics maliciously maligned—whereof among a thousand other proofs, the late procurement in Ireland to have only Jesuits withdrawn out of the countrie deserveth to be registered. It is, says St. Jerome, a sign of great glory to be particularly detested by heretics; and for this very particular glory, as I have elsewhere protested, I acknowledge to have elected the Jesuits' standard, under which I might militate to my Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, and to his sacred spouse, the Catholic Church."¹

He joined that standard in 1592, according to all printed authorities; but, according to the manuscript Irish Catalogue of 1609, he entered the Society at Douay in 1591, at the age of twenty-four.² I think this is the correct date; for in his book on the Mass, published in 1611, he says—This is great praise given to our profession by those who only know it externally; but I, that wholly twenty years am an unworthy member thereof, may be allowed to glorify the endless goodness of God, for feeling all that, and much more that cannot be

¹ On the Masse, p. 153.

² Catal. in F. French's Collections.

expressed, in my said vocation ; but of this on some other occasion.¹

He spent the usual time of two years in his noviciate at Douay, unless that his superiors thought him so advanced in virtue, that they allowed him to study in the second year, in order to turn his talents sooner to account in the school-room, or the Irish mission. He had to interrupt his theological studies for a season, in order to devote himself wholly to the study of perfection, of the spiritual exercises, to the practice of prayer, meditation, self-denial, and mortification, to a retreat of thirty days, and to the service of the sick, for which charitable work he had a peculiar penchant.

During the time of his noviciate, the Institute was confirmed by Gregory the 14th, St. Aloysius died, the Society was exiled from Transylvania, the King of Bungo was converted in Japan, the Dutch and Bosnian Missions were begun, five Jesuits were poisoned by a Japanese king, ten colleges were founded, and in England Fathers Mettam and Southwell were imprisoned and tortured. After his noviciate, which he went through with great fervour, he studied under the celebrated F. Leonard Lessius, to whom he testifies his grateful affection, in his *Britannomachia*, and under whose guidance he so distinguished himself, that he was appointed to teach philosophy in the famous College of Douay,² where, out of twelve hundred students three hundred and forty were studying philosophy.³

In Douay, says Anthony Wood, he spent several years, paying the closest attention to his public duties and private studies, until he became thoroughly acquainted with all the controverted points of belief ;⁴ there also he became intimate with many famous men, such as Rosweyde, whom in his *Britannomachia*, he calls his "intimately beloved Father Rosweyde." Of his professorship at Douay we have only some generalities handed down by various writers, all of whom praise his acumen and application. G. F., the anonymous author of the "*Vindiciæ Hiberniæ*," in enumerating the Irish celebrities of his day, exclaims, "What shall I say of Henry FitzSimon ! that subtle professor of philosophy at Douay, that great athlete of Christ, renowned in his chains, strong in defending the Faith, and successful in bringing back wanderers to the fold."⁵

In the first year of his professorship he saw around his

¹ "On the Masse," after p. 153.

² Wood, Ryan, Patrignani, etc.

³ *Annuaire Belgique*, S. J.

⁴ Wood's *Athenæ*.

⁵ *Vindiciæ Hib.*, in Barberini Library.

chair youths from many lands. About twenty colleges of the Society were founded in the year 1593; among these were the Irish College of Lisbon, founded by the exertions of F. John Houling, an Irish Jesuit; the English College of St. Omer, by the influence of F. Persons; and the Scots' College of Douay, established by F. Crichton, who had just escaped from death in England. Father Crichton was accused of being an accomplice of William Parry's conspiracy against Elizabeth. Parry swore that F. Crichton used every effort to make him give up his attempt, and Elizabeth liberated him from prison, and praised him for his efforts to save her life.

In the following year, 1594, the Irish College of Douay was founded by FitzSimon's bosom friend and kinsman, Dr. Christopher Cusack, who was perhaps prompted to do that by the presence of his distinguished and zealous countryman.

It may not be uninteresting to hear what F. FitzSimon says about the foundation of this college, as it is passed over by Dr. Theiner in his *Geschichte der Geistlichen Bildungsanstalten*, and as it has some bearing on a great question of our day. Our Irish Jesuit writes as follows:—

“To the as Reverend as Honourable descended Mr. Christopher Cusacke, Beginner and President of the Duacian Irish Seminarie, and to all students out of his and all other Seminaries of our countrie, wheresoever—Grace and Peace.”

From about the year 1555, as is well known, these late heresies, by force, never by voluntary allowance, suppressed religion in our countrie, banished teachers, extinguished learning, exiled to foreign lands all instruction, and enforced our youth either at home to be ignorant, or abroad in povertie, rather to glean ears of learning than with leisure and commodity to reap any abundance thereof.

Yet of such as travelled to foreign countries, notwithstanding all difficulties incident to them, whom their friends in absence, as is the unkindness notorious in our nation, abandoned, they often attained to singular perfection and reputation of learning in sundry sciences, to principal titles of universities, to high prelacies, of whom some are still living, some departed in peace. But of those that by their pains advanced the public good of our country, as well departed this life leaving their glorious memorie in continual benediction, as yet travailing for it without all private and provincial respect; these, to my knowledge, were and are the principal:—Patrick and Henry Segrave, Leonard FitzSimon, Richard Stanihurst, John Lea, David Rooth, Thomas Deis, Laurence Segrave, John Roche, Thomas White, and Thomas Messingham, that nothing may be said of Jesuits such as F. Rochfort, F. Houling, F. Thomas White, F. Richard

Conway, F. William Bath, F. Cornelius Carrig, and others, studiously advancing the cause of our country to their greatest power, by whom our said country has received many rare helps and supplies, especially in these latter days, to the great advancement of God's glory and the discomfiture of heretics.

Satan and the heretics, observing such good to God's church and ruin to heresy to increase by recourse to these triarian champions, and not knowing how otherwise to debar the floating over of students to Catholic countries—"Fili iniqui ex Israel gymnasium in Hierosolymis secundum leges nationum,"—the most perverse of our nation employed themselves immoderately to erect a college in Dublin, among Catholics, according to the impious sects of other nations. In which, striving against the stream, and against the privilege obtained by the intercession of St. Patrick for our nation—that never infidelitie or heresie should possess the country,—they expected to seduce, at least, simple innocents, since all judicious persons did palpably behold and avoid their vain and vanishing delusions. So then, this college, by none of account approached, by no number of reckoning frequented, notwithstanding all fraud that might be to the contrary, came to little effect, according to the prediction of our Saviour—"All planting, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up." Of which Collegists, we take our Saviour's advice, following in the next words—"Let them alone; blind they are, and guides of the blind."

Now, did it belong to the wisdom of our Almighty Saviour and God, when malice began to molest his flock, and to machinate the seduction of the above said children, to find out some zealous rather than deeply learned guide—it being His wont to elect the weak things of this world to confound the strong,—to open a larger way than hitherto for them, whom He had predestinated "into an elect generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation." I do seem to behold in heaven, betwixt the Blessed Trinitie and all the Saints of our country, together with all Angel guardians general and particular, a deep consultation who this guide might most conveniently be; and by public adoption, divers to be chosen, but for these parts of the Low Countries, without all opposition, to have been elected Mr. Christopher Cusacke, of honourable descent, and alliance with the noblest ranks of great virtue, zeal, and singular sincerity. As he was inexperienced in foreign countries, meanly languaged, and meanly furnished with requisites for a building of this height, in human wisdom little success

was to be expected. Yet, beholding now such unexpected increase beyond all human imagination, in reason and right we are to magnify God's over-reaching wisdom, and to register the glorious fame and name in the golden book of immortal gratitude.

This is Ireland's glory, by whom the infamy of the supposed barbarity of Ireland is exchanged into daily increasing reputation of extraordinary bringing-up and piety. But his modestie will frown at these applaunds, and I, linked in such kindred, acquaintance, and inveterated love, cannot strain either his modestie, or my own partialitie in his favour. Since he began, first on his own provision, and after upon the bountiful benevolence of the Catholic king, to maintain together students in this citie of Douay, wherein at present I am resident, it cannot be imagined how much the obscuritie of our Nation's renown hath been diminished, and the glorie thereof increased. It cannot be imagined, how much the name of Ireland became venerable, yea, admirable, for peculiar towardness to learning, forwardness to virtue, modestie in conversation, facilitie to be governed, consent among themselves, promptitude to all that might be exacted, yea, or in reason expected of any of most complete, and conformable education or condition. Let none think my partial affection to have place in this attestation, considering such to be the public and private letters patent, and testimonies of Princes, Prelates, Universities, cities, and colleges, extant to all men's view, so that little may rather seem affirmed than their desert duly declared. In so much that in sundry provinces and cities they easily obtained habitation, relief, favour, and reputation, as in Tournay, Louvain, Paris, Bordeaux, Rouen, Toulouse, Antwerp, Lille, Cologne, etc., besides particulars entertained with charitable benevolence in many other places. I do not speak here of the Irish Colleges of Spain, of no less commendation, favour, and account.¹

This omission must be briefly supplied here, as it concerns the Education Question which lives and throbs in our day, and is *un sujet palpitant d'actualité*.

From the Portuguese Annual Letters of 1593, and from the *Historia Societatis Jesu*, we learn that Father Houling, an Irish Jesuit, was living in the Professed House of Lisbon in 1593, and devoted himself to the welfare of his countrymen, who were brought thither as exiles for the faith, or as prisoners captured by pirates. Some ships from Ireland entered that port in the beginning of the year 1593; F. Houling went at once

¹ FitzSimon's Epis. Ded. of Work on the Mass.

to visit them, and found a great number of Catholics—*ingentem numerum*—who had been persecuted by the English officials, and had left their country and the broad acres of their ancestors in order to preserve their faith. He welcomed the illustrious exiles, exhorted, instructed, consoled them, and heard their confessions. As he spoke Irish and English fluently, he conversed with the sailors and passengers in these tongues, won their hearts by his wonderful tact and gentlemanly manners, and converted to the Catholic Church forty-six Protestant sailors and four captains. One of the Irishmen, a man of most distinguished birth and position, made the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius in our house, after which, he made a pilgrimage of twenty miles, barefoot, to a shrine of the Blessed Virgin which is situated on a rugged mountain.

Good F. Houling showed his charity to all his countrymen, and to the English mariners; but what most stirred up his sympathies and zeal, was the sight of the many youths—*plurimumorum*—who, leaving parents, fatherland, and patrimonies, *had run away from the University of Dublin*, in order to preserve their faith.¹ This University was formerly founded by the Roman Pontiffs; but had collapsed through the operation of unfavourable circumstances. Elizabeth had recently restored it, with a view to make it the stronghold and arsenal of error; and she invited parents, even Catholic parents, to send their sons to be educated and supported gratis in that institution. This temptation proved too strong for the straitened circumstances and the ambitions of certain parents, who, in matters of faith, were perfectly orthodox. However, the Catholic youths were wiser in their generation than their parents; they looked on their teachers as wolves sent in on the fold, and with a unanimous consent they abandoned the school of error, and escaped to an unknown shore, where they arrived utterly destitute of everything. The zealous paternal care of F. Houling enabled them in exile to find a country, parents, and fortunes. He devoted all his thoughts and energies to procure at once a fixed residence for them, as they were castaways and wanderers. He then collected money among the principal citizens, and built the Irish College of St. Patrick, Lisbon, the first Rector of which was Father Thomas Vittus—or White—and the first and best scholar of which was, I think, Stephen White the future "Polyhistor."² In the following year F. Houling converted forty Protestants in Lisbon, and the year after, he died

¹ I think Stephen White was one of these youths.

² Lit. Annuæ Lusit. 1593, 1594; Franco's Hist. Sec. Jes. Lusit.; Hist. S. J.

“a martyr of charity.” The name of this great benefactor of Irish youth is mentioned with honour by F. FitzSimon, to whom we must now turn our thoughts. F. Henry praises F. Houling and others; he praises particularly Dr. Cusacke, and the success of the Irish abroad.

Of course he omits to state how far he himself contributed to these consoling and brilliant results; how far he helped his friend, Dr. Cusack, by his advice and his talents, by the collection of funds, and by the exercise of his great personal influence with many Catholics on the Continent. He praises the Irish “Duacians” collectively and individually, and specially “David Rooth and Thomas Deis.” He also salutes respectfully Primate Peter Lombard, whose singular benignity and favour towards himself he gratefully records, and he mentions with honour the *late* Archbishop of Dublin, of whom the whole country receiveth, and probably is to receive, wished honour and advancement of renown.¹

These I know and dutifully honour, such being my disposition, to approve whomsoever God’s Church electeth, never to malign or envy, but only to pity the worst and most scandalous, and not to flatter or fear worst or best.”²

Father FitzSimon filled the philosophy chair with éclat for five or six years, and he “ransacked libraries in search of his country’s antiquities,” and found a life of St. Patrick in the library of the Douay College. He laboured zealously in preparing his young countrymen to fight the good fight for the Faith of St. Patrick, and he envied young priests their happiness of returning to the Island of Saints. Like St. Columba, “he looked with longing eyes towards the Western Isle,” and prayed fervently every day, that he might be sent thither to work and suffer and die, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

The manifest and manifold dangers to be encountered in such a mission did not frighten, but fascinate and attract him. His glorious desire and ambition was stimulated every day by the news of the sufferings and deeds and deaths of his brethren all over the world. In 1592 he heard of the imprisonment of Fathers Mettam and Southwell in England, and of the persecutions in Japan. In 1593 Fathers Saltamouche and de Sales were killed by the Huguenots, and Fathers Crichton and Gordon were imprisoned in Great

¹ Who was he? Perhaps, not Dr. Mathews, who was made Archbishop on 2nd of May, 1611, the year in which FitzSimon’s book was published—was it Donaldus or another?

² Epistle Dedic. of Work on “the Masse.”

Britain. In 1594 F. Lelesius was poisoned by Protestants, F. de Tassia was slaughtered by savages, while in England F. Gerard was put to the torture, and F. John Cornelius MacMahon was hanged, drawn, and quartered. In 1595, F. Xavier was murdered in Mongolia, and F. George in Ethiopia, F. Guignard was unjustly hanged in Paris, F. Brillmacher was poisoned by German Protestants; and in England, Fathers Jones and Baldwin were imprisoned, and Fathers Walpole and Southwell were hanged. In 1596, F. Montanus was killed by a Protestant, and F. Lopez by a savage. In 1597, F. Urrea was murdered by the savages of Peru, F. Gerard was again put to the torture in England, F. Gordon Huntley returned to Scotland, but was condemned to be imprisoned, and was soon banished to Norway. In Japan, three Jesuits were crucified; they have since been canonized, and are venerated as Saint Paul Miki, Saint John of Goto, and Saint James Kisai. All these facts were fuel to the fire which burned in FitzSimon. He knew that by going to Ireland he perilled his liberty and his life. There had been two Jesuit Missions to Ireland before his time: the first at the request of Robert, Primate of Armagh, in 1541, and the second in 1559, by the desire of Richard, Primate of Armagh, and "of all the well-willers of our nation." Of these Jesuits who were sent, the first three could remain only thirty-two days; all the others were imprisoned, or hanged, drawn and quartered. Fathers Woulfe, Rochford, Tanner, MacMorris, Lea, and, I think, N. Comerford, were thrown into a dungeon, and O'Donnell and Maurice Eustace had the greater glory of dying on a gibbet.

In 1595, the Mission seems to have ceased for a season, for what reason I cannot tell. Dr. Oliver thinks it never entirely ceased, and his opinion is borne out by the well weighed words which F. Young wrote to his Father General in 1661:—"The Irish Mission is one of the oldest European Missions of the Society. It was founded by S. Ignatius, was carried on by F. Lainez, was much increased by S. Francis Borgia, and was specially beloved by F. Aquaviva."

However, the Irish bishops, and people, and exiles, and the "well-willers" of our nation, on two memorable occasions, petitioned the Holy Father to send them Irish members of the Society of Jesus.

F. FitzSimon writes as follows on this subject:—"In a letter bearing date the year 1580, which a most excellent late Martyr of our country, the thrice glorious Primate Creagh, wrote with his own hand, to the Reverend Father Oliver Manare (which

letter I have now in custodie as a precious pledge and relic), the Primate acknowledges corruptions of great deploration in the countrie, particularly a rude and ignorant clergie in many places, a danger of heresie's increase, great incivilitie in many places and persons, etc. . . . and at length he declareth that he hath been humble petitioner to His Holiness to send thereto certain teaching religious persons as the only means of Ireland's reduction, by whom also all Christian countries received principal reformatiōs ; for whose maintenance he offered to apply certain vacant benefices. . . . Did modestie permit to impart such high commands as he presenteth, the whole letter might be inserted. He ends in these following words :—

‘What I thought of—about sending the Fathers of the Societie to open in Ireland, by Apostolic authority, schools and a universitie—I carried it out ; not I but the Lord ; for, *motu proprio*, Pius the Fourth granted all I asked, the matter having been previously examined in the Congregation of Cardinals, the present Holy Father being one of the present as a Doctor. The matter was committed to my successors, in case circumstances would not favour me.

‘In my opinion, together with all well-willers of our nation, the said Religious are so necessary to our reformation, as that they cannot only not well be spared ; but no others are to us in these times so needful ; and therefore by me, in behalf of the whole countrie, before and above all others, they were first and most coveted.’¹

The next demand for Irish Jesuits was presented a year or two after the opening of Trinity College. This college caused some anxiety to the Irish people, as we may judge from F. Fitzsimon's remarks, and from the petition which the Catholics addressed to the Holy Father about the year 1593.

¹ Letter of Primate Creagh in 1580, from the Tower of London, quoted by Fitz-Simon in his work on the Mass, in *Epist. Dedic.*

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF DERRY.

720. Died St. Coechsculius, the scribe of Derry.^g

783. The abbey and town was destroyed by fire.^t

812. The same event happened this year; and the Danes heightened the horrors of the conflagration, by putting to the sword not only the students, but the venerable clergy.^u

832. Niell Callne, monarch of Ireland, and Murchard, prince of Aileach,^w fell upon the Danes who were besieging this town, and put them to flight with great slaughter.^x

839. Died the blessed Murchertach, the son of Niell; he was abbot of Derry and other churches.^y

885. The abbot St. Mailbrigid, the son of Tornan, was promoted to the archepiscopal see of Armagh; he enjoyed this dignity for the space of 40 years.^z

903. Died the abbot St. Diermit.^a

919. Died St. Kined, the son of Domnald; he was abbot of Derry and Druimchliabh, and was esteemed the head and light of religion throughout all Tirconnell; his festival is celebrated on the 19th of November.^b

927. Died the blessed Cainchomrach, the son Moeluidhir, abbot and guardian of the canons of St. Adamnan.^c

937. Died the blessed Finnacta, the son of Kellach; he was abbot of Derry, and was well skilled in the antiquities of Ireland.^d

948. The blessed Moelfinnian was abbot, and died the 6th of February.^e

950. Died the abbot St. Adhland, the son of Egnech; a man justly esteemed for hospitality and munificence.^f

967. The blessed Ænguis Hua Robhartaich, anachorite, and Kineth Hua Cathmocil, the archinnach of Derry, died in the same month.^g

973. Died the Abbot Fogartach,^h

983. Died the archinnach Ossineus Hua Lupain.ⁱ

^gTr. Th. p. 503. ^tId. and Index. ^uAnnal. Munst. ^wIn Inisowen, about three miles North of Derry. ^xTr. Th. p. 503. ^yId. ^zId. Act. SS. p. 107 and 383. ^aTr. Th. p. 503. ^bId. p. 503. ^cId. ^dId. ^eId. p. 506. ^fId. p. 503. Act. SS. p. 107. ^gTr. Th. p. 500. ^hId. ⁱId.

985. The blessed Malkyeran O'Maigne, abbot of Derry, was inhumanly martyred by the Danes of Dublin;^k and this year Maolséachline forcibly carried away the shrine of St. Columb.^l

988. The blessed Dubdaleth, archbishop of Armagh, was elected, by the Irish and the Scots of Albany, supreme moderator of the monasteries in Ireland and Scotland, of the congregation of St. Columb. He enjoyed this honourable office ten years, and died on the 2nd of June, A.D. 998, in the 83rd year of his age.^m

989. The Danes spoiled and wasted this town this year,ⁿ and in the years 991^o and 996.^p

1010. On the 28th December, in this year or the following, died St. Muredach, the son of Crichan, successor to St. Columb, and professor of divinity at Armagh; he was in his 74th year, and was intended for the archepiscopal throne, being in high estimation for his excellent qualities, his learning and purity of manners.^q

1022. Died Flanan, the vicar of Derry.^r

1025. The abbot St. Moelonius Hua Torain, or Tornain, died on the 20th of October,^s as did some time after the archdeacon Muredach O'Moelcholuim.^t

1095. The abbey was consumed by fire.^u

1096. The blessed abbot Eugene O'Kearnich died December the 15th.^w

1100. Murchertach O'Brien, Prince of Munster, attacked Derry with a large fleet of foreigners, but he was defeated with a great slaughter; notwithstanding which the town was pillaged that year.^x

1112. The archdeacon Congalech, the son of Conchall, closed an exemplary life in the 94th year of his age.^y

1120. The archdeacon Gilla M'Tieg, the son of Roderick, was elected abbot, and enjoyed the dignity for sixteen years.^z

1121. Domhnal, Prince of Tirconel, having resigned his kingdom, died in this abbey in the 73rd year of his age.^a

1124. Ardgar, Prince of Ailech, was slain this year in an assault which he made upon Derry.^b

1126. Died the archdeacon Finn Hua Coningein.^c

1129. Died Gilda Colman Hua Kellaich, a principal presbyter of Derry.^d

1134. The people of Munster plundered and burnt Derry;^e and the following year the whole town, with all the sacred

^k Act. SS. p. 107. ^l Annal. Munst. ^m Tr. Th. p. 503. ⁿ Id. ^o M'Geogh. ^p Tr. Th. supr. ^q Id. ^r Annal. Ulton. ^s Tr. Th. supr. ^t Id. ^u Annal. Munst. ^w Tr. Th. p. 506. ^x Id. p. 633. ^y Id. p. 504. ^z Id. p. 505. Act. SS. p. 779. Annal. Inisfal. ^a O'Halloran, vol. 2, p. 299. ^b Tr. Th. p. 504. ^c Id. ^d O'Flaherty Mss. ^e Annal. Munst.

edifices therein were set on fire and consumed ; the cause of this deed was (as we are told) to revenge the death of Ardgar.^f

1136. The abbot Gilla M'Tieg was chosen archbishop of Armagh, and died in 1174.^g

1146 On the 3rd of December a violent tempest happened in this town ; sixty oaks were torn up by the roots, and many people were killed in the church, whither they had flown for shelter.^h

1150, Died the archdeacon Moelisa O'Branain, a man famed for unbounded hospitality and munificence ; in these virtues he excelled the whole of Ireland ;ⁱ the same year the blessed abbot Flathbertach O'Brolchain, brother to Malbrige, archbishop of Armagh,^k made a visitation throughout Kinel-cogain,^l and received from Murchertach Hua Lochluinn, King of Ireland, 20 oxen, together with the King's own horse and a gold ring, which weighed five ounces, and from every nobleman he received an horse, from every two burgesses an ox, one from each free person, and one from every four of the rest of the people ; this liberal contribution was made to repair the abbey, which had been destroyed by fire the preceding year.^m The following year the abbot made another visitation throughout Siolcathafaich ; from Cuculad O'Flann, Prince of that country, he received an horse, with a gold ring, weighing two ounces, from every nobleman an horse, and a sheep from each master of a family.ⁿ

1153. Died Murchoe O'Maolseachlinn, monarch of Ireland, who had retired into this abbey.^o

1158. In a synod held at Brigh-mac-thaighe, in the county of Meath, it was decreed, that the episcopal chair should be granted to the abbot of Derry, with the supreme rule over all the abbeys of the kingdom ; but it is to be observed, that the bishops of Connaght were not present at this meeting.^h

1161. The same abbot visited the country of Ossory, and collected from that people 420 ounces of pure silver.^q

1162. Died Cathasach, the son of Comaltan, a celebrated doctor and professor of Divinity in this abbey.^r The same year the King Murchertach Hua Lochluinn, and the abbot Flathbert, removed the buildings which crowded this abbey ; the abbot afterwards erected the stone enclosure called Cassiol anurlair.^s

1163. In the space of twenty days the abbot built a lime-kiln seventy feet in dimensions every way, for burning lime

^f *Tr. Th. p. 504.* ^g *Id. Ibid. and 505.* ^h *Id.* ⁱ *Id.* ^k *Id. p. 505.* ^l *The present county of Tyrone.* ^m *Tr. Th. p. 505.* ⁿ *Id.* ^o *Annal. Munst.* ^p *Tr. Th. p. 505.* ^q *Annal. Munst.* ^r *Tr. Th. p. 505.* ^s *Id.*

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=====
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“INFAMOUS PUBLICATIONS.”—WHO WROTE
THEM?

(Continued from page 255.)

IN a former article we noticed some of the accusations brought by Mr. Gerald Fitzgibbon against the Rev. Father Furniss, and against Roman Catholic Priests in general; but we had not space to discuss fully the leading topic of his pamphlet—“Catholic descriptions of the torments of Hell.”

We have no intention of composing a treatise on future punishments. The only novelty the subject has received at the hands of Mr. Fitzgibbon or Mr. Leckie is that all attempts to depict the nature of these punishments in human—or, to speak more correctly, in Scriptural and Divine—language, are characterized as *infamous*.

This is a serious accusation, affecting the moral character as well as the dogmatic teaching of many millions of men and women. It affects, as we shall see, not only Roman Catholic Priests of the present day and of past ages, but the majority of Protestant writers and preachers, and the countless multitudes who have believed and repeated the teaching of Catholic or Protestant theologians. It affects especially the writers of both the Old and New Testaments, and above all, the moral character of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself.

In a word, on reading Mr. Fitzgibbon's pamphlet, we turned to see whether Voltaire's cabalistic formula, *Écrasez l'Infâme*, was not to be found somewhere on the title page.

Hence we have selected as the heading of our own remarks, “Infamous Publications”: Who wrote them? because we intend to show that the real objects of this attack are, not Father Furniss or Father Pinamonti, but our Lord Jesus Christ and His Apostles.

First, then, we accuse Mr. Fitzgibbon—and we are sorry to add, in this instance at least, Mr. Leckie—of *bad faith*.

They *must* know that not Catholic Priests alone, but Protestant ministers also, have drawn vivid pictures of Hell's torments.

They *must* know that such pictures are to be found in the writings of men who were the most opposed to the Catholic Church. To suppose them not to know this, we must suppose them utterly unacquainted with Christian literature. Of Mr. Leckie, at least, we cannot believe this. Mr. Fitzgibbon indeed pleads that "of this terrifying theology I knew nothing until I read Mr. Leckie's note." But we shall see evidence that even if he knows nothing of the writers of his own Church, he has read the New Testament, for he frequently appeals to it, and he *cannot* but have seen that there are no more "atrocious images" in the pages of Father Furniss's tracts than in those pages which almost all Christians hold to be inspired.

If, then, as we shall show, and as Mr. Leckie knows well, what he denounces is found in the Sacred Books generally accepted by his country, in the pages of some of her greatest authors, in the founders and most celebrated teachers of her various sects, on what principle of morality, in his "History of European Morals," does he attach the note of Infamy only to the writings of Roman Catholic Priests? If the whole school has been guilty of the offence, why are the favourite boys passed over, and the unpopular boy alone selected for the flogging?

But *are* all guilty? Mr. Fitzgibbon will ask. He has been going to Protestant Churches since his boyhood (we suppose), and he tells us that he hears no sermons preached there describing the tortures of hell. If this is true, we regret to hear it; if untrue, we must leave it to his co-religionists to refute him; but at least *littera scripta manet*, and the published works of men by no means yet forgotten, show that he is utterly mistaken when he asserts that "the Episcopalian Protestants of Ireland took shelter under the shade of the till-of-late Established Church from the doctrines inculcated in the books" of Father Furniss.

In fact, there is not a passage in those books on the subject of the pains of hell which cannot be matched, and even surpassed in vividness, or in "atrociousness," if he so please, by passages from the writings of men whom his own church holds in highest honour.

Had Mr. Fitzgibbon accused Father Furniss of want of *good taste* in developing too minutely scriptural images,

without admitting the justice of the charge, we should not have thought it worth our while to discuss it. He accuses, however, not the form but the substance of his teaching. After quoting some descriptions of the fires and dungeons of hell, Mr. Fitzgibbon speaks of the "imputation of *diabolical* cruelty made by these books against the merciful and benevolent Ruler of the Universe." Whether the books of Father Furniss impute cruelty to God, we are not now to examine; what we now assert is, that if they do so, it is only in common with the various leaders of the Protestant Reformation or Reformations.

Latimer, for example, writes as follows, and we, at least, have no fault to find with his advice:—"I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell than trust he shall find no fire in hell. There is fire burning, there is pain without pleasure, torment without easement, anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness which tarrieth and abideth for all liars and hinderers of the truth."—(*Latimer's Remains*, p. 236, Oxf. ed.)

Milton was not satisfied with the first Reformation, and wrote a hot appeal for a further and more complete one. In this treatise (see *Milton's Prose Works*, vol. ii., p. 371, Bohn's edition), he complains that *Latimer* was one of those "liars and hinderers of the truth" whom he denounces. He then goes on to "invoke the Immortal Deity to witness" that, "if he uses vehement expressions," he does it "neither out of malice, nor list to speak evil, nor any vain glory, but out of mere necessity to vindicate the spotless truth from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is become of such a low esteem, that she is like to find small credit with us, for what she can say, unless she can bring a ticket from *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*. More tolerable it were for the Church of God, that all these names were utterly abolished, like the brazen serpent, than that men's fond opinion should thus idolise them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated."—(*Ib.*, p. 372.)

Milton, then, at least, would not take his doctrines from *Latimer*. They were the result of his own researches into Scripture, as is proved by his treatise on *Christian Doctrine*, written in Latin, and translated into English by *Charles Sumner*, Bishop of Winchester, in 1825, with *Preliminary Observations*. In this treatise, he most explicitly professes his belief in the eternity of hell-fire, which he proves by several texts of Scripture. He even discusses the locality of hell.—(*Vol. iv.*, p. 490.)

But should *Mr. Leckie* say that it is not the mere statement of the existence of Hell which is infamous, but a minute

picture of it, I would ask him what passage in F. Furniss's little books can be compared with the following prayer-with which Milton concludes his treatise "Of Reformation in England." Father Furniss painted Hell in the hope that no one who read his book would go there. Milton, on the contrary, actually prays that the fate he describes may soon befall the opponents of his views. Why did not Mr. Leckie inflict his censure on the words of Milton, with which he must be familiar, rather than on the treatise of a little-known Catholic priest?

Here then is Milton's prayer:—

"Which way to end I know not, unless I turn mine eyes and lift up my hands to that eternal and propitious throne, where nothing is readier than grace and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants. Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory, unapproachable, parent of angels and men! next, thee, I implore, omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! and thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one Tripersonal Godhead! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring Church, leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves." (After a long prayer for the overthrow of Anglicanism and the establishment of Puritanism, he concludes his prayer with a prophecy of what shall be when his prayer is heard). "Then," he says, "they that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule, and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life, (which God grant them), shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell, where, under the spiteful control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their torture, shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lower-most, the most dejected, most underfoot and downtrodden vassals of perdition." And the author of this prayer, because he was a Protestant, is to be extolled by every epithet in the language; and the Catholic priest consigned to infamy; though the latter preached a true doctrine from motives of the purest charity, while the former abused it in a spirit of personal revenge!

Contemporary with Milton lived one whom Mr. Fitzgibbon would scarcely venture to revile, though he seems strangely ignorant of his writings. We allude to *Jeremy Taylor*, Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor. Were an Irish

Episcopalian asked to name one illustrious writer of his Church, he would probably at once select the eloquent Jeremy Taylor. When Mr. Fitzgibbon, rather late in life, first became acquainted, as he tells us, through the writings of Father Furniss, with "terrifying theology," we are sorry that some better-read friend did not direct him to the works of Taylor. He might have read them in a calmer spirit, and with more profit, than the teachings of a Catholic priest. We would still advise him to read two of those works—the Sermon on Christ's Advent to Judgment—a long and very eloquent treatise on subjects of the utmost importance—and his "Contemplations on the State of Man." In some of the chapters of this last work, Taylor has reflections on the various pains and tortures of Hell, more minute, more elaborate, and, if possible, more terrible than the "Terrible Judgment," or the "Sight of Hell," by Father Furniss, or the "Hell opened to Christians," by Pinamonti. We are sorry that our limits forbid us to quote as copiously as we should wish. We must content ourselves with one extract from each of these works, by way of specimen.

In his "Contemplations" he writes:—"In this banishment of the damned, the exiles are not allowed the liberty of other banished persons, who, within the isle or region of relegation, may go or move whither they please; but not so the damned in hell, because the place of their exile is also a prison, a horrid and stinking prison, wherein many millions of souls shall for ever be fettered in chains; for chains, or something answerable unto them, shall not there be wanting What shall be the torment of the damned, whereby they shall burn eternally without dying, and without possibility of removing from the place assigned them; where whatsoever they touch shall be fire and sulphur, into which their bodies at the last day shall be plunged," etc., etc.

Bishop Taylor adopts the same principles of description as Father Furniss. He makes use of all the various metaphors, illustrations, or literal pictures which he finds in Holy Scripture, whether in the Old or New Testament. He then merely develops the ideas contained in these forms of speech. It never seems to occur to him that—if it is not "infamous" for his Divine master to speak of men being "cast into a furnace of fire, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth,"—there can be infamy in dwelling on each of these words, and in drawing out what is implied in "fire," in "furnace," in "weeping," and in "gnashing of teeth." No doubt, as Mr. Leckie says, these are "ghastly pictures;" yet they were neither invented by Catholic priests, nor used only by them.

If Mr. Leckie believes that no reality corresponds to them, let him give us his reasons for believing so, and let him give some philosophical explanation of the fact, that one so loving and gentle as Jesus Christ believed in such "atrocities," or made use of such "scarecrows;" but let him not pretend to philosophy and impartial research, when he attributes to the twelfth century what is older than Christianity, and when he tries to fasten on Catholic priests an odium which must be borne, if at all, not only by them, but by the greatest and most honoured of almost every Christian sect. One who writes on morals might have remembered the old saying: "Divers weights and divers measures, both are abominable before God."—(Prov. xx., 10).

But to return to Jeremy Taylor. So far was he from finding fault with Catholics for their doctrine of Hell, that in his great sermon on Christ's Advent to Judgment he accuses the Church of Rome of too great leniency. "The Church of Rome," he says, "among some other strange opinions, hath inserted this one in her public offices: that the perishing souls in hell may have sometimes remission and refreshment, like the fits of an intermitting fever but because this is a fancy, without ground or revelation, and is against the analogy of all those expressions of our Lord, 'where the worm dieth not and the fire is never extinguished,' and divers others, it is sufficient to have noted it without further consideration; the pains of hell have no rest, no drop of water is allowed to cool the tongue, there is no advocate to plead for them, no mercy belongs to their portion, but fearful wrath and continual burnings."

Taylor quotes, in proof of his affirmation, a prayer from a Paris Missal printed in 1626, which evidently refers to the souls in Purgatory, not those in Hell, and some lines of Prudentius. We need scarcely say, that whatever singular opinions may have been entertained by this or that man, the "Church of Rome" holds no such opinions as Taylor supposes. We only note his words to show how far he was from the sentiments which Mr. Fitzgibbon attributes to the Episcopal Church of Ireland, under whose shade, he says, reasonable men have fled from the horrors taught by the Catholic Church. We will quote one more passage, and we challenge Mr. Fitzgibbon to find any language so appalling in the writings of Father Furniss.

"When the Lion of the Tribe of Judah shall appear, then Justice shall strike and Mercy shall not hold her hands; she shall strike sore strokes, and Pity shall not break the blow. As there are treasures of good things, so hath God a treasure of wrath and fury, and scourges, and scorpions; and then

shall be produced the shame of lust and the malice of envy, and the groans of the oppressed, and the persecutions of the saints, and the cares of covetousness and the troubles of ambition, and the insolence of traitors and the violence of rebels, and the rage of anger and the uneasiness of impatience, and the restlessness of unlawful desires; and by this time the monsters and diseases will be numerous and intolerable, when God's heavy hand shall press the *sannies* and the intolerableness, the obliquity and the unreasonableness, the amazement, and the disorder, the smart and the sorrow, the guilt and the punishment, out from all our sins, and pour them into one chalice, and mingle them with an infinite wrath, and make the wicked drink off all the vengeance, and force it down their unwilling throats with the violence of devils and accursed spirits."—(Sermon on Christ's Advent to Judgment.)

It would be easy to quote passages to the same purport from hundreds of Anglican writers. But since all Protestants are not Anglicans or Episcopalians, let us pass to other sects.

Time went on, and neither the Calvinism of Latimer, nor the Puritanism of Milton, nor the more polished Anglicanism of Taylor, were acceptable any longer to multitudes, who, being separated from the Church of Jesus Christ, are like "children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine"—(Eph. iv., 14). But the wind of doctrine of *John Wesley*, at least, did not blow for the extinguishing of the fires of hell. Among his published sermons there is one on this subject, and we extract one passage from it, sufficient to show that "atrocious images" need not be sought for exclusively in the writings of Catholics. "There is no grandeur," says Wesley, "in the infernal region, there is nothing beautiful in those dark abodes; no light but that of liquid flames; and nothing new, but one unvaried scene of horror upon horror. There is no music but that of groans and shrieks, of weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth; of curses and blasphemies against God, or cutting reproaches to one another. Nor is there anything to gratify the sense of honour; no! they are the heirs of shame and everlasting contempt"—(Sermons of Wesley, vol. ii., p. 176).

Mr. Fitzgibbon writes as if all Protestants reject the doctrines which he has selected for denunciation. We do not know the present state of theology among the large and powerful body of Wesleyan Methodists, but it is evident that they cannot agree with him in calling Father Furniss's pictures of hell "infamous publications," without branding the writings of their founder with the same censure, which we cannot suppose that they are prepared to do.

Having now shown what Protestants have written on the existence and nature of Hell, let us see if they have been less *infamous* than Catholics in declaring for whom it is reserved.

Mr. Fitzgibbon repudiates this fate especially for three classes of persons—children, heretics, and the rich. Father Furniss undoubtedly teaches that a child old enough to be guilty of wilful mortal sin may be lost. But Bishop Taylor, in his "Contemplations," ch. ix., also says: "How many be there now in Hell who, for their first mortal sin, and only for that one, have been sent thither."

Father Furniss teaches that wilful obstinate heretics will be condemned. Bishop Latimer also declares that Hell is reserved "for all liars and hinderers of the truth."

Father Furniss warns also the rich. But here we must explain. He did not write for the rich but for children. He knew, however, that sometimes a poor boy may, in course of time, become a rich man. He does not condemn the industry or talent which thus changes his lot, but he warns him of a danger in these words:—

"The death-bed answer!"

"Perhaps some little boy who reads this book, when he grows up to be a man, may work hard and become rich; now I ask that boy a question. My dear boy, when you shall come to lie on your death-bed, will you say to yourself, 'I have laboured hard in my lifetime, and worked much, and now I am rich? I am going to die; and, because I am rich, I die contented and happy?' My boy, I will answer the question for you.—'The rich man died, and was buried in hell.'"

This passage has greatly angered Mr. Fitzgibbon. We would advise him to read the sermon preached by Bishop Andrews before the Court of James I., on the history of the Rich Man and Lazarus, or the excellent commentary published on the same history by the present Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. There is not an image in Father Furniss's chapter on "The History of the Rich Man"—a chapter which seems most to have offended Mr. Fitzgibbon—which may not be found in those writings of prelates of his own church. But Archbishop Trench goes further than Catholic theologians; for whereas the Council of Florence teaches that those who die in mortal sin go at once *to Hell*, and therefore that our Lord, in His picture of the state of "the rich man" after death, paints hell itself, the Anglican theologian, following Bishop Bull and others, considers that there is something far worse to come for Dives after the general judgment. His words are these:

“He that had that gorgeous funeral is now ‘*in hell,*’ or in Hades,’ rather; for as ‘*Abraham’s bosom*’ is not heaven, though it will issue in heaven, so neither is Hades ‘*hell,*’ though to issue in it, when death and Hades shall be cast into the lake of fire, which is the proper hell (Rev. xx., 14). It is the place of painful restraint, where the souls of the wicked are reserved to the judgment of the great day; for as that other blessed place has a foretaste of heaven, so has this place a foretaste of hell. Dives being there is ‘*in torments,*’ stripped of all wherein his soul delighted and found its satisfaction; his purple robe has become a garment of fire; as he himself describes it, he is ‘*tormented in this flame.*’”—(Trench, *Notes on the Parables*, p. 471, 3rd ed.)

Such is the language of the present ecclesiastical superior whom Mr. Fitzgibbon acknowledges, and the several editions through which his “*Notes on the Parables*” have passed, and the dignity he has attained since he wrote them, show that his words are not rejected by his own communion. Why, then, if Mr. Fitzgibbon is afraid to attack openly our Lord Jesus Christ, the original author of the “*History of the Rich Man,*” does he not turn his indignation against his own Archbishop’s commentary? What crime has Father Furniss committed that Dr. Trench is not guilty of? In order to impress upon children that “a man’s life consisteth not in the multitude of the things which he possesseth,” Father Furniss has developed in a picturesque manner, our Lord’s brief history of “*Dives.*” He has described his house, how he dressed and feasted, how he got sick, died, and was buried, and then he proceeds as follows—(and these are the words quoted by Mr. Fitzgibbon):—

“But down in hell the soul of the rich man is lying *in a coffin of fire!* Around the coffin, in that room, stood the people of the world, the friends of the rich man. They talked together—they spoke of the coffin. How beautiful it was—they said, what a fine coffin! But in hell, the devils were standing round the coffin of fire, and they talked also, and said—What a hot coffin—what a burning coffin this is! How terrible to be shut up in this coffin of fire for ever and ever, and never to come out of it again. Such was the end of the rich man. He lived in riches, and he died, and he was buried in the fire of hell! But why did that rich man go to hell? What was the reason? The reason was, because the rich man did not know the great thing he had to do while he lived. He made a great mistake. He thought the great thing of all was to be rich; and he was rich, and he went to hell.”

After quoting this passage, Mr. Fitzgibbon exclaims:—"Rich men of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who out of your riches replenish the treasury of this realm, are you prepared to draw upon that treasury for the support of State schools, in which this view of your predicament—this statement of your destiny—this wholesale damnation of your class, is to be taught, and indelibly impressed upon the infant minds of the poor children in Ireland, who are commanded to believe as a Gospel truth, that the tortures prepared for you were visibly demonstrated to St. Frances, by the angel Gabriel, sent from heaven for the purpose?"

We must inform Mr. Fitzgibbon that no such authority is claimed for the visions of St. Frances of Rome, as to put them on an equality with the Gospel, and that no Catholic writer who should attempt to do so, would escape the severest censure of the Church. Mr. Fitzgibbon also knows very well that there is not a word in the passage he has quoted taken from the visions of the saints. He knows that Father Furniss in this portion of his book, where *alone* he speaks of riches or of rich men, makes not the most distant allusion to any private revelations, but has taken the Gospel as his only guide. He knows also that Father Furniss does not in any way pronounce the "wholesale damnation" of the rich. In the very page from which Mr. Fitzgibbon has quoted, Father Furniss writes as follows, and we must give the passage at length, because without doing so we cannot convey to our readers the extent of Mr. Fitzgibbon's *dishonesty*, in drawing false inferences and suppressing evidence.

"Sect. xxi. Can a rich man be saved?"

"Without doubt it is possible for a rich man to be saved, for even among the saints are to be found those who were rich. But they made a good use of their riches; they used it in the service of God; they were kind to the poor; they led good lives. But why is it so difficult for a rich man to go to heaven? Is there something bad in gold and silver? Were not gold and silver created by God like the stones and the trees? Gold and silver are not bad in themselves, but people generally make a bad use of them, and commit sins because they have riches or want too much to get them. Therefore Jesus Christ says: 'Woe to you that are rich,' Luke vi.

"A word about the Poor.

"But it is not only those who have money whom God accounts as rich. At the day of judgment many of the poor will be condemned as rich. But how can a poor man be

called rich? he has no money in his pocket, his chest is empty. It is true that he has no money; but it is true also that he has in his heart a great strong desire of money. This great desire of money leads people into many sins. For example, there are many poor men whose thoughts are all about money. Then they forget God, and think no more about going to Mass and the Sacraments. A man is out of work, he loses his wages, he becomes impatient, and blasphemes God. Another man takes a false oath in order to get what does not belong to him. Here is a man who loves to drink in the public-house, so he steals and robs, and cheats, that he may have money to spend in the public-house. There are people who were friends; they had a quarrel about money, and now they have a deadly hatred against one another. So it is money, money, money! and then—curses, false oaths, stealing, cheating, drunkenness, neglect of God and the soul, and then—hell! Therefore, St. Paul says, 1 Tim. vi.: ‘They that will become rich fall into temptation and the snare of the devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the desire of money is the root of all evil.’”

If Mr. Fitzgibbon’s pamphlet reaches another edition will he have the candour, together with his accusations against Catholic priests for “wholesale damnation of the rich,” to print the following passages from Anglican bishops:—

“If you call him (*i.e.*, the rich man of our Lord’s parable) to account by the writ of *redde rationem*, this must be his audit: In purple and linen so much, and in belly-cheer so much; so much on his back and so much on his board, and in them endeth the total of his receipts; except you will put in his hounds, too, which received of him more than Lazarus might. Therefore is this party now in the gulf, because living himself was a gulf. Remember this, for it is a special point. For if our purple and fine linen swallow up our alms; if our too much lashing on to do good to ourselves, make us in a state to do good to none but ourselves; if our riotous wasting on expenses of vanity be a gulf, and devour our Christian employing in works of charity, there is danger in *recepisti*, even the danger of ‘Now, therefore,’ a gulf thou wert and into a gulf shalt thou go.” Bishop Andrews preached the above, and much more to the same purpose, before the court, yet he was not accused of infamy by any Master of Chancery of that day. Neither was Bishop Taylor calumniated because he wrote as follows:—“Let the rich of the world see to what poverty they are like to come; if they trust in their riches let them know they shall be condemned

to the loss of all which is good ; let them reflect upon him who was accustomed to be clothed in precious garments, to tread upon carpets, to sleep upon down, to dwell in spacious palaces, now naked, thrown upon burning coals, and packed up in some narrow corner of that infernal dungeon."—(Contemplations).

Bishop Sherlock, too, in the presence of the monarch whom Irish Protestants venerate so much, William III., and of his consort, preached a series of discourses on the Future Judgment. He speaks often of Hell, and frequently in words and images like those of Father Furniss. Yet their majesties took no offence, but asked him to publish the sermon in which he thus spoke :—"Consider this, ye rich and great men, who are so apt to forget God and a Future Judgment : *Riches profit not in the day of wrath* ; they cannot bribe God as they do men ; no power can prevail against the Almighty ; proud and swelling titles are mere empty bubbles, which burst and vanish into nothing in the next world : men ye are, and ye shall dye like men, and shall be judged like men, and have much more reason to think of judgment than other men have, for ye have a greater account to give, and are in more danger of giving a very bad account, if you do not frequently and seriously think of judgment."

Nor has the present Protestant Archbishop of Dublin been accused, that we know of, of "wholesale damnation of the rich," nor could such accusation be made without gross injustice ; yet his words are more open to such a charge than those of Father Furniss ; for, in explaining the sins which brought the rich man to Hell, he says : "It cannot be observed too often that he is not accused of any breach of the law ; not like those rich men in St. James (v. 1-6), of any flagrant crimes . . . There is nothing to make us think him other than a reputable man, one of whom none could say worse than that he loved to dwell at ease, that he desired to remove far off from himself all things painful to the flesh, to surround himself with all things pleasurable."—(Trench on the Parables).

Certainly quite as little as these or any other writers does Father Furniss either calumniate the rich or flatter the poor. Surely, then, the "infamy" is altogether in Mr. Fitzgibbon, who tries, by presenting false issues, to move the prejudices of those rich Protestants who may read his pamphlet, and who know nothing of the writings of Father Furniss, nor, indeed, of the teaching of Catholic priests.

Before taking leave of this part of our subject, we must give another instance of Mr. Fitzgibbon's fairness. Father Furniss, among other pictures, represents a girl in Hell who has been

a prostitute on earth. After describing her feet as especially tormented, because they first led her into the ways of sin, he introduces the following imaginary dialogue between her and the devil:—"Oh! that in this endless eternity of years, I might forget the pain only for one single moment.' The devil answers her question. 'Do you ask,' he says, 'for a moment, for one moment, to forget your pain? No, not for one single moment, during the never-ending eternity of years, shall you ever leave this red-hot floor!' 'Is it so?' the girl says, with a sigh that seems to break her heart. 'Then, at least, let somebody go to my little brothers and sisters, who are alive, and tell them not to do the bad things which I did; so they will never have to come and stand on the red-hot floor.' The devil answers her again, 'Your little brothers and sisters have the priests to tell them those things. If they will not listen to the priests, neither would they listen even if somebody should go to them from the dead.'"

Of course this dialogue is merely an imitation of that described by our Lord between the rich man and Abraham. The rich man had asked for one drop of water to cool his tongue, and was refused. The girl asks for one moment of relief for her feet, and is refused. The teaching of Father Furniss is identical with that of Jesus Christ. The rich man then prays for his brothers, and is told that his brothers have sufficient means of grace. The girl prays for her brothers and sisters, and receives the same answer. But here Mr. Fitzgibbon detects what he thinks a weak point, of which he can take advantage. Our Lord makes Abraham reply: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe if one rise again from the dead;" which Father Furniss thus transforms: "Your little brothers have the priests to tell them those things. If they will not listen to the priests, neither would they listen even if somebody should go to them from the dead." "Thus," exclaims Mr. Fitzgibbon, "substituting the priests for Moses and the prophets." And then he adds: "It is the main object, and purpose of these books, plainly discoverable from the whole tenor of them, to exalt the priests, and to impress upon the infant mind a deep and indelible conviction, that they, and they alone, have the power to save the soul from the tortures and eternal perdition described in this hideous detail."

Now, what crime has Father Furniss here committed? The "hideous detail" is substantially not his, but our Blessed Saviour's. Father Furniss substitutes such expressions as Christian children will understand, in the place of expressions which were adapted to the circumstances and education of our Lord's Jewish hearers. He says nothing here about

the power of the priests, except that they faithfully preach what Moses and the prophets, and our Lord Jesus Christ, taught. Certainly, when our Lord said: "They *have* Moses and the prophets," he made no distinction between those who had them by private reading, or those who had them by public teaching. It was in this last way that the majority of the Jews had them, that is, knew their doctrine, as St. James informs us: "Moses, of old time, hath in every city them that preach him in the synagogues, where he is read every sabbath."—(Acts xv. 21). Who, then, but a caviller would lay hold of a change of word which implies no change of meaning?

We can conceive no sadder spectacle than that here given us by Mr. Fitzgibbon. Our Lord is teaching us that forgetfulness of that hell, revealed in Holy Scripture, brought the rich man into its endless torments. A faithful priest of the Catholic Church is doing his best to enforce the same lesson. Mr. Fitzgibbon hates the "hideous detail" of this lesson. He has not the courage to say so directly of our Lord's teaching; so by absurd cavils and misrepresentations he attacks the very same thing in the priest which he affects to revere in the Master.

We have certainly nothing but loathing for the blasphemies of Shelley, but we respect him for his consistency compared with Mr. Fitzgibbon. Shelley calls the God of the Bible "a vengeful, pitiless, and almighty fiend," but he represents Moses, who made known to us this God, as a blood-thirsty impostor, and our Lord Jesus Christ, who appealed to Moses, and revealed to us more fully both the mercies and the terrors of the God of Moses, he calls "a village demagogue." Here is, at least, consistency in horrid blasphemy. But Mr. Fitzgibbon who, throughout his pamphlet, heaps epithets just as blasphemous on the God of Catholics, pretends to do so in the name of the "patient, the gentle, the all-perfect suffering Lamb—the infinitely benevolent Redeemer."

It is really sickening to any straightforward honest man to hear the modern teachers of God's pure benevolence—opponents not only (like some of their ancestors) of *eternal* torments, but of any future torments whatsoever—daring to appeal to the spirit of the Gospel and of Jesus Christ. Was not Jesus Christ first announced by his precursor as having the winnowing fan in his hand, about to burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire?—(Matthew iii. 12.) And are we not told by His Apostle to expect Him at His second coming "in a flame of fire yielding vengeance to them who know not God, and who obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall suffer eternal punishment in destruction, from the face of the Lord and from the glory of His power."—(Thess. i. 8-9.)

Who is there, forsooth, among Catholics who does not know as well as Mr. Fitzgibbon that Jesus Christ loved and embraced little children, that he was full of tenderness, full of mercy and compassion, that he was the Good Shepherd who laid down His life for His sheep?

But to dwell on these things only is to conceal at least one half of the words and of the character of Jesus Christ, and completely to misunderstand the rest. Mr. Fitzgibbon would do well, instead of railing at the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin for giving his "Imprimatur" to a book on Hell, if he would meditate on the following sentences with which his own Protestant Archbishop concludes his "Notes on the Parables." Having explained our Lord's parable of the king who took account of the conduct of his servants during his absence, Dr. Trench writes:—"When the king had thus distributed praise and blame, rewards and penalties, to those who stand in the more immediate relations of servants to Him, to those of His own household—for the church is the household of God—he proceeds to execute vengeance on his enemies, on all who had openly cast off allegiance to Him, and denied that they belonged to His household at all.—(Prov. xx. 8.) At His command they are brought before him and slain before his face; as their guilt was greater, so their punishment is more terrible, than that of the slothful servant. In the Marriage of the King's Son (Matt. xxii. 1.) the vengeance on the open enemies goes before that on the hypocritical friend or servant—here it follows after. This slaying of the king's enemies *in his presence*, is not to be in the interpretation mitigated or explained away as though it belonged merely to the outer shell of the parable, and was only added because such things were done in Eastern courts (1 Sam. x. 27, xi. 12; Jer. lii. 10), and to add an air of truthfulness to the narrative. Rather it belongs to the innermost kernel of the parable. The words set forth, fearfully indeed, but not in any way in which we need shrink from applying them to the Lord Jesus, his unmitigated wrath against his enemies—but only his enemies exactly as they are enemies of all righteousness, which shall be revealed in that day when grace shall have come to an end, and judgment without mercy will have begun."—(Rev. xiv. 10.)

We think we have now written enough for our purpose, which is to repel the unseemly attack made by Mr. Leckie, and repeated by Mr. Fitzgibbon, against Catholic priests.

We had thought of going into the theology and philosophy of the matter, and of endeavouring to suggest some reflections which might help to remove, or at least to diminish a great difficulty felt by many—how the infliction of such terrible and everlasting torments can be reconciled with the infinite

mercy of God. But on further consideration we relinquish this endeavour. There are, indeed, souls which deserve this help, souls not self-confident, scornful and presumptuous, but which are agitated with doubts regarding the Christian revelation. But few, we think, of those who rail at Hell, are capable of any such assistance. They are too shallow, like Mr. Fitzgibbon, even to admit the possibility that there are things in God's dealings with men undreamt of in their philosophy, or they are prejudiced men, like Mr. Leckie, who scorn even to inquire. If such men are capable of any help, we believe it is only such as we have here attempted to impart. They must be reminded that the doctrine they object to is not peculiar to the Church and priesthood which they hate and revile; but that, wondrous and awful as it is, it has been taught by men whom they themselves revere, men of many varieties of religious opinion and natural character, men renowned in literature, men famous for their tenderness and charity, quite as much as by men morose and bigoted, and most assuredly by the first preachers of Christianity, and its great founder our Lord Jesus Christ.

So long as men talk in a scoffing manner, like Shelley,

"Of the strange things priests hold so dear,
Because they bring them land and gold,
Of devils and saints, and all such gear ;"

so long as they arrogantly affirm with Byron, that

"—— they
Who doom to hell, themselves are on the way ;
Unless these bulls of eternal pains
Are pardoned their bad hearts, for their worse brains ;"

so long as they most falsely and most unphilosophically imagine that only fools, knaves, and bigots have preached on hell, or described its torments, so long they are incapable of considering the subject in that calm and serious spirit which alone is capable of having a difficulty explained, or a prejudice removed.

We do not, assuredly, maintain that Hell is never invoked by bigotry, or abused by spiteful feeling—the example we have quoted from Milton is a proof to the contrary. But if Milton's admirers can extol his genius and his character in spite of his faith in Hell, which never wavered to the end of his life, and in spite of his vindictive mention of it in his youth, it would seem reasonable that they should suspend their judgment before they call Catholic priests infamous for a faith in Hell, which is generally allied with charity just in proportion to its liveliness.

So, again, Coleridge speaks of Jeremy Taylor as "a man constitutionally overflowing with pleasurable kindness; who scarcely, even in a casual illustration, introduces the image of woman, child, or bird, but he embalms the thought with so rich a tenderness, as makes the very words seem beauties and fragments of poetry from Euripides or Simonides." It seems, then, reasonable that those who admire Taylor, whether as a man or as an author, when they learn that he both believed in Hell, and described its tortures with a force and minuteness never surpassed, may hesitate before they rail at Catholic priests for a similar faith and language.

And thus a wider acquaintance with facts may lead to more sober and less prejudiced judgments; and by degrees dispassionate study of present facts or past history may bring to such men's mind the undoubted, though, to them perplexing truth, that the greatest heroes of charity whom the world has ever known, men whose hearts felt sympathy for every sorrow, and whose whole life was self-sacrifice for its relief—men such as St. Vincent of Paul, St. Charles Borromeo, St. Alphonsus de Liguori, St. Francis de Sales—have had the firmest faith, and have been the most powerful preachers of the fearful pains of Hell.

When they have recognised this, they may, perhaps, proceed a step further, and reflect that no one spoke so gravely, so terribly, and so frequently of Hell, as He whose whole life was love and mercy, our Lord Jesus Christ. They may reflect that Jesus Christ is so far from seeing inconsistency, in attributing the infliction of eternal torments to a God of infinite love, that He generally brings the two ideas into the closest contact, and denounces "judgment *without mercy* to those who do no mercy." They may reflect that the denunciations of Hell, made by Jesus Christ and by his faithful followers, are intended to have, and in reality have, this effect, that they strike terror into the sensual, selfish, unforgiving, and hard-hearted, and bear fruit all over the earth in works of love and mercy.

When they have reflected on these things, which are not opinions, but facts, which all may verify—they will then see that whether they can bring themselves to believe in Hell or not—the epithet "infamous" ought not to be bestowed on the publications which produce these salutary fruits, but on those which seek to destroy them, by destroying or vitiating the tree on which they grow, which is faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The following admonition, which was addressed to his clergy by the Protestant Bishop Wilson, a man whom the writers of his life describe as a model of simplicity and

charity, is well worth attention. In his "True Way of Profiting by Sermons" (pp. 48-9, Oxford), he writes: "When you hear the description of Hell, and the fearful punishment of impenitent sinners, that 'they will be sent to a place of torments; that they must suffer the vengeance of eternal fire; that their worm never dieth; that they are to be tormented for ever and ever; and that they shall seek death, but shall not find it;' when you hear these amazing truths, do not strive to forget them, for they are the declarations of God himself; and they are revealed to us as the strongest motive to repentance and an holy life, and that we may never come into that place of torment. They are designed to restrain sinners from ruining themselves, and will be found true, whether they believe, whether they think of them, whether they fear them or not. 'Woe unto you that laugh now,' says our Lord (that is, that strive to divert the thought of the wrath to come), for 'ye shall mourn and weep.'

"'I will, therefore' (will every Christian of sense and solidity say), 'I will abhor and avoid, as I would the Devil himself, the company and conversation of those reprobate men who make a jest of sin, of Hell, and of eternal torments. If it is uneasy to me, and I tremble when I but think of these things, let me consider the most deplorable condition of these lost souls who now feel these torments, and who would not be persuaded to think of and to fear them, when it was in their power, through the grace of God, to escape them.'"

We will add two words more, both from Anglican divines of reputation.

Bishop Sherlock writes: "Bad men, indeed, are very much afraid of their own consciences, because they reprove and condemn them, and threaten them with Hell fire, and therefore they fly from their consciences, will not hear them, and will not suffer them to speak: but what do they get by this, but to drop securely and quietly into Hell, and then conscience will speak, and never be silent more: if they will not hear their consciences now, they must hear their Judge at the last day."

The celebrated Archdeacon Paley also, a man who will scarcely be accused of fanaticism, thus writes in a sermon on Hell:—"Now if any one feel his heart struck with the terrors of the Lord, with the consideration of this dreadful subject, and with the declarations of Scripture relating thereto, which will all have their accomplishment; let him be entreated, let him be admonished, to hold the idea, tremendous as it is, fully in his view, till it has wrought its effect, that is, till it has prevailed with him to part with his sins; and then, we assure him, that to alarm, fright, and horror, will succeed peace, and hope, and comfort, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

IRISH COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

A SUBJECT of deep interest to Irish Catholics is the history and present state of their Ecclesiastical Colleges founded in foreign countries since the Reformation. These establishments were, under God, the chief means of preserving the pure faith in Ireland, and surely the memory of their pious founders and benefactors should be cherished by our clergy and people. Yet no effort has been made, as far as we know, by any Catholic writer, if we except the learned notice of the Irish College, Paris, in our own pages, to rescue from oblivion even the names of the holy men who, by founding seminaries for the instruction of Irish priests, rendered such signal services to our creed and country.

This omission, neglect, or indifference we cannot hope to supply, because the sources of our information are often scanty, and some of them not now within our reach. But we feel we shall discharge a sacred duty by directing attention to the subject, and by drawing even a rough outline, which we trust will be soon filled up by some more competent hand. We purpose, then, to give a brief notice of the Irish Colleges abroad, in the order of their foundation, according to the usually received dates, and in this paper we shall treat of the Irish Colleges of *Alcala*, *Seville*, and *Lisbon*.

ALCALA.

The Irish College at *Alcala* was founded about A.D. 1590, by Baron George Sylveira, a Portuguese nobleman, who was descended, through his mother, from the McDonnells of Ulster. On the college chapel, dedicated to St. George, Martyr, he expended £1,000, and gave £2,000 per annum for ever for the maintenance of twenty Irish students, four masters, and eight servants. These very minute directions in the Baron's will were clearly intended to secure, as far as he could, the application of the funds to the specified purpose.¹

SEVILLE.

For the use of English Catholics, the well-known Jesuit father, Robert Parsons,² founded the College of St. Gregory the Great, at Seville, A.D. 1592, but as the revenues were insufficient, it was given over to the Irish before the close of the

¹ See Harris' Ware, 1, p. 256 ; Anderson's Sketches, p. 70, for fuller details.

² Of this celebrated man a good account is given in Dr. Oliver's Collections, p.

18th century.¹ An effort had been made previously, about A.D. 1614, to establish a college for the Irish mission, chiefly through the zeal and energy of Don Felix de Guzman, archdeacon and canon of Seville, a dignitary of noble lineage and of distinguished piety. This apostolic priest used every exertion to promote the good of the new foundation. He applied to King Philip III. for his support, which was promised in a letter dated at Lisbóa, July 25th, 1619. Through the king's influence chiefly, the Jesuit fathers were induced to take charge of the college, under whose government it remained until the suppression of the order.

The income was always scanty, and the number of students necessarily limited. Their uniform was a dark blue cassock, bound with a green sash or girdle. They attended all the lectures in art, philosophy, and theology in the College of St. Hermenegild, under the professors of the society. Zuniga, our chief authority, closes his account of the Irish College of Seville thus:—"The students, after receiving orders, return home disguised in a secular dress, to promote the Christian cause in their own country, which has derived, so far, most important aid from their pastoral zeal."²

LISBON.

Harris says that the College of Lisbon was founded in 1595, by Ximenes, a Spanish nobleman, "who is buried there, and a weekly Mass offered for his soul. . . . At its first foundation the Irish seculars were prefects of it; but now the Portuguese Jesuits govern it, and it supports not half the number it was founded for. Each student, at the expiration of his studies, receives £5 to pay his passage to Ireland, a gallon of wine, and some flour for biscuit. One Leigh, an Irish merchant, was a benefactor to it, and is interred in one of the chapels there."³

The foundation of our college at Lisbon dates farther back than 1595. Juvencius, in his History of the Society, states that the college was opened, in 1593, by Father John Howling, an Irish priest, whose holy mission it was to watch the Irish refugees, and to afford them protection. In 1593 he received into the new college 30 boys, who fled from persecution in Ireland. But there was a still earlier effort to establish an Irish college in Lisbon, probably some twenty years before. There was certainly then a school or seminary, perhaps not

¹ Zuniga (*Annales Eccles. et secular de la Cuidad de Sevilla*, p. 577), says it was held by the English down to 1677.

² D. Diego de Zuniga, *Annales de Sevilla*, Madrid, folio 1677, pp. 631-2.

³ Harris' Ware, vol. 1, p. 257; compare the interesting and learned biographical notice of F. FitzSimon in RECORD for March, 1872.

deserving the name of college, which was conducted by Irish priests for the use of the Irish Mission. The tradition in the College of Lisbon is distinct and decisive on this point. Our account is chiefly derived from the late Most Rev. Dr. Crotty, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, who had been Professor and Rector of St. Patrick's in Lisbon for twenty years, and knew thoroughly its history from its first origin. Though the college existed long before the time of Ximenes, he got the credit of founding it, because for many years it had no settled revenue, being supported by the voluntary contributions of a few noblemen and merchants, who felt sympathy for their persecuted Irish brethren, and a zeal for religion. When these pious offerings began to fail, Don Antonio Fernandez Ximenes provided out of his own purse for the maintenance of the college, changed its site, and thus came to be looked upon as its first founder. He purchased the grounds of the convent of Discalced Carmelites, repaired the old building, and gave out of his own income means for the permanent support of fourteen students. With them he resided during the last years of his life, and bequeathed to them all his property, upon the failure of legitimate male issue of his body.

The brother of Ximenes was also a generous benefactor, and his nephews protected the Irish seculars against some unworthy scheme to alienate their just heritage.

The first rector was Father White, an Irish Jesuit, and the priests of the Society continued in charge of the college until the great earthquake of 1755. It was then presided over by a Portuguese Jesuit, who, perhaps from age or natural timidity, showed much weakness in a trying hour. While the city was still in flames, he called the students together, and exhorted them warmly not to remain longer within its unhallowed precincts. God had, indeed, so far specially protected them, for although 60,000 of the citizens perished in the first shock, or in the conflagration yet raging, their college suffered no harm, they could not hope that the same special protection would be vouchsafed to them for ever. They should now seize the first opportunity of returning home, and thus avoid the death which seemed otherwise inevitable. This address did not influence the students much. If they escaped unhurt hitherto, they said, they owed that blessing to God, who would give His heavenly aid in further peril. They told the rector boldly that they knew full well their danger, but were resolved rather to die than go back to Ireland without having accomplished the great end for which they had left home and kindred. Among those most determined in resisting the suggestion or order of the President were the Rev. P.

Sherlock, afterwards P.P. of Meath-street, Dublin, and Mr. M. Brady, who was destined, as we shall see, to have a great share in the varying fortunes of the College. They were determined not to leave the house while a stone remained upon a stone. It was the property of the Irish nation, confided to their care, and they should guard it at any sacrifice. If there was that imminent danger which the rector dreaded, and pictured so vividly to them, why not retire for a few days to their country house, leaving only two or three students in the city? They felt it their conscientious duty not to shrink from danger. This was, they said, the first lesson taught them at home, and the first lesson which they should teach others on their return. The rector might go away if he choose—they never would.

This strong remonstrance had a wholesome effect; the Rector and a large number of the students, leaving only a few volunteers on duty, withdrew to the country house. On their arrival, they found it, to their great surprise, a heap of ruins, the effects of the great shock having been more terrible there than in the immediate suburbs.

The Irish youths did not anticipate this trial, but they fearlessly resolved not to be overcome by it. While some were engaged in pulling out the broken rafters and boards, others prepared a canvas covering. A shed was thus improvised in a few hours, which gave sufficient shelter in the unusually mild season which happily followed the earthquake. These young men had suffered greater privations, and just escaped the most dreadful and sudden calamity that, perhaps, ever visited a city. They thought little of their inconvenient quarters, and in a short time learned to be cheerful and contented. One day, as they were amusing themselves in their recreation ground, a venerable father of the Society, familiarly and affectionately called Father John of Antwerp, remarked how thoughtless they seemed to be in the midst of danger. "Don't you notice," he said to the first group that saluted him, "how your rector rides off on his mule early in the morning to the Ajudas, where the king and court are now in tents. His only object in these visits is to obtain a royal order for your instant removal. The scheme will succeed unless you appeal to the king's confessor, who will protect you against the fears of this old man, whose mind is actually weakened by the remembrance of the scenes in the city."

Early next morning, as soon as the rector set off on his mule, two of the students hurried to the king's confessor, a Dominican friar, and a pious and learned priest, who received them most kindly, entered at once into their views, and

promised to lay their case before his Majesty at the earliest opportunity. On the next day but one the royal decision was announced. The rector was ordered to remain in charge of the College, while the students would be provided for in the College of Evora until the end of their course. Thus far the students saved, for a time, the revenues of the College, but a worse fate still awaited it. When the Jesuits were banished from Portugal, and their property seized on by the crown, the funds of the Irish College in Lisbon were also confiscated, on the plea that the College was in the hands of the Society, and belonged to them. In vain did the Irish bishops protest against this glaring spoliation. The unscrupulous Pombal would heed no remonstrance. As the property, he said, was given by Ximenes, it should now revert to his family. The Irish bishops were equally resolved not to submit to this injustice. At a solemn meeting held in Dublin, they deputed Dr. Carpenter, once a student in Lisbon, then a curate in Dublin, afterwards Archbishop, to represent to the King of Portugal, the grievous wrong done to the Irish Catholics by seizing on the funds of their College. Pombal not only insisted on his own measure being carried out, but insolently told Dr. Carpenter that, if in his power, he would treat the Irish as he did the Portuguese Jesuits.

After this answer, Dr. Carpenter thought it useless to press his claim further, and returned at once to Ireland. One of the alumni of Lisbon, who removed to Evora, was young Michael Brady, the unflinching advocate of the College, as we have seen, in its hour of need. He was a man of rare acquirements, a ripe classical scholar, and reputed the ablest canonist of his time. He was, besides, an accomplished linguist, and conversed with ease and elegance in French and German. He had hardly finished his studies at Evora, when he was invited by the Marquis of Pombal to accept the professorship of Greek in the magnificent college of the Nobles, just then established. No better choice could have been made, and Dr. Brady's services were gratefully remembered in Portugal. To him and to his friend, Dr. Birmingham, afterwards rector of Salamanca, is justly ascribed the glory of reviving the study of the Greek language in the Peninsula.

When thus placed in a position of trust, Dr. Brady did not forget his old *alma mater*. He urged so repeatedly the necessity of restoring the revenues to the Irish college, that Pombal more than once rudely interrupted him when referring to that subject. The day of retribution, however, is sure to come, though it may sometimes appear to men slow. Pombal lost all his power, fell into disgrace, and died, almost in a prison

cell, detested at home and abroad. The Irish College was opened again soon after his death, and Dr. Brady, now *emeritus* professor of the Nobles, was appointed its first worthy rector in 1782. He continued to rule the college until he died, in 1801, full of years and merits.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Crotty, who was one of the first pupils of the re-established college, and a professor from 1791. He held office until 1811, when he returned to Cloyne, became P.P., and with the old fondness for college life, took charge of a little seminary. On the 13th of November, 1813, Dr. Crotty was elected President of Maynooth College, and consecrated Bishop of Cloyne, 11th June, 1833. Few Irish priests were better known and more esteemed than this venerable man. He filled the highest and most difficult positions in our church, and was always distinguished by his graceful manners and zealous devotion to duty. He died on the 4th of October, 1846, and is buried in the convent chapel at Middleton.

Dr. Crotty's successor in the rectorship of Lisbon was the Rev. Dr. Dunne, P.P. of Palmerstown, county Dublin, who, at the urgent request of the Irish bishops, left his parish, and devoted himself for a long time most zealously to the improvement of the College. After his return to Ireland, the Rev. Mr. Joyce was appointed rector, and held that office in the early part of 1839, when the writer had the pleasure of making his acquaintance.

This last date reminds us that we have unconsciously come too near our own time. The further history of the Irish College of Lisbon we must leave to living witnesses of its revival, and, we sincerely trust, of more than its former glory.

The revenues of the Lisbon house, always inadequate to the support of more than a dozen students, were by no means improved after its restoration. The superiors received little or no recompense. Dr. Brady lived on his pension from the Nobles, which he enjoyed to the last day of his life. Dr. Crotty was passing rich on a salary of £7 a year as professor, and the dignity of rector brought him only £4 more annually. Before the suppression of the Society the number of students hardly ever exceeded fourteen; afterwards it increased to thirty, and sometimes forty or more, partly owing to the disturbed state of France, and partly to the dissensions in the Irish College at Paris, and the strong condemnation of its government by the Irish Bishops. All these young men paid for their maintenance. Hence, after the peace of 1815, the number fell again to the average of twelve or fourteen on the foundation. Nor was even this state of things destined to be

of long duration, for after the civil war in Portugal, the College of Lisbon was closed for a long period, Father Joyce having, in the meantime, obtained merely permission to remain in charge of the building. Though the revenues of the College were insufficient, and the number of students very limited, the building itself was very well designed and commodious, and always kept in good repair.

Whatever may have been the faults of those who presided over the College of Lisbon, they were at least free from the charge which the Roman historian looked upon as the great disgrace of his own age, "*ætas incuriosa suorum.*" In its records are inscribed the names of its *alumni*, most distinguished for learning and piety, and excellent portraits of the Irish Bishops who studied there—Burke (Tuam), Talbot, Russell, Carpenter (Dublin), Verdon (Ferns), Kelly (Waterford), Crotty (Cloyne)—are still hung up in the large class hall.

(To be continued).

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON, S. J.

(Continued from page 285).

"THE Irish Exiles of the Faith everywhere dispersed," thus addressed the Father of the Faithful, about the year 1593, when FitzSimon was entering on his professional career at Douay.

"Most Holy Father—The care of all the Churches disposes your Holiness to listen to any proposal for the preservation or restoration of the Faith throughout the world; and the same solicitude must render doubly pleasing to your Holiness a proposal, made by Irish exiles, who owe so much to their country, and concerning a matter which is of the utmost importance to the Church. We witness at present the fulfilment of a revelation made to our Apostle St. Patrick eleven hundred years ago. He beheld Ireland blazing with the fire of Christian Faith and Charity, and afterwards he saw it covered with darkness. Urged by piety to our fatherland, and by the hope that we shall soon see realized the last part of the revelation, which exhibits Ireland again restored to its pristine splendour and glory, we prostrate ourselves at the feet of your Holiness, humbly begging that your Holiness will take into consideration certain points which we deem most important for the salvation of our country.

“Firstly—Our ancestors, the ancient princes of Ireland, are said to have been so full of attachment to the Holy See, that, after their conversion to Christianity, they not only submitted to the Pope as Pastor of the Church, but also gave to him supreme dominion over their territories.

“Secondly—At the time of the Anglo-British invasion, the Irish did not submit until Henry was made Lord of Ireland, by the authority of the Pontiff, who sent his Legate Vivès to inaugurate him.

“Thirdly—Although at that time it seemed expedient to give the English monarch a certain power of protection over Ireland, yet the yoke of English rule has become galling and hurtful, especially since Henry the Eighth rejected the authority of the Holy See, usurped the title of King of Ireland, and tried to tear the country from the heart of the Church.

“Fourthly—Although, through the violence of English tyranny, the material temples are everywhere devoted to heretical worship, still the souls of the Irish, the living temples of God, are so devoted to Him, that there is no nation in the world in which heresy has been preached, or even named, which has fewer persons infected with Protestantism, or well affected towards it. Many, indeed, in spite of the terror and threats of English tyranny, profess with constancy the Catholic religion; most of the others approve of that constancy, and are inclined to imitate it; and whatever defections take place, come from want of sufficient instruction.

“Fifthly—The exiles of other nations have seminaries and schools endowed by the liberality of the Holy See, while Ireland, the patrimony of the Apostolic See, is deprived of that blessing. If it enjoyed this favour, Irishmen could be sent home to their own country, where they could work much more freely than priests do in other lands, which are a prey to Protestantism. They could console and strengthen the well-intentioned, teach the uninstructed, and raise up the fallen. Another advantage of no small moment, though perhaps little adverted to, would be, that if we had a college in Rome, those who go to the Capital of Catholicity to solicit favours should receive testimonials from that college.

“Sixthly—Our country was once a school of religion and learning to which very many foreigners flocked, and from which many Irish went forth to propagate the light of religion and learning in other lands. This glory gradually faded away before the frequent and ferocious attacks of invaders, and through the intestine feuds of the native princes. Then

came the English ; and when they got a footing, they abolished indeed some trifling abuses, but they abolished education also. They forced the Irish to be ignorant in order to compel them to be slaves ; and hence it has happened that the Irish, who are otherwise most devoted to the Catholic Church, were not sufficiently instructed to detect and reject that corruption of religion, which the English have been for some years trying to introduce into Ireland by force and fraud.

“Seventhly—The English, while they were Catholics, suppressed schools, in order to enslave the people ; but within the last two or three years they have opened a college in Dublin, in order to make the Irish the slaves of heresy, by handing over our youth to be instructed by English heretics. This new system is most dangerous and insidious. Through the grace of God, and the merits of their saints, and specially of their Apostle, love for the Faith and for the Apostolic See has become a second nature with Irishmen. However, as their character is fickle and pliant, it is very much to be feared that heresy, with all its machinery and appliances, may draw them to itself, if they be deprived of teachers who could instruct them in the Catholic Faith.

“The fear of this danger creates great sadness and sorrow in our hearts, and in the hearts of all prudent Irishmen, since we see that proper instructors are wanting. We are most anxious that fit and competent persons should be sent to our country. Wherefore ; Most Holy Father, we lay our wishes and those of our people at the feet of your Holiness, praying your Holiness to consider the foregoing statements, and to do, under the inspiration of God, what is best for our country.

“In fine, since (a most clement God preserving the seed for us) there are of our nation some Priests of the Society of Jesus, well able to produce the greatest fruit in our fatherland, we humbly beg, that as missions have been established to bring back other provinces from heresy, or to maintain them in the Church, so some of these priests may be sent, under the auspices of your Holiness, into the yellow harvest of Ireland.

“Of your Holiness the most humble clients,

“The Irish Exiles of the Faith everywhere dispersed.”¹

This petition was not immediately successful, as far as the concluding request was concerned. It was soon followed by

¹ MSS. de Rebus Hibernicis.

another, made by the Irish at home, which was read in the light of O'Neill's victories, and was granted. Jouvancy says: "The Earl of Tyrone having been victorious over the English, and having got possession of Ulster and Connaught, the Irish princes negotiated with Cardinal Mattei, Protector of Ireland, and with Father Aquaviva, General of the Society, about the sending of some Jesuit fathers to Ireland.¹

At Clontibret, in 1595, O'Neill defeated the brave Sir John Norreys, the most experienced of Elizabeth's generals, and drove headlong before him the veterans whom Norreys had often led to victory on the plains of Flanders and Brittany. In 1597 a body of one thousand Anglo-Irish, while marching to join the English against O'Neill, was annihilated by Tyrrell, an Irish captain; and soon after, at Benburb, the English were routed with great slaughter, and their viceroy, and their ally, the Earl of Kildare, and many officers of distinction, were slain.

Two Jesuits were selected to go to the theatre of war: one to work among the men of Ulster, and the other among the Catholics of the Pale, who were the firm friends and allies of the English. The elder of them was F. James Archer, a native of Kilkenny, who joined the Society in Rome on the 25th of May, 1581, in the thirtieth year of his age.² At the time of this Irish mission he was forty-six years old, but according to an Irish catalogue of 1609, he was fifty-two years of age. It would appear that he was a very remarkable man. The first mention we find of him is in a letter of Sir William Drury, a bigoted and brutal English President of Munster. Drury says, in 1577:—"James Archer, of Kilkenny, is a detestable enemy to the Word of God. He did swear against her Majesty's jurisdiction in Louvain, and to read not in any English book; he arrived in Ireland last March. He and Dr. Comerford, also come out of Louvain, taught all the way betwixt Rye and Bristol against the religion of the Queen, and caused a number to despair." We learn something more of F. Archer from two infamous Englishmen named Atkinson. One of these worthies, an apostate priest, wrote to "crook-backed" Cecil:—"I know Fathers Nangle and Archer, who are Tyrone's ghostly fathers, and through them I shall get access to Tyrone, and *poison him with consecrated Hosts.*"³ This was the apostate priest who got F. Tichborne arrested and hanged in 1601. He saw F. Tichborne, and "ceased not to cry out, a priest, a priest: stop the priest. The clergyman tried to stop his mouth, by saying he was no more a priest than him-

¹ Jouvancy—Hist. S.J. ² Novice-Book of St. Andrea, Rome.

³ Kilkenny Arch. Journal; Life of MacCarthy Mor, by MacCarthy Glas.

self; which was true." A brother of this Atkinson tried to get Father Archer arrested in London. From him we learn that Archer had been "confessor to the Archduke of Austria, and that he was in stature somewhat tall, black, and in visage somewhat thin, born in Kilkenny."

This account is partly confirmed by Archer himself, who says that he was well known in the Netherlands, and it is corroborated by the *Pacata Hibernia*, which gives us to understand that he was in build and appearance like the Black Earl of Ormond. It is a pity that we cannot find the description of FitzSimon furnished by the Government spies, the most efficient of whom were apostates. His movements, and those of his companion, were closely watched; and I am sure that if I could consult the State Papers, I should find the time of their arrival in Ireland carefully chronicled. As it is, I am in doubt whether it was in 1596, or early in the following year. Already, on the 6th of July, 1596, the infamous Protestant Bishop of Cork wrote to the English Lord Chamberlain:—"Tyrone hath three English Jesuits with him. The people of these parts are very unwilling to go against him, as he is of their faction. The young merchants of the cities and towns go to their Masses, with their daggers and pistols ready prepared. I have not *five* at service, nor *three* at communion. There is not one preacher of the Irishe in all Munster, and very few in other parts; which is a token (I fear me) that God has cast them off. . . . I wish, and *I speak with all humility*, that some order may be taken, that these seducers, as priests, friars, Jesuits, and seminaries, and their maintainers, may be restrained, and some sharp punishment devised for them. The best name the Irish give the divine service appointed by Her Majesty is the *Divell's service*, and the professors thereof *Divells*. I have caused churches to be re-edified, but *none* will come to the church at all, not soe much as the country churlls. . . . In all the schools of my diocese, I found her Majesty's name and title torn out of the new grammars, to the number of 74 in one school. . . . All this cometh to pass by their seducers, Jesuits and seminaries, hedge-priests and Rome-runners, who (under correction) are to be looked unto, otherwise what will ensue? No resort to churches, nor divine service, nor sermons, neither of men, women, nor children. Neither the Mayor of Waterford, one Wadding, a great lawyer, nor his sheriffs, ever come to church sithence this reign; nor *none* of the citizens, men nor women, in any town or city of Munster. The Lord, in his mercy, amend it, when it shall please his gracious goodness to look on them."¹

¹ RECORD, August, 1871, Lyon's Letters.

From this letter of a canting knave and sacrilegious scoundrel, it is not unlikely that the two Jesuits were hard at work before July, 1596. In that year a Spanish vessel, commanded by Alonzo Cobos, brought arms and ammunition to O'Donnell; and, I dare say, the ex-Rector of Salamanca came in that, or in another Spanish vessel, which, in April, 1597, arrived in the Killibegs, "on the west side of the glen blessed by holy Columba," as an Irish chronicler has it. O'Donnell entertained Philip's envoys with great hospitality, and presented them with hounds and horses.¹

The two fathers must have arrived in 1596, or early in 1597, for Father Aquaviva wrote them a letter in the latter year, congratulating them on their success, and at the same time cautioning them to remember the times and the circumstances in which they were placed, and not to attempt anything that might compromise or endanger their Catholic countrymen.²

This letter they never got, as they complain that F. General did not answer their letters and encourage them in the midst of their severe trials and great dangers. And as, on the other hand, the F. General speaks of their neglect in writing to him, we must conclude that the correspondence found its way among the papers of some government or some private family, and we may hope that it will be published at some future time. However, some of the letters have been preserved. The first that I can find was written "in haste from the camp," by F. Archer, on the 10th of August, 1598, the eve of the victory of the Yellow Ford. He writes in a fine clear hand to F. Aquaviva:—"Very Reverend Father—Your letter of the 14th of March did not reach me till the 1st of August, although F. FitzSimon received it three months before that time. I am reduced to the greatest straits since my arrival, and have seen F. FitzSimon only once, and then for less than an hour. I have sent many letters to Spain with money for the students of Salamanca, and by the same way I have sent letters to your Paternity, but I have received no answers. I presume merchants do not like to bring any letters to or from me. This is natural, as the English government hates me very much, hunts me very often in frequent raids, and has set a price on my head. This forces me to live in the woods and in hiding places. I cannot even return to Spain, as merchants are afraid to receive me into their vessels, well knowing that there are spies in every port on the look-out for me.

"Meanwhile, I work as a true son of the Society. I have

¹ Mitchell's O'Neill, p. 133.

² Jouvancy, Hist. S. J.

already heard many thousand confessions; I have instructed an uncultivated and barbarous people; I have brought back some to the Church; I have reconciled a noble person and his wife, and thus put a stop to dangerous dissensions which existed among members of both families who were leading men in the land. I have administered the Sacraments in the Camp, and it is marvellous what crowds come from the surrounding districts to hear Mass and go to confession. What a great harvest could be reaped here, if several fathers of our Society were sent to us! All the nobles of the country, specially those of the North, are very anxious to have our fathers, and they promise all protection and help, and certain lands for their maintenance. This region is very uncultivated, ignorant, and barbarous; yet the people have the greatest respect for religious, and from this place Apostolic exertions might be made into other parts with greater safety and advantage. The chiefs in the South wish also to have our fathers, but they do not dare to patronize and protect them openly. They will protect them, however, and take every care of them. The frequent victories of the Catholics give us great hopes at present, as the heretics are forced to abandon various places.

“Dr. Cornelius Stanle, Vicar Apostolic, urgently asked me to come hither and help him in spiritual matters, and in a short time I converted ten priests who were living in schism and concubinage. Some Catholics had rescued some Church property from the heretics; and for the peace of their consciences, with the advice and authority of Dr. Stanle, I dispensed with them on condition of their contributing towards the Irish College of Salamanca. In this I trust I have done nothing against the Institute, and in this, as in other things, I trust your paternity will judge me with all charity and will not condemn me on the report of those who know little or nothing of myself or of my actions. I cannot tell you how much I should do for religion, if I could work openly among men, as I hope others will be able to do, who have not lived with our adversaries, as I have done in Flanders and elsewhere. I mean to go to Spain from the North at the first opportunity. I have not been able to leave up to the present time, as all the ways are blocked up. Your paternity will always find in me a faithful, humble, and obedient son of the Society.

“James Archer.”¹

Such is the substance, though not the exact and full translation of F. Archer's letter. Four days after he wrote thus,

¹ MS. De Rebus Hib.

he could work with more freedom ; for his friend O'Neill, without any artillery, and with 4,500 foot and 600 horse, defeated the same number of English, who were well supplied with artillery, and were all picked men, veterans of the wars of Flanders and France. The English lost their commander, Marshal Sir Henry Bagnal, twenty-three officers, and 1,700 men, or, according to some writers, 3,000 rank and file. The English, says Morrison, an English writer, looked on O'Neill as the Irish Hannibal, and Camden pronounced the battle a glorious victory for the Irish.¹

The next news about the two missionaries comes from Lisbon. F. Nicholas Leinich, an Irish Jesuit living at the College of St. Anthony, writes on the 25th of September, 1598—" I gather the following details from a letter of Patrick Hamill, a secular priest who was educated in the Irish College here:—Ireland derives the greatest advantage from the ardent zeal of F. Archer. He would have done much more good, if the viceroy had not set spies to hunt him down from the very moment of his landing. He has to keep hidden ; but when he thinks he may venture out for a short time, he works with his accustomed zeal, and with singular success, and he has already brought many heretics back to the fold.

"F. FitzSimon pursues his missionary career with not less fruit. On Sundays and Festivals he preaches to great crowds with ardent zeal and absolute forgetfulness of self. He *converts hundreds* to the Faith. Not to speak of others who have returned to the Catholic Church in Dublin, one hundred persons, who last year communicated according to the Protestant fashion, this year received instruction, reconciliation, confession, and communion from this good father. The Catholics were edified at the tears, the repentance, and the fervour of these converts. Lest there might be too great a crowd, and lest too much attention might be attracted, it was arranged that sixty should receive communion one day, and forty the next. This created a holy rivalry to be on the first day, and to have the happiness of receiving our Lord in the banquet of his love. The Catholics were so struck with the novelty and piety of the scene that for many days they spoke of nothing else, and thanked Almighty God for the grace conferred on the converts, and on the whole Irish Church.

"As the Catholics increased daily, Father FitzSimon thought it well to erect an altar in the house of a nobleman, in which the faithful might assemble. He got the hall lined with tapestry and covered with carpets, and had an altar made, which was as handsome and as elegantly furnished and decorated

¹Mitchell's O'Neill, and the various Irish Histories.

as any altar in all Ireland. The Irish proverb says: "ἄνευ μουσικῆς ἡ ἐκκλησία πτωχὴ ἐστίν," *poor is the Church which is without music.* F. Henry was convinced of this, and he had High Mass celebrated with full orchestra, composed of harps, lutes, and all kinds of instruments except the organ. Before High Mass there were three Low Masses, at which very many partook of the Bread of Angels with incredible sweetness of divine consolation. After the Gospel F. FitzSimon preached with immense success and fruit, and after Mass he received many into the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. The Sodality has been established in Dublin, and in it are families of the first rank; it flourishes and increases every day." I may add to what F. Hamill says of the Sodality, that the Clongowes Sodality Book, which is a well bound folio, belonged to the Dublin Sodality, which flourished in 1696, a hundred years after the establishment of the Sodality by F. FitzSimon. On the leather cover is written, in a large and beautiful hand: "The gift of Mr. Garret Dillon to the Sodalitie of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, on the Feast day of Corpus Christi, in the year of our Lord God 1696, F. Bernard Kiernan of the same Societie being Director of the Sodalitie, Mr. Thomas Quirk Prefect, Mr. John Begg and Garret Dillon Assistants, Mr. Michael Tipper Secretarie, and Mr. John Bath, and Mr. Denis Lane Consultors." . . . The names of the members of that time are given. There were twenty-four gentlemen, and forty-four ladies. The book contains also the rules of the Sodality, and the letter of F. General Vitelleschi, by which he, in the year 1628, aggregated the Dublin Sodality to the Roman one.

F. Hamill goes on to say, that "the joy of all was unbounded, as that High Mass was *the first solemn Mass celebrated for the last forty years.* I cannot put in a letter all that deserves to be written about the piety and perseverance of our people. F. FitzSimon, in order to provide for the salvation of all of them, makes various apostolic excursions. Always ready, eager, and burning to help his countrymen, he allows himself no rest. Wherever he goes or tarries, he speaks of God and of things of God; he teaches the heads of families their duties, and how to live in the fear and love of God. They obey him carefully, and carry out his plans, and are devoted to Christian piety. Moreover he has got together twelve youths, well educated and disciplined, virtuous and talented, whom he intends to send to Flanders. He has also some young virgins, who have already consecrated themselves to God by a vow of perpetual virginity, and who

await in Dublin an opportunity of sailing, to join a religious order on the Continent. Most loving Father, if twenty of our fathers were sent to Ireland the whole country would soon be brought back to the true faith. All they want are guides; wherefore, take care to send thither all who know Irish or English. No one will interfere with their missionary labours in that kingdom. The viceroy, hearing about the doings of F. FitzSimon, invited him to dispute with the parsons. F. Henry accepted the invitation; they were frightened, and declined to have anything to do with Jesuits and Seminars. They preferred flying before the fight to flying after defeat, and they suffered all the greater confusion that they used to boast that no Papist in Ireland or in the universe could withstand their attacks.

“The Catholics go armed to Mass, in order to protect the priests and themselves, and hence the parsons, who formerly enriched themselves by their raids on the ‘Mass-houses,’ are afraid to prowl about in search of altar ornaments. These things I have abridged from the letter of Patrick Hamill. In conclusion, I earnestly beg that you will obtain for me, an unworthy and useless servant, the favour of being sent to that holy and happy mission of Ireland. This favour I have asked for a long time from F. General, and from your predecessor.

“From this College of St. Anthony, Lisbon, the 25th of September, 1598.

“Nicholas Leinich.”¹

(To be continued).

DOCUMENTS.

I.—LETTER OF PROPAGANDA TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,

Regarding the Censures inflicted on Freemasons and those who take part in their proceedings.

“Illmo. e Revmo. Signore.

“La questione che V.S. mi propose intorno ai Massoni, e che come Le scrissi, fu da me rimessa all’ esame della suprema congregazione del S. officio, è stata presa in considerazione dagli E.E. Cardinali Inquisitori genli nella Feria V. loco IV. 25 dello scorso giugno. Ora domandava Ella se debbano enersi come obbligatorie in Irlanda le costituzioni dei SS. PP.

¹ Arch. Prov. Hib. S. J.

Clemente xii., Benedetto xiv., Pio vii., e Leone xii., sulle sette clandestine, e se sia lecito a' cattolici di prender parte ad un ballo dato da' massoni affine di ottener denaro pel mantenimento e per l'educazione de' loro orfani, al qual ballo presiede il gran maestro della setta con tutte le decorazioni della sua dignità, ad assisteano tutti gli altri addetti alla setta vestiti secondo i diversi gradi loro nella setta medesima.

“La S. C. ha risposto: ‘Constitutiones apostolicas de quibus sermo est contra sectas clandestinas latas vim habere in Hibernia, et eos quoque comprehendere qui coetibus intersunt, aut conventibus, aggregationibus seu conventiculis sociorum sectae, quocumque prætextu nomine sectæ habitis sive palam, sive in occulto. Idque communicetur R. P. D. Archiepiscopo Dublinensi pro sui et confessoriorum norma.’

“Oltre a ciò è mente della S. C. che si ricordi alla S. V. il decreto di Feria IV., 2 Luglio 1845, con cui furono avvertiti i vescovi d'Irlanda, non che i vicarii ap. d'Inghilterra e di Scozia che: ‘privatim vel per se vel per alios sibi benevisos nomine S. Sedis confessariis præcipiant, ut serio moneant suos poenitentes ne societati Francsmaçons, aliisque hujus generis clandestinis aggregationibus nomen dare, vel earum conventicula adire aut fovere præsumant, ac pertinacibus sacramentalem absolutionem negent, cum facultate absolventi vere resipiscentes ab excommunicatione incursa.’

“Tanto doveva comunicarle in argomento, e prego il Signore che La conservi lungamente e La prosperi.

“Affmo per Servirla,

“ALESSANDRO C. BARNABÒ PREFETTO,

‘A. Capalti Seg^{rio}.’

“Roma dalla Progaganda,

“7 Luglio, 1863.

“Monsignor Paolo Cullen,

“Arc^o di Dublino, Primate d'Irlanda.”

II.—DECISIONS REGARDING MIXED MARRIAGES.

The following decisions of the Congregation of the Holy Office may occasionally be useful in settling difficulties that arise in Ireland. The questions proposed were as follows:—

“Quaeritur 1^o.—Utrum communicatio in sacris existat si vir Catholicus ritu Protestantico in ecclesia Protestantica matrimonium ineat cum foemina Protestantica?

“2^o. Utrum sacerdos Catholicus, salva conscientiae, matrimonio mixto assistere, illudque solemnibus benedictione cohones-

tare possit, si sponsi vel antea vel postea matrimonium ineant in ecclesia Protestantica rituque Protestantico?"

The answer is thus given:—

“Feria IV., die 21 Aprilis, 1847.

“In congregatione generali S. Officii habita in conventu S. Mariae supra Minervam coram EE. et RR. S.R.E. Cardinalibus generalibus inquis. propositis suprascriptis dubiis, iidem EE. et RR. decre verunt. Quoad I. *Affirmative*; ad II. *Negative*.

“ANGELUS ARGENTI, S. Rom.

“et Univ. Inquis. Notarius.”

III.—REGARDING COMMUNICATION IN DIVINIS.

An Irish theologian, Arsdekin, in his “Theologia Tripartita” (T. ii., part 2, tract 6, quaest. 9), proposes and solves the following questions:

An liceat Catholico in templo haereticorum agere aedituum, aut organistam aut pulsare campanas, quibus illi ad templum convocantur?

Respondeo negative; quia exercendo illas funciones, directe cooperatur ritibus haereticorum, quod est per se malum, adeoque nulla spe lucri potest reddi licitum aut honestum. Et ita resolvit Lessius *opusc. posth.*, v. haeret., cas. ii.

§ The decision in the above case depends on the reasoning of the author: the following case has been decided with authority by the Holy Office. The question was proposed, in a petition to the Pope, in the following words:—

D.N. orator sanctitati v. humiliter exponit quod in civitate quadam existat hospitium, cujus ipse est rector et cappellanus ac in quo infirmorum curam gerunt quaedam moniales. Cum autem in hoc hospitio subinde recipiantur acatholicae religionis sectatores, ac iidem ministrum haereticum, a quo religionis auxilia et solatia recipiant, identidem petant; quaeritur utrum praefatis monialibus falsae religionis ministrum advocare licitum sit? Quaeritur insuper utrum eadem danda sit solutio, ubi haereticus infirmus in domo privata cujusdam catholici degit: utrum scilicet tunc catholicus ministrum haereticum advocare licite possit?

Feria iv., d. 15 Martii an. 1848, Emi. et Revmi. Cardinales congregationis S. Officii, audita relatione suprascripti supplicis libelli una cum voto D.D. consultorum, responderunt: juxta exposita non licere—et addiderunt: passive se habeant.—See *Melang. Theolog. Liege* 1852, 2d Ses. p. 89.

REPORT OF THE IRISH LADIES' PAPAL ADDRESS
COMMITTEE.

THE outrages inflicted on the illustrious prisoner of the Vatican have had at least one result disappointing and disconcerting to his enemies. Faithful Catholics in every land, shocked by the example of injustice which the occupation of Rome exhibits, and grieved to see the Pastor of the Universal Church openly insulted or insolently patronized by the power that has despoiled him, have hastened to protest against the violence of which the Head of the Church is the victim, and to offer to the paternal heart of Pius IX. the consolation which undying fidelity and tender sympathy can bestow. Thus, the severity of the trial that has come upon the Christian world has served to intensify Catholic feeling, while it has afforded an opportunity for the public expression of sentiments worthy of the flock that is led by the one Shepherd and included in the true fold. During all these last sad months the halls of the Vatican have been crowded by dutiful sons of the Church, and dutiful daughters as well, who have come from the cities of Italy, the villages of the Campagna, the great centres of European nationalities, and the Catholic communities of the New World, to pay homage to the despoiled monarch, and beseech the blessing of the captive pastor. Day after day his Holiness has given audience to these deputations, received the addresses they presented, returned an answer suitable to the circumstances of those before him, or suggested by the history of the state they represented, deigned to speak of his grateful sense of their devotion, and to ask the assistance of their prayers. Upon them and their families, and upon all in whose name they came, the fulness of the Apostolic Benediction was bestowed by the hand which alone has power to bless the Church and the world.

It is remarkable that not only have the great masses of Catholic populations sent deputations to manifest their sympathy with the Holy Father, and present offerings to supply the deficit of his plundered revenues, but that different classes, communities, and associations, have shown a disposition to do something more than merge their sympathy in the one general expression. The aristocracy of one place, the young men's societies of another, the artisans of a manufacturing town, the little children, perhaps of some village, have each got up an appropriate address, presented a suitable offering, and received a special benediction. Catholic women have, in this instance, displayed not only promptness, zeal, and

generosity, but have often shown admirable courage. They have understood that to avow devotion to the Holy See at this crisis is tantamount to a confession of the faith, and indeed women, no matter what else they may have failed to share, have never refused to take their portion of the obloquy and the loss which adherence to the truth is certain at one time or another to entail.

Not long after the occupation of the Eternal City by the Piedmontese, 5,000 Roman women signed an address to the Holy Father, and sent an offering under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. Since then, the young girls of the city had an audience, delivered a beautiful address, signed by several thousand names, and presented a sum of money they had collected. From Turin came a deputation from 1,500 poor girls with an offering subscribed in halfpence and farthings. The ladies of Florence, 2,000 in number, forwarded an address, and those of Pistoja another. Even such small places as Gensano have sent addresses signed by hundreds of women. Unhappy France, in the midst of her calamities, did not forget to lay a tribute of respectful sympathy at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff; and one of the most remarkable testimonies furnished in these evil days of the strong Catholic feeling abiding in the heart of the French nation, is to be found in the spirited address of the women of Lyons. An almost incredible number of signatures was attached to the address from the women of Germany, in which they say:—"We lay aside all festivities, and mean to deprive ourselves of many comforts which are not necessary to us, and to lay the cost of them at the feet of the Holy Father." In no case, perhaps, do we find the high esteem in which Pius IX. holds these tributes of devotion more touchingly expressed than in the reply of his Holiness to the letter of some pious ladies of Madrid. Still more recently, the Roman ladies, with an ardour of hope equal to the energy of their faith, presented the Holy Father with a superb carpet, to be used on the occasion of the next benediction from the balcony of St. Peter's; and this gift was followed by the presentation of a magnificent canopy for the same occasion from foreign ladies staying in Rome.

While an address from the ladies of England was in preparation early last year, it struck two or three Irish ladies that this country should not be behind other nations in showing sympathy with the Sovereign Pontiff in his hour of trial, and that there could not be any serious difficulty in getting up an address from the women of Ireland, and having it presented at Rome. At their solicitation an address was written by a

distinguished ecclesiastic. Several copies were printed and sent to ladies of high social position, with a view of ascertaining whether they would approve of such a step, and head a list of signatures. The response was encouraging, and the sanction of the Cardinal Archbishop having been obtained, a committee was formed and the undertaking fairly started.

On the 24th February a meeting was held in St. Kevin's Chapel, the Cathedral, Marlborough-street, presided over by His Eminence, and attended by a large number of the clergy of Dublin, and of ladies anxious to promote the undertaking. The Cardinal Archbishop expressed in the highest terms his approval of what had already been done and invoked a blessing on all concerned in carrying out a work so worthy of the women of Catholic Ireland. The Very Rev. John Curtis, S.J. ; the Very Rev. Thomas Burke, O.P. ; and the Rev. James Gaffney, C.C., likewise addressed the meeting.

During several months weekly meetings of the Committee were held at 5 Belvidere-place, on which occasions the chair was generally taken by Monsignor Moran, the Very Rev. Canon Murphy, Adm., or the Very Rev. Dr. Curtis. The Lady Mayoress (Mrs. Bulfin) frequently attended these meetings, and spared neither time nor trouble in aiding the good work. Subscriptions were received on these days, arrangements made for communicating with the clergy and the Religious communities in distant localities, and general details attended to.

The great object was to associate Irishwomen of every class and age in this demonstration of faith and loyalty, and by having a long roll of signatures from every county, and, if possible, from every parish appended to the address, to make it a truly national tribute. Signatures were to be received with or without a contribution in money ; but it was considered that as addresses from other countries were invariably accompanied with some offering, it would be desirable to follow the rule, and to invite the women of Ireland to add, when convenient, a trifling subscription.

The committee having been repeatedly entreated not to publish individual subscriptions, the course was adopted of sending printed receipts to contributors, and acknowledging in the public journals only gross sums, and money forwarded by the friends who had kindly undertaken to collect offerings as well as signatures.

To make the project known as quickly and as universally as possible, notices were inserted in the principal newspapers circulating through the country. Copies of the address were extensively distributed. The subject was respectfully

brought under the notice of bishops in every province, a great number of parish priests in various parts of the country were written to, one hundred and seventy religious communities were invited to assist in the work, and sixty-nine churches in the diocese of Dublin were supplied with placards, circulars, and books for signatures.

The Catholic aristocracy promptly responded to the appeal. On the first pages of the great volume laid at the feet of the successor of St. Peter the names of the Catholic nobility, with hardly an exception, are inscribed. The Marchioness of Londonderry, the Countess of Portarlington, and the Viscountess Gormanston withdrew their signatures from the English to place them on the Irish list.

From the convents the reply was equally encouraging. Except where peculiar circumstances interfered, as, for instance, when the community had already sent their names and contributions through the Superior-General of the Order to Rome; or, when some local regulation made a movement in the matter inexpedient, the nuns entered heartily into the work, and contributed in no small degree to its ultimate success, by affording to classes of the population who could not otherwise be reached and to the inhabitants of remote districts an opportunity of signing the address. Presently the lists began to come in from the Carmelite communities, the Presentation Nuns, the Loretto Convents, the Sisters of Charity, the Sisters of Mercy, the Convents of St. Bridget, and others, forwarded not alone from cities and large towns, but from the remotest and least populous parts of the island; as, for instance, from Dingle and Donegal, and from the least Catholic quarters, such as Tyrone, Derry, &c., &c. These Convent lists form a remarkable and interesting feature in the book of the address. Generally they are headed by the superioress and community; then follow the children of the schools, the inmates of other institutions under the care of the sisterhood, and the people of the neighbourhood. An excellent centre of communication the convent school turned out to be. One of the good sisters would read the address, give the necessary explanations, inform teachers and pupils that all who wished to sign might put their names on the convent list, and that as many as could do so conveniently might drop a trifling contribution into the box provided to receive the gift. Before long the parish at large was sure to be informed of what was going on. In due time the children would return to write their names and make their little offering with childish pride, and to bring word what the people outside intended to do. On one of these occasions a poor widow who

had no money to give, sent four eggs as her offering to the Holy Father! Another time a tiny creature made her appearance to put down her own name, and to give "a shilling from grandfather." Sometimes in the schools a difficulty would arise with regard to the boys, who could not be made to understand that they were not to take part in the great work. One list was actually sent in with a row of Paddies and Jamesies, the nuns thinking it better to leave the little fellows' names to be dealt with at head quarters than to hurt their feelings by refusing to let them do honour to the Holy Father in the way their boyish enthusiasm suggested.

The committee were also exceedingly indebted to ladies who collected signatures and subscriptions in particular counties or districts. The first to undertake this onerous charge was the Countess of Granard, whose zeal did not rest satisfied with the responsibility of inaugurating the movement, but impelled her to devote time and thought to the troublesome details of the work. Her ladyship managed the collection in three counties, namely—Wexford, Longford, and Leitrim, and made it a success. The Countess of Portarlington forwarded signatures and offerings from places in the neighbourhood of Emo Park. The Hon. Mrs. French sent in long lists and large contributions from the neighbourhood of Cashel, and from other districts; while the Tipperary contingent, an extremely spirited one, was immensely supplemented through the kind exertions of Mrs. Power Lalor. Mrs. Drake, of Rath Vale, with the approval of the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty, organized the collection in the diocese of Meath, and attended in person at the church doors on successive Sundays to receive names and subscriptions after early and late Mass. Mrs. Hughes and Mrs. Keegan managed the Belfast collections. Miss Cassidy and Miss Murphy undertook the neighbourhood of Monasterivan, Mrs. Donovan that of Tralee. Miss A. Golding carried on the work in the vicinity of Shrule, and Miss Power took charge of Tramore and other parts of the county Waterford. To Miss Vallyly the committee were indebted for important lists, and a very considerable contribution from Warrenpoint and Rostrevor. Madame O'Connor transmitted a large sum in private subscriptions, and Mrs. O'Connor, of Dundermot, forwarded the names and the offerings of the women of Ballymoe and Ballintubber. From Killarney subscriptions were received through Mrs. M'Donogh Mahony. Miss D'Alton handed in contributions from all parts of the country.

Not altogether uniformly successful were the ordinary parish collections. Frequently, indeed, it was not in the power of the parochial clergy to set the work on foot; and when

this occurred in places where no lady came forward to assist the committee in getting signatures, the women of that part of Ireland remained to a great extent unrepresented in the national memorial. However, the parochial returns from many places, especially from the dioceses of Derry, Clogher, Elphin, and part of Dromore, were unusually large. The Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, and the Most Rev. Dr. Gillooly, in the midst of their pressing engagements, charged themselves with the organization of the collection and the transmission of signatures. In the pre-eminently Catholic city of Waterford a meeting was held in the Cathedral to make arrangements for co-operating with the central body in Dublin. Different districts were taken in charge by influential ladies, and in a short time thousands of names, and a great sum of money were obtained.

Meanwhile the artistic execution of the address from the women of Ireland to his Holiness Pius IX., which it had been determined should be illuminated in the first style of Celtic ornamentation, and engrossed in the ancient Irish character, had been entrusted to the Sisters of Charity in charge of the King's Inns-street Schools. The design of the title page was an adaptation of the illustrations of the famous Book of Kells, and the illuminated borders were in similar taste. The technical details were executed with admirable skill by pupils of the schools, superintended by a lady, herself an accomplished artist, who, for the sake of the cause, spared neither time nor trouble in bringing the work to a state of the utmost perfection. To this lady's exquisite taste and disinterested zeal, is due the production of a work that has excited genuine admiration wherever it has been seen. According as the lists of signatures were received by the committee they were forwarded to the schools, where they were transcribed on sheets of cardboard of size and form to allow of their being bound up with the address in the shape of a magnificent album. For many weeks the rooms in which the illuminators and transcribers were at work, reminded visitors much more of the *Scriptorium* of a mediæval convent than of the halls of a parochial school.

Although more than 100,000 signatures had been obtained before the 1st June, and considerably more than £2,000 received in the form of offerings, it was understood that a great many more names, and also additional sums of money remained still to be collected, and that to avoid causing disappointment in many parts of the country, it would be necessary to extend the time for receiving signatures and subscriptions. The hope of being able to present the address to the Holy

Father on the occasion of the celebration of the jubilee of His Holiness had therefore to be relinquished.

To make known the cause of the delay, and to urge the necessity of a speedy transmission of outlying lists, a second general meeting was held in St. Kevin's Chapel, the Cathedral, Marlborough-street, on the 4th June. The Cardinal Archbishop presided, the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress were present, a number of the clergy took part in the proceedings, and the attendance of ladies was very large. In a discourse of the deepest historical interest and importance, Monsignor Moran described the past and present condition of Rome, congratulated the committee on the success of their labours, which gave "a befitting crown and perfection to the long and varied series of manifestations of Irish devotion to the Successor of St. Peter," and pronounced an encomium on the artistic execution of the address, which would have the effect, the Very Rev. speaker observed, of awakening attention to the long-neglected art of Celtic illumination, so characteristic of the ages of faith in this kingdom.

Before the meeting terminated lists of signatures from parishes in and near Dublin, and from remote parts of the kingdom, were handed in, and several hundred pounds were added to the contributions already acknowledged.

Finally, in the month of August, the lists were closed. Two hundred thousand names having been inscribed in the book of the address, the volume was bound in green morocco, with the Papal arms on one side and the arms of Ireland on the other; the incidental ornaments being elegantly designed of shamrocks and the Irish cross. In pursuance of a resolution unanimously passed at the general meeting held on the 5th June, a deputation waited on the Cardinal Archbishop and respectfully requested His Eminence to take charge of the address and contributions, and have them presented in a suitable manner to his Holiness. The offering accompanying the address was in the form of a cheque for £3,200.

No difficulty occurred in the transmission of the sum of money so gladly contributed by the women of Ireland and offered as a gift to the Holy Father. The address, unfortunately, was detained for many weeks at the Italian frontier, and considerable alarm was felt for a while lest it should never reach its destination.

At last, however, the volume containing the address and signatures reached Rome, and was safely deposited in the Irish College, where many, not Irish only, but Americans, English, and Italians, having had an opportunity of examining it, were unanimous in pronouncing it an excellent work of

art and a splendid testimonial of Irish faith and love for the Holy See. The account of the presentation of the address, and the impressive scene that took place in the Consistory Hall of the Vatican, are thus faithfully and touchingly given by a Roman Correspondent who took part in the memorable ceremonial of that day.

[*Then follows the account of the presentation of the address already given in the present volume of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD*].

Subsequently, a still greater honour, and, if possible, an ampler benediction were bestowed on the women of Ireland by the transmission to them of a letter from his Holiness, in reply to the address presented on the eve of the Epiphany. By a striking coincidence the Pope's letter was received by the Cardinal Archbishop, to whose care it had been forwarded, on the Feast of St. Brigid, the patroness of all Ireland, but in a special manner of the daughters of Erin. The Holy Father's letter was enclosed to one of the secretaries with the following note from his Eminence :—

MY DEAR MRS. HUSSEY,—I am happy to send you the Pope's reply to the beautiful address which was presented to him in the name of two hundred thousand Irishwomen. His Holiness was greatly pleased with the sentiments of filial devotion to the Holy See so well expressed in the address, and he admired very much the skill and taste with which it was written and decorated. Will you be so kind as to communicate his letter to the other secretaries who so zealously assisted in the good work, and to all the ladies who gave their names to the address. I am sure they will all be delighted with the paternal kindness and affection manifested in the words of His Holiness, and glad to observe what a sincere regard he entertains for this island of saints, as well as happy to receive the blessing of Christ's Vicar on earth. Wishing you and the other secretaries and signers of the address every happiness and blessing,—I remain, with great esteem, your faithful servant,

✱ PAUL CARD. CULLEN.

59, Eccles-street,
3rd Feb., 1872.

APOSTOLIC BRIEF OF THE HOLY FATHER.

PIUS PP. IX.

Dilectæ in Christo Filiaë salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Insigne prorsus monumentum pietatis vestræ Nobis præbuerunt litteræ Die 10 lapsi Junii a vobis datæ ac tot illa milia subscriptionum vestrarum illis adjecta, quæ filiali affectu Nobis offerre voluistis.

Sensus enim a vobis expressi, Dilectæ in Christo Filiaë, diserte ac plene confirmarunt Nobis quo intimo fidei et amoris vinculo vos præclaris vestigiis illustrium majorum vestrorum insistentes Nobis et huic Apostolicæ Cathedræ adhæreatis quam altis radicibus in regione ista vestra sanctus Religionis amor sit defixus, quo dolore ob illatas Nobis et Ecclesiæ injurias quæ aggerantur in dies afficiamini ad quas utique leniendas et sublevandas tum preces, tum oblationes vestras, tum priorum zelum unanimi studio conferre non omisitistis.

Quamquam Nobis, Dilectæ in Christo Filiaë, perspectum semper fuerit religionis obsequium, proprium hibernici generis et nominis, et merita istius Regionis apprime recordemur, quæ facere et pati constanter pro religione paratissimam sese semper ostendit, tamen filialibus significationibus a vobis tanto studio et consensu profectis, non potui-

PIUS THE NINTH, POPE.

Beloved Daughters in Christ, health and the Apostolic Benediction.

The Address, dated the 10th of June last, bearing so many thousand signatures, which with filial affection you have presented to Us, is indeed a most noble monument of your piety.

The sentiments expressed by you, beloved Daughters in Christ, eloquently and forcibly attest how, following the bright example of your glorious forefathers, you are united with Us and this Apostolic See in the closest bonds of Faith and Charity, as also how deeply rooted in your nation is the holy love of religion, and how bitter is your grief at the injuries inflicted on Us and the Church, injuries which are day by day renewed, but which you, with one accord, by your prayers and offerings and the zealous performance of good works seek to alleviate and remove.

And, dearly beloved Daughters, although We have ever felt assured of this devoted attachment, which is characteristic of the Irish name and nation, and, although, there were present to Our mind the many meritorious deeds of your country which has ever proved herself ready to act and to suffer for the Faith, nevertheless, We

mus non vehementer commoveri ac non prosequi peculiari caritatis affectu vestram pro Nobis æmulationem.

Impense itaque vobis gratulamur, quod in vobis ipsis ille inclitus regionis istius Apostolus Patritius Sanctus glorificatur, cujus spiritus et satae doctrinae vigor in filiis ejus post tot sæculorum lapsum integer tamen ac fervens gloriose perseverat gratulamur etiam quod in vestra pietate, ac fide honoratur quoque vestrum illud decus Brigida Virgo Patritii disciplinae alumna, et spiritus ejus heres tam insigniter de regionibus istis merita, quæ vivit adhuc post tot sæcula institutis suis et exemplis late diffusis, ac docet mundum quid Christiana mulierum virtus et indoles a Deo suffulta possit efficere.

Hujusmodi virtus Ecclesiae membris digna ut in vobis, Dilectæ in Christo Filiæ, semper vigeat ac gloria augeatur a Domino enixe adprecamur, Eumque etiam rogamus, ut hæc sit pretiosa hereditas filiorum vestrorum, ac in omnem posteritatem patriæ vestræ incolumis et inviolata servetur.

Cæterum in tanto contra inferorum potestates certamine pergite alacriter orationibus vestris et sanctorum

could not but be deeply moved by the filial Address, presented by you with such earnestness and concord, and We could not but cherish with special affection your zealous efforts in Our behalf.

We, therefore, most heartily congratulate you, for thus new glory is reflected on the great Apostle of your country, St. Patrick, whose spirit and fervour of piety, despite the course of ages, still live and flourish in his children; and We also congratulate you that by your zeal and faith you honour the glorious ornament of your country, the disciple of St. Patrick and the inheritor of his virtue, the Virgin St. Bridget, who after so many centuries still lives in her wide-spread institutions, and in the bright examples of her life, and teaches the world what may be achieved by the Christian fortitude and meekness of womanhood when strengthened by God.

We earnestly pray, dearly beloved daughters, that such virtue worthy of the Church may ever flourish and become more glorious amongst you, and We beseech God that it may be the inheritance of your children, and may continue inviolate and unharmed to adorn your country till the end of time.

We exhort you, therefore, to persevere in your good works, and we hope that in the struggle against the

operum zelo Ecclesiæ tot malis afflictæ operam navare, quæ quidem cælestis sui Sponsi omnipotenti sustentata dextera et filiorum suorum virtute famulante non minus de novis triumphabit hostibus, quam veterem furorem superavit.

Nos interim levantes oculos Nostros ad Deum, in quo est spes et fortitudo Nostra, ac paternæ Nostræ caritatis et gratæ voluntatis sensus vobis renovantes in eorum pignus et in auspiciis omnium cælestium munerum Apostolicam Benedictionem tum vobis, Dilectæ in Christo Filiæ, singulis et universis, quarum nomina oblata litteræ servant, tum familiis vestris ac isti Patriæ, ut postulatis, ex intimo corde depromptam peremerit impertimus.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum Die 27 Januarii An. 1872. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimo sexto.

PIUS PP. IX.

Dilectis in Christo Filiabus.

Majorissæ Civitatis Dublinensis, Marchionissæ de Londonderry, Comitissæ de Granard, aliisque spectabilibus Matronis et Fidelibus Mulieribus Hiberniæ.

powers of Satan, you shall not cease by your prayers and holy deeds to aid the Church which is now afflicted by so many evils, but which you may rest assured, sustained by the all-powerful hand of her heavenly spouse, and comforted by the heroism of her children, even as she overcame all the assaults of former foes, shall now too achieve a glorious triumph over her new enemies.

We, in the meantime raise up our eyes to God in whom is our hope and strength, and We renew the expression of Our paternal affection and cordial wishes as a pledge of which and as a harbinger of all heavenly gifts, We most lovingly, from our inmost soul, impart to you and all those whose names were forwarded to Us, as also in accordance with your wishes to your families and your country the Apostolic Benediction.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, the 27th of January, 1872, the 26th year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS, POPE, IX.

To

Our beloved Daughters in Christ, the Lady Mayoress (Mrs. Bulfin), the Marchioness of Londonderry, the Countess of Granard, and other Ladies, and the faithful Women of Ireland.

The above translation of the Holy Father's letter was made by a dignitary of the Church, to whom the committee are indebted for many acts of considerate kindness during the time employed in the preparation of the address.

In conclusion, the committee, while gratefully acknowledging the assistance received from the clergy, the religious communities, and ladies in various parts of the country, would ask an additional favour, and request all who shall receive copies of this report to circulate them in their neighbourhood, and have the letter of His Holiness read in the schools. The committee would also entreat the prayers of all for the repose of the soul of the Countess of Granard, who departed this life on the 22nd January. Without her ladyship's co-operation, so kindly and promptly given, it would have been extremely difficult to carry on the work of the committee. Not only did Lady Granard stimulate others by her example, and give the undertaking, when it most needed encouragement, the sanction of a noble name, but she devoted the closest attention to details, and left nothing undone that her great personal influence enabled her to effect. It was characteristic of so devoted a daughter of Holy Church that the last year of her life was, to a great extent, occupied in furthering an undertaking that has reflected honour on Ireland, and afforded consolation to the Father of the Faithful. And although it was not the will of God that Lady Granard should live to receive the consolation imparted by the letter of His Holiness, none can doubt that a zeal like hers has as surely obtained a reward as the works of charity for which she was so eminently distinguished.

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|--------------------------|---------------------|
| MARGUERITE M. S. HUSSEY, | } Hon. Secretaries. |
| ROSE MURPHY, | |
| SARAH ATKINSON, | |

5, *Belvidere-place, Dublin,*

February, 1872.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MAY, 1872.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

“A RELIGIOUS education is most essential to the welfare of every individual; to the rich it is all but everything, to the poor it may be said, without a figure, to be everything.” It was to Lord Brougham, then Mr. Brougham, who had used these remarkable words in his speech in the House of Commons, June 28th, 1820, that, five years after, the author of the “Pleasures of Hope” addressed his proposal for the formation of a joint-stock company to establish a university in London “for effectively and multifariously teaching, examining, exercising, and rewarding with honors in the liberal arts and sciences the youth of the middling rich people.”

Whether he had abandoned his old belief respecting the essential importance of a religious education, or reasoned that the “middling rich” were not included in either of the categories to which his speech applied, Mr. Brougham cordially embraced the poet’s scheme, and devoted all the enthusiasm of his character to the success of the first attempt in these kingdoms to conduct the education of youth on a regular system, formally excluding religion from its province. This eldest sister of our godless colleges was launched into existence in the year 1828. A passage in the inscription on the plate, which was deposited beneath the foundation stone, curiously illustrates the parentage of godless education:—“In the eighth year of the reign of George IV., King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the illustrious Prince Augustus Frederic Duke of Sussex, patron of all the liberal arts, and Grand Master in England of the very *ancient order of Free and Accepted Masons*, laid with his own hand the first stone of the University of London amidst the plaudits of the surrounding citizens and *brothers*.” On the

list of the Council of Directors elected by the shareholders, we find, besides the names of the promoters, Campbell and Brougham, the name of Birkbeck, the founder of mechanics' institutes, that of James Mill, father of Mr. J. S. Mill, and his precursor in the phenomenal philosophy, and that of Lord John Russell, whose letter last year to the "League" proves him, in the close of an erratic career, true to one, at all events, of his early passions.

England was not ripe for the Masonic experiment. The Queen's Colleges were not yet thought of by any one outside the "ancient order of Free and Accepted Masons." The "University" which, while it claimed the imposing title on the sole ground of embracing in its curriculum the entire circle of the sciences, the whole culture of the man, ignored religion, and so habituated the student to regard it as a foreign element unrecognised in the all-important cycle, encountered the most strenuous opposition not only from the Established church and the universities, but from the whole nation. Even the author of the "Ingoldsby Legends" caught the prevailing spirit, and enlisting for once his powerful pen on the side of religion, consigned "Stincomalee" to the immortality of ridicule. Opposition was not confined to words. King's College was started in 1829 as champion of the fundamental principle, "that every system of general education for the youth of a Christian community ought to comprise instruction in the Christian religion as an indispensable part, without which the acquisition of other branches of knowledge will be conducive neither to the happiness of the individual nor to the welfare of the state." Such was the enthusiasm aroused among the friends of religious education, that sixty-three professorships were at once established in the rival college. The latter immediately secured a charter, a privilege which the Gower's-street Institution had long sought in vain. It deserves to be remembered that it was in Ireland that a complete system of godless education was first chartered and endowed.

The present London University only came into existence in the year 1836, the older so-called "University" subsiding the same year into "University College," under which style it is incorporated by Act of Parliament. If we want witnesses for the successful development of mixed and united education when planted in congenial soil, with room for growth, unchecked by religious control, we have Professors Huxley, and Tyndall, and Newman, and many others, advocates and ornaments of the system, and the boast of this institution. In University College theism is unfashionable, and the student

who should avow himself a Christian, would be regarded, to express it mildly, as a person ambitious of being singular in his opinions. 'Twas from his chair in University College that Professor Tyndall, an Irishman, referred to the scriptural account of the creation as "that grand old myth;" and in the halls of the same College, Professor Huxley, energetically repudiating the name of sceptic, because a sceptic is one who doubts, and the Professor does not doubt, and has no more grounds for doubting than for believing, announced himself a "Nescient," amid the plaudits of his class.

There may be good people in this country, who are unable, doubtless sincerely, to realize the dangers of secular education. The worn-out fallacies of doctrinaires have still enough force to hold the unwary in their web. The boasted advantages of mixed education are alluring, obtrusive, and familiarised by the clap-trap blazonry of its champions: the dangerous consequences are not so obvious to the ordinary mind. The pretended benefits are on the surface, the real dangers lie at the root of the system. It sounds well to the ear to speak of flinging down the barriers of religious differences, and of combining the youth of a nation in one common and glorious pursuit; and then to boast of the happy fruits which her country is sure to reap therefrom, in the harmony and patriotism of her sons. We will not remind those who are weak enough to be caught by these flimsy pretensions that religion is the only attuning principle in social harmony, that the one thing "diffusing vital virtue, vital warmth" into patriotism, even in Pagan times, has been religion; we will only ask them to look at University College, whose history teaches us what the mixed system conducts to, when followed to its logical consequences. No men could be louder in the avowal of the principle that religion is, in the words of the prospectus, "the great and primary object of education," than the original promoters of that institution; but, as the students were to have no "common religious opinions," nor "common religious observances," religious instruction and religious worship were impossible: religion was, accordingly, eliminated from the school, and then, as a consequence, from the mind. In less than half a century, the most sanguine expectations of the Free and Accepted Brethren have been realized; and they have the satisfaction of beholding in their pet institution the most splendid seminary of intellectual impiety to be found in the world.

We turn to the present University of London. It is essentially a Government establishment, and in so far resembles the Royal University of France. But it differs from the latter more than it resembles it. The constituents of the English

State University are not State Colleges nor District Model Schools ; they owe it no allegiance, are not bound to cut out and pattern their curriculum after any fashion set by it ; nor does it form, like its French prototype, any part of an organization to reduce the people into State puppets. It owes its existence to the political condition of parties after the Reform, or, perhaps, more truly, to that wave of popular feeling which had carried Reform, and which was set in motion by the Catholic Emancipation movement. It was designed to relieve the educational grievances of all Englishmen outside the pale of the establishment, and no class of the community more largely availed themselves of its opportunities than the English Catholics. It is chartered not to teach, but to examine and confer degrees. This is a very limited programme, and shows that the government of the day had peculiar notions about the functions of a University.

The play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out, is but a feeble comparison for a University that does not teach ; but while admitting the misnomer, the friends of London University may claim for it, that with its limited functions, it has, in a country like England, where colleges, with the first professional schools in the kingdom attached to them, are numerous, a large field open to it for the useful discharge of its peculiar mission.

The University of London has received five charters since its foundation in 1836 ; and from the last of these we shall take our information respecting its constitution.

The body, corporate and politic, consists of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Fellows, and Graduates. The Chancellor is appointed by the Crown, and holds office for life. Earl Granville is the present occupant of the dignity. The Vice-Chancellor is annually elected by the suffrages of the Fellows. These latter are maintained at the regular number of thirty-six by a peculiar arrangement which leaves the appointment in certain cases to the Convocation, and in others, reserves the right to the Crown. The Senate, which is empowered to make bye-laws, and in all other respects organize and regulate the machinery of internal government, is composed of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows. The graduates of a certain standing constitute the Convocation, in which body is vested, besides other powers, the right of electing the parliamentary representative of the University. The present member is Mr. Lowe.

The Senate appoint every year forty Examiners ; and to insure freshness and variety in the question-papers, and to make "cramming" difficult, if not altogether impossible, it is provided that no Examiner is eligible for more than four

successive years, after which it is computed his style of question would have become characteristic and be caught up by "coaches" and "grinders"—*et hoc genus omne*—who are on the alert for the hobbies, and even the mannerisms, of examiners.

The University is empowered to grant degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, and Surgery. The doctorate in Science corresponds with the literary dignity represented by the Ph.D. of the German University. The degree of Doctor of Literature, which forms the pinnacle of the Arts' honors, is somewhat unique in University history. It is the practice of the London University, and an essential as well as peculiar feature of the institution, to make the higher degrees of Master and Doctor in all the five departments the prizes of examinations, no less than the humbler degree of Bachelor, which is the only one to be fought for in the other Universities of the empire.

The "London University Buildings" is situated in Burlington Gardens, London, and here are held the examinations for degrees and for matriculation, of which latter there are two annually. Provincial examinations are occasionally held in such colleges as choose to pay a fee of £30 for the privilege. In those cases the University representative, who is styled Sub-Examiner, conducts the examination by means of the same papers as are set at the same day and hour to the candidates in London.

As a specimen of the mode of procedure in passing to a degree, we shall select the course of the Bachelor of Medicine. If he have not a degree in Arts from some other University, he must first matriculate, and subsequently undergo three examinations in professional subjects spread over a period of four years. The number of days occupied by the four pass examinations is twenty-one, which, at the usual time of six hours a day, gives us the extraordinary duration of 126 hours, of which twenty-eight belong to the mere matriculation. If the candidate were to proceed to his degree with honors at these examinations, his ordeal would last sixty hours longer.

The rigid requirements in respect of the professional, especially the medical degrees, give them a proportionally high value in the estimation of the professional world. The same cannot be said for the ordinary degree in Arts and Science, although in its own kind the standard is equally high. The reason is not far to seek, and it is worth the consideration of some who have dabbled in eccentric opinions on the subject of University education in this kingdom. The London degree in Arts is a certificate of a certain amount of book-learning in certain prescribed subjects. It certifies that the candidate has been successful in "making

up" a great quantity of matter, but not that he is an educated man. Culture and cram are irreconcilable foes, and cram gains the victory in the London University. On the other hand, though it may be obtained on easier terms, the Oxford or Cambridge degree attests that the graduate has enjoyed for some years the converse of the highest minds, and has had all those literary advantages to the sum of which is given the name of mental culture. But what, perhaps, invests the latter degree with no small part of its prestige, is that it furnishes a sort of guarantee of social position, owing to the well known fact that the students of these Universities belong for the most part to the aristocracy of the empire. The London is emphatically what its admirers have called it, the People's University. In a country like England, with its multitudinous industries, its wealth and enterprise, its countless sects with their schools, its numerous literary and scientific institutes, there must be hosts of men to whom a degree means bread, preachers, schoolmasters, civil servants, even operative mechanics with ambition, skill, and brains, many of whom have to win from their toil the cost of their instruction. When it is considered from what sources the candidates are drawn, it ceases to be a wonder that half regularly fail to matriculate, and of those who succeed in crossing the threshold, half at least fail to get a degree. "The slaughter of the innocents," is in great measure due to the high pass standard, necessitated by the want of that sifting process supplied by an affiliated college system. *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*, which is the boasted motto of universities, is only half true of the London. Before the charter of 1858 swept away all restrictions as to place of study, the candidate was required to be a student of some affiliated College. In its inception it was designed to embrace only the denominational King's College, and the Secular University College; but the plan expanded, and several Catholic Colleges, as Stoneyhurst and Carlow, and many others—a motley group—with such designations as "Wesleyan," "Baptist," "Independent," "Presbyterian," &c., to the number of forty, were embraced in its system of affiliations. The London Colleges, Owen's College, Manchester, and the Catholic Colleges are still the principal feeders of the University. Notwithstanding the high position which the Catholic institutions are entitled to claim in the University by their great success, the Catholics have met but scant courtesy at the hands of the Senate. The heads of the Catholic Colleges united a few years ago in a protest against the appointment of an infamous novel of A. Dumas for examination in French. Their remonstrance was without effect. Next year books of George Sand and others equally objectionable, were

selected. Yet the previous year, in deference to the objections of a single Quaker school, to the plays of Terence, that author was struck off the programme altogether. But the Catholics are unrepresented on the senate. One of the greatest grievances that result from this misfortune, as it may be truly called, is the dangerous character of the examinations in the department of Mental and Moral Philosophy. Mr. Bain and his disciples have been in possession of the department for years, and the consequence is a course of study calculated to eliminate from the student's mind every principle of faith and morality. Certain it is that no one who has not a fair knowledge of Mill's logic, and a perfect familiarity with Bain's metaphysics, is competent to pass the degree examination. Of Mr. Bain's works, little, thank God, is known in this country, but we are sure the author would feel complimented by receiving the assurance of an Irish Catholic that no system more ingeniously devised than his to undermine religion, or more fatally sure to sap faith in a future life, has ever yet appeared.

The reader of Bain will find no vulgar vituperation of the Church, no sneers, open or covert, levelled at sacred things, none of the stale devices for discrediting religion, nothing that would rudely shock or that might at first alarm his pious scruples. The danger is masked; the edifice of faith is undermined, and if not built on the solid foundation of humility and obedience, crumbles, rots, and falls. This writer's psychology, is a sort of advanced course of physiology; he takes up the student where Quain and Huxley have left him. His delineation of mind and its phenomena, if not very profound, is of the most elaborate minuteness, and so economical withal, that God is never once invoked to account for anything. Of course the pernicious effects of such works are counteracted or reduced to a minimum for those who made their studies in the Catholic colleges. Nevertheless, enough of harm lurks in the system to make the scheme of separate education and combined examination, at least as represented by the London University, undesirable for this country, and objectionable *per se*, though in a less degree than united education itself. At all events, it is certain that moral and mental philosophy are quite unfitted to form part of a programme of combined examination. Colourless philosophy is impossible, and if it were possible, it would be worthless.

Perhaps we might go so far as to say that the system represented by the London University is as objectionable on grounds of literary culture as on those of religious interests. We have already noticed the conditions of life and society in its relation to which the utility of a State Board for

conferring degrees has been acknowledged. These conditions do not enter the problem of university education in our country. There is a charm for some in the impartiality of which the London University makes profession—"We do not enquire in what colleges you have been trained, what systems you have adopted, what books you have studied; our duty is to gauge the measure of your attainments, to assay the quality of the stuff you are made of before impressing the stamp of our literary mint." To consider such an institution applicable to Ireland, is to make a very imperfect estimate of the wants of the country. We want education and not degrees. We want a sanctuary for the retreat of learning; a centre for the diffusion of life—intellectual, political, and religious; of wholesome literature brought home to the humblest in the land; of high and honorable principles to percolate every stratum of society; and we do not want any machine for the rapid manufacture of graduates, or the speedy spread of sciolism. In England that industry may be pursued without vital injury to learning, which has its venerable abodes by the Isis and the Cam, secure from sacrilegious hand. Quite different from the London University, though not without its own inherent defects, is that other plan of a National University, embracing a limited number of Colleges liberally endowed, enjoying each the utmost freedom of teaching, and full interdependence. A fear has been expressed that this system will not work well; that the common programme of examination for the candidates of all the Colleges will cramp the pursuit of learning in each, and will afford a temptation to the teacher to teach up, or rather down, to the programme; or at all events to teach with an ultimate eye to it. But in the first place that objection applies to all examination, since it cannot well be carried on, even within the walls of the College, without a programme; and in the next place the degree is not the object which the majority of the students will have placed before them, but that of which the degree is but a poor symbol, "a beggarly element." A love of knowledge, for its own sake, is characteristic of the Irish People—and we, for our part, have no apprehension that thought will ever stagnate in an Irish National University.

MIXED EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

[The following portion of a letter, addressed some years ago by a Bishop of the United States to the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, contains valuable observations on mixed education, and shows what bad results that system has produced in America, even in schools under Catholic control. All those who wish fully to understand the tendencies and the dangers of those systems of instruction with which the enemies of Catholic faith now menace Ireland, will be assisted in their researches by the facts and reasons given in this letter.]

“MY LORD,

“As to the question you put me regarding the working of mixed education in this country, I assure you that, as far as I have been able to procure information on the subject, it is everywhere, and in every form in which it exists, our greatest curse. I have made it my business to become acquainted with its working; not with any reference to Ireland, but with reference to what my own duty demanded from me here. I have spoken with many who do not disapprove of it, and proposed the facts which I had ascertained to exist, and inquired if there were any that would point to a different conclusion, and every inquiry only tended to confirm the conclusion to which I alluded. To be sure, the mixed education that is considered here of doubtful propriety by any one, has features which your Government colleges do not present. Boys of every, and no religion, live in our colleges under one system of discipline. The morals of the more corrupt exercise a baneful influence over the others. The teaching of religious principles and duties becomes emasculated lest Protestants, who are invited under a pledge of non-interference with their religion, may have reason to complain. Catholics are kept within bounds of propriety while under this discipline, but they are not grounded in their religion; they leave college just not bad enough to show the fruits of the system of education immediately, but, generally speaking, with some honourable exceptions they are the worst set of men we have, the most insensible to religion, and least useful in anything requiring strong Catholic nerve or action. A few Protestant boys become Catholics, the prejudices of others are softened, and, generally speaking, they are friendly. So far some little good is done to Protestants, and this is the only thing pointed to by the friends of this system of education: the general fact of the tepidity and carelessness of the Catholic pupils is not denied by any one. You will understand me in the above as alluding to those schools and colleges under the *full control* of priests and religious. As to colleges under Protestant government, no matter what they may profess about non-

interference, no one here thinks of supposing that they can be harmless. Any boys that go to these places we put down as lost, as a matter of course, unless by some miraculous interposition they are saved.

"I have come to the conclusion, that unless we can do something effective here towards giving a thorough and exclusively Catholic education to our youth, everything else is little more than a delusion and a snare. I do not presume to give an opinion on the Irish question as it stands, though I must confess I look forward to it as the battle-ground on which this question of mixed education is to be fought, and, I hope, to be decided. As things are here, I cannot urge the people strongly to any course without the co-operation of the clergy. I cannot urge the clergy very strongly to a course on which other bishops appear silent; and the bishops *appear* silent, though all lament the evil, because they know not what to do. The task of establishing Catholic schools here would be a Herculean one; yet I am convinced that on it depends our existence as a Church. To omit many other facts, let me mention one. At our last Council in Baltimore, where we had at our public session from sixty to eighty clergymen collected from all parts of the Union, I asked if there was any one present who could say that he knew of any congregation in the country where there was a large proportion of native Catholics out of the settlements exclusively Catholic, and no one could name even one! It is only a remnant of the children of Catholic immigrants that is saved; the mass of them, by association with sectarians and infidels, are lost to the Church if not gained by any of the sects. Mixed schools only aggravate other causes of defection, though they are by no means the only ones.

"You have asked me for our experience on these matters. You have it above, as far as I can give it. It is for yourself to say what light it casts on your question. I must say, however, that I would look upon it as the happiest day that dawned upon Ireland when an effective blow is struck at all kinds of education under the influence of Protestant governments, no matter what systems they may adopt, and what instruments they may promise to use. The institutions which they will establish will necessarily tend to evoke and give prominence to un-Catholic feelings even among Catholics. Men animated by them will necessarily be brought forward and preferred. Thorough nervous Catholic action is discouraged in the most effectual manner. When this state of things exists the days of Catholic prosperity are numbered. It was this tendency that made our lay trustee system become

an incubus on the Church that would have destroyed its existence here had it not been shaken off. In theory it was a beautiful thing to let the clergyman attend to his spiritual duties exclusively, and leave to laymen the administration of money matters. It was adopted by good Bishop Carroll, the founder of the American hierarchy, and for a while seemed to work as he expected. But the influence which it gave laymen made the place become worth striving for. The worthless then wished for it, and men who were Catholics in name were turned into the worst and most dangerous enemies of the Church, sometimes without being conscious of it."

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON, S. J.

(Continued from page 313.)

ON the 25th of November, 1598, F. FitzSimon wrote to the F. General Aquaviva from Dublin: "All commerce has nearly ceased on account of the troubles, and consequently correspondence is almost impossible. The adversaries will not meet me, to the great confusion of their friends, and to the great delight of the faithful. Snares and traps have been laid for me, in which others were caught, though I have escaped. Dublin is a second London, and a hotbed of heresy. The English Justices swore to the Parliament that the priests intended to betray the city, and were so far believed, that a loyal man betrayed his own brother by producing two priests, and that the Parliament has imposed a very heavy fine on all who harbour clergymen. The result was that all were abandoning this most Catholic city; however, after some time, it was found out that the priests were innocent, and then the Catholics took heart again.

"I myself got notice from those whose business it was to search the houses for clergymen, and I had barely time to escape, when the soldiers entered the place where I lived. During the whole summer I went through various parts of the kingdom, not without very good results. I converted six heretics, and very many schismatics, and heard an immense number of confessions. I preached every Sunday and holiday, and not a few came even twenty miles to hear me. Now, however, I cannot go out without manifest danger of my life, as the enemies prowl about in all directions. They boast of being Catholics, but they are so only in name,

and do not allow any one to correct their ignorance, or to curb their wickedness. They are so bent on plunder, that I fear it was that which gave occasion to their insurrection; moreover, their soldiers have no other pay. Though the whole of my country is not subject to the insurgent lords, yet it is all open to their incursions. They roam about everywhere, and carry off the property of the good as well as of the bad. One young man, who had been educated at Douay, fell into their hands, but on saying that he was Henry FitzSimon, he was well treated and liberated. They venerate externally all venerable things, but their works are far from God.

“When an edict was issued forbidding the people to harbour priests, very many houses were open to harbour me. A great and dangerous quarrel between three great lords arose from a false report. They were bent on shedding blood, and were on the point of doing so, when I rode in hot haste by night to the author of the false report, prevailed on him to retract it, and thus, with the divine assistance, I prevented a bloody fray. In other matters also I have done my best to exercise all the various functions of our Society.

“As in the opinion of all, even of the heretics themselves, the whole face and condition of the country will soon be changed, we ought to consult for the divine honour by securing some ecclesiastical benefices. I have fixed on three as fit for the purposes for which we have been sent to Ireland: *Thomas Court*, in Dublin, formerly belonging to the Canons Regular, *St. Mary's Abbey*, and *Kilmainham*. The first is in the city, the two last in the district of Dublin. If we get the first, we can receive part of its revenues even now. This is necessary, as priests here get nothing except the collection at Mass and their diet. On this account also none should be sent hither at the beginning, save those who have a patrimony, or extensive and wealthy connexions. I entreat your Paternity also to arrange that part of the money collected by F. Archer, all through Ireland, shall be given to the Irish College at Douay, where we have the flower of our students. I ask this, because this father is said to be too partial to the College of Salamanca.

“I have heard nothing from you about the faculties, nothing about the sodality erected by me. With all humility of soul, I ask a letter from your Paternity, either to console me midst the fever of my labours, or to order me to the far ends of the earth, that I may always be a child of obedience. I ask you also most earnestly to commend to the extraordinary prayers of the whole Society our great benefactor, *Mr. Thomas Fagan*. I trust your Paternity will honour him with a letter

of thanks. As for myself, I depend on the prayers of the Society, as my only support, while I am so far away from the personal influence of other members, and exposed to many dangers. From Ireland the 25th of November, 1598.

“Of your Paternity the obedient servant and humble son,
“Henry FitzSimon.”¹

It is quite plain from this letter of F. FitzSimon, that he was a sturdy and loyal patriotic gentleman of the Pale, who naturally disliked and hated the “Irish enemy.” He actually apprehended danger to his life from the Irish Northern raiders, or from the O’Tuals and O’Byrnes; and, good Palesman as he was, he feared their Catholicity was not of the real kind. Yet the Irish chieftains of those days seem to have been much better Christians than the English and Anglo-Irish noblemen. FitzSimon had the misfortune to be looked on by the English as a traitor and an Irish papist, while he was considered as a heretic and a Saxon churl by the Celt, as we shall see from the letter of F. Holywood. However he was heart and soul an Irishman; he spoke Irish, though born in Dublin and educated abroad, otherwise he could not well have engaged in Celtic hagiological studies, or have made his apostolical excursions through the country at a time when Irish was the vernacular even of the Pale.² His letter shows also that he was a bold, independent man, who wanted to assert the Faith of Ireland, and would not resign himself to see the Irish priests remain as the representatives of ruins. He wished them to have the old temples, and new churches; and he longed to see the old Church of Ireland restored to its pristine dignity and splendour.

I am puzzled to explain how he was weak enough to apprehend any danger from the men of the North. O’Neill actually broke off a truce with Essex on account of the imprisonment of Father FitzSimon. The soggarth of the Society would have been much safer among the “rebels” than among the English; for, from the time of his birth to the period which we are now considering, one hundred and twenty English priests were put to death for the Faith by the English; and God only knows how many Irish priests had the same happiness and glory.³ I am acquainted with the names of at least sixteen Irish clergymen put to death by them, and one of these was a namesake of our missionary. About the time when F. FitzSimon wrote this letter, the English laid siege to

¹ MS. de Reb. Hib. Letter of F. FitzSimon to F. Aquaviva.

² Letter of F. Walle, in 1608, in Arch. Hib. S.J.

³ Challoner’s *Missionary Priests*, and F. Stephen White’s *Apologia*.

the castle of Cloghan, and, understanding that there was a priest within its walls, they sent word to the commander that they would hang his brother in his sight if he did not give up the castle at once. "In order to save the priest, whose life they tendered, the Irish persevered obstinately not to yield. Whereupon the besieging officer, in sight of the castle, hanged the Constable's brother. Nevertheless, within four days after, the priest being shifted away in safety, the Constable sued for protection and surrendered the castle." The English writer to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of this edifying fact, remarks that he "relates this incident to show in what reverence these ignorant superstitious Irish do hold a popish priest, in regard to whose safety the Constable was content to suffer his brother to perish."¹ This incident proves that the Jesuit might have exercised his ministry in peace as far as the "rebels" were concerned, and it makes us more ashamed and sorry to see the Palesman break out so unreasonably in his letter. He ought to have known, as well as Campion, that the Irish "honour devout friars and pilgrims, suffer them to pass quietly, spare them and their mansions, whatsoever outrage they show to the countrie besides them."²

On the back of FitzSimon's letter are three lines in the handwriting of F. Aquaviva, stating that it would be well to consult F. Christopher Holywood about its contents. F. Holywood had renounced his castle of Artane and his broad acres in Dublin and Wexford, had joined the Society, and distinguished himself as a Professor of Theology at Dol, Padua, and Pont-à-Mousson, and he was named to go to Ireland, in this year 1598, as Superior of Fathers Archer and FitzSimon. His return and that of F. De la Field were determined on early in 1598, as we learn from the following letter of Cardinal Mattei to F. Aquaviva:—

"Ferrara, May 21, 1598.

"Molto Reverendo come fratello.—I gave an account yesterday morning to His Holiness of the resolution which your Paternity had taken, if it pleased His Holiness, of sending some Fathers into Ireland in order to produce there that spiritual fruit, which can be firmly hoped for from their hands. And as His Holiness is much delighted with that good will of your Paternity, so he is well pleased to grant, as he hereby does, to those Fathers who shall be sent by you into that kingdom, all the faculties which have been granted or confirmed by him to the Fathers of the Society who have gone to England.

¹ *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 358.

² Campion, *Hist. of Ireland*.

“And His Holiness wills that this my letter shall suffice for the execution of the present concession.”¹

The copy of the Cardinal's letter, and of the faculties, are in the writing of F. Holywood, who wrote a very beautiful hand before, and an almost illegible hand after he enjoyed the horrid hospitality of the Tower and Wisbich and Framlingham castle. Three weeks after the date of the Cardinal's letter this Irish father wrote as follows to F. Aquaviva:—

“Milan, June the 10th, '98.

“A thousand thanks for the care which your Paternity has deigned to take of me. I will go to Padua, with God's help, next week, and will there do whatever the Provincial shall order, until such time as your Paternity shall decide on my ultimate destination. I have received a letter stating that there is no one in Ireland who has the power of granting a dispensation to the Catholic nobles which would allow them to hold, with a safe conscience, the ecclesiastical property which they now possess, until God restores peace to the Church. Your Paternity will consider if it be expedient that our fathers should obtain that power. The Catholics will be always ready to restore Church property, and in the meantime, they are willing to devote annually some money to pious purposes. If the heretics keep this property, their conversion will be much more difficult, the peace of the Church will be troubled, and the poor will get nothing from them. May the Almighty God preserve you safe and mindful of us.

“Of your Paternity, the least servant in Christ,
“Christopher Holiwood.”

The next time we hear of Fathers Holywood and Fitz-Simon, the former was enjoying Lord Cobham's hospitality in the Tower of London. From thence, on the 11th of May,

¹ *Facultates Præcipuae ultra ordinarias.* 1. *Facultas legendi libros haereticos ad impugnandum.* 2. *Dispensandi super omnibus impedimentis juris positivi in matrimoniis contractis et contrahendis quae impediunt ad contrahendum sed non dirimunt contractum.* 3. *Dispensandi in gradibus consanguinitatis tam in contrahendis quam contractis, gravibus de causis, usque ad 2^m gradum inclusive et prolem susceptam legitimandi in foro conscientiae tantum.* 4. *Dispensandi super omni irregularitate sacerdotum et eos ad celebrandum habilitandi.* 5. *Commutandi et dispensandi super omnibus juramentis et votis, exceptis castitatis et religionis, in quibus etiam dispensare potest cum foeminis tantum intra Angliam, vel ea commutare.* 6. *Dispensandi super male perceptis beneficiorum fructibus, cum ministris aut aliis clericis haereticis schismaticis et simoniacis ad Ecclesiam redeuntibus, exceptis relapsis.* 7. *Com^{di} et disp^{di} super jejuniis et abstinentiis ubi legitima existit causa.* 8. *Consecrandi calices et altaria portatilia.*

Haec omnia discrete, atque cum delectu certis hominibus communicanda; videntur tamen reservandae superiori dispensationes in 2^o gradu et super irregularitate, et in votis castitatis et religionis in faemineo sexu.

1599, under the name of John Bushlock, and as if from Dublin, he wrote an account of his adventures, as if F. Holywood were a third party. His letter was addressed to the *Molto Magnifico Signor Claudio Aquaviva*. In it he tells how he escaped the French and English Protestants at Abbeville, Dieppe, and other parts of France; how he was imprisoned in Dover Castle, and was then led to London; how he was examined before Lord Cobham, and was then kept in close custody in the Tower; and how his cousin, Lord Dunsany, obtained leave for his friends to visit him. Then he goes on to say: "Alas! our Ireland is a prey to disunion; it is quite divided, and full of soldiers. He, who lives in one part of the island, is called a favourer of sedition; and he, who dwells in the other part, is looked on as a propagator of heresy. About Bertram's first-born I have heard many things that have been said to the higher powers. Bertram's youngest son, I hear, keeps himself within bounds, but is not cautious enough."

The good father was obliged, by prudence, to adopt this obscure language. From his letter, which is highly interesting, but too long to insert in this place, we gather that he was most anxious then, and had been desirous from his childhood to lay down his life for the faith. We learn also that Father Archer, or "Bertram's eldest son," was called a rebel by the Palesmen, or by those who sided with Elizabeth; and that Father FitzSimon, "Bertram's youngest son," was called a heretic by the northern Irish because he sympathized with the Pale.¹ This explains what Father FitzSimon says about the dangers of death he would encounter in travelling, or going on his missions, while the friends of O'Neill were masters of nearly all Ireland.

On the 1st of September, 1599, a few months after the date of Holywood's letter, Father De la Field, the Superior of the Irish Jesuits, just appointed on account of the imprisonment of Father Holywood, wrote a letter to Father Aquaviva, in which he shows himself a thorough Palesman. He says that the priests are divided about the lawfulness of O'Neill's war, and he asks: "What is to be answered when I am consulted?" He informs his Paternity, that it is not clear that the war was first begun for the sake of religion. He admits that in all battles and encounters up to the present the Royalists have been beaten, and, "wonderful to relate, the English themselves admit that the minute they come in sight of the Irish, they lose courage and throw away their arms. The Viceroy has just set out with five or six thousand men to fight O'Neill,

¹ "Holiwood's Letter," May 11, 1599.

who awaits him long and greedily. God give victory to those who sustain the just cause!"

"Father FitzSimon labours hard in the vineyard of the Lord; but it is a great pity he does not perform his functions more secretly. Crowds flock to hear him, and are drawn to God by his exertions. His sodality is spreading the practices of solid piety. He collects money for the support of the Irish College of Douay. He has been accustomed to a demonstrative way of life. He never dines without six or eight guests; and when he goes to the country, he rides with three or four gentlemen, who act as his companions. Many leading men, thank God, are joining our holy mother the Church."

A week after Father De la Field had penned this letter, from which I have given but an extract, Father FitzSimon wrote to Father General: "I have received your Paternity's letter appointing F. De la Field in the place of the prisoner (Father Holiwood). I cannot express to you how glad I was to receive it, as I was afraid you would not think this vineyard worthy of such attention on account of its perpetual infelicity, or on account of the wickedness of our enemies. I beg you will send hither many labourers, as we want them badly, and will receive them gladly. Fathers Talbot and Lenan should be sent to me, and Fathers Andrew Mulrony, Nicholas Leynagh, and Brian O'Kearney, etc., should be sent to the south. There is a great change going on here just now, and we can work with the greatest freedom and peace. The Earl of Essex pays such attention to war that he neglects religion, and he is firmly convinced that nothing can succeed unless he lets church matters alone. The rebels grow more insolent every day, relying on their vastly superior power and fortune, through which they work such wonderful havoc, that the English army has more disabled and demoralised than able soldiers, and is almost annihilated.

"There are so many joining the Church, that in one day I received four Englishmen, three of whom were men of distinction and great note. Extraordinary things are thought to be at hand. F. De la Field is the fittest of all to be at the helm; but we want fervid and active men to carry out our work with success. The sodality will be most efficacious here, as the people are brought to the practice of piety, and, above all, to the frequent use of the sacraments, more by example than by word. There is no danger attending it, and with it the salvation of souls, and my reputation and work are inseparably linked. Wherefore I beg your Paternity will incorporate it with the head sodality of Rome, and encourage

and adorn it in every possible way. I am sure Father De la Field will back up my request, above all when he hears that *the whole town of Drogheda* has given its name to it. I think also that it would promote the glory of God if more latitude and power were given to me in this vineyard, where I have done so much by God's grace, that others may not easily do more, or win more esteem and experience. Though I deem it my duty to propose these things, your Paternity will find that no one is more willing than I am to be led by holy obedience, and to listen to the voice of my superior.

"I commend myself to the Holy Sacrifices of your Paternity, for whom I will always pray to the Most High.

"September 7th, 1599.

"Of your Reverence

"The most obedient servant in Christ,

"Henry FitzSimon."

On the back of this letter F. Aquaviva wrote the words, "Glory be to God for the good done! This letter is to be shown to Dr. Lombard and Cardinal Baronius."

The next time we hear of FitzSimon, he was lodged as a prisoner in Dublin Castle. His imprisonment took place between the 7th of September and the 25th of December, 1599; probably in the second week in December. A letter of Hugh O'Neill enables me to fix the date pretty nearly. He wrote thus to Sir William Warren, on Christmas day, 1599:—"In this last cessation of hostilities concluded between the Earl of Ormond and me, there were sundry breaches by your side committed . . . Many other things were done contrary to the due course which in any truce should be observed, and chiefly the cessation is *greatly violated* by the apprehending of Father Henry FitzSimon, a man to whom (as before God I protest), I am no more beholding than to an Irish Catholic that is restrained in Turkey for his religion, but undertake generally to plant the Catholic faith throughout all Ireland. According to my often protestations, I must undertake, be it accepted or not, for all Irish Catholics, and do feel myself more aggrieved that any should be for his religion restrained in time of cessation, than if there were a thousand preys taken from me. Wherefore, as ever you think that I shall enter to conclude either peace or cessation with the state, *let him be presently enlarged.*"¹

O'Neill did not say anything about FitzSimon to Sir William Warren, who visited him on the 13th of November; so the imprisonment took place after that date. The 15th of

¹ F. Meehan's "Flight of the Earls," p. 510.

that month, Jones, Protestant Bishop of Meath, wrote a book against O'Neil, in which he tried to injure FitzSimon, and said : "Such Jesuits as come in Ireland are told to uphold the Bull of Pius the 5th, though the Bull lies asleep at Rome ;" and he considered "whether it be Pope, Bishop, or Jesuit, who hath driven Tyrone into rebellion."¹ It was even reported that Essex had secret intelligence with Tyrone in Ireland, and entertained Jesuits ;² and we are told by Nevil, the English ambassador in the Netherlands, that "Irishmen there, and in the Low Countries, give confident reports of the great weakness of her Majesty's forces in Ireland, of Tyrone's resolution to pursue the war till he have established the Catholic religion, and of his purpose to approach the war to the gates of Dublin. Their intelligence they receive from Jesuits, and namely, from one Father FitzSimon, who resides in Dublin."³

This information was probably correct, and was procured for the English ambassador by some spy or traitor. But at the time Nevil wrote it, F. FitzSimon was indeed residing in the very heart of Dublin, in the Castle, to which priests and bishops were often invited in those days. I hope he was not put into Dr. Creagh's cell, which that illustrious Primate thus describes : "I lived in a hole, where, without a candle there was no light, and which, with candle (when I had it), was so filled with smoke, that, had there not been a hole in the next door to draw breath with my mouth set upon it, I had been undone."

(To be continued).

ON ECCLESIASTICAL SUBORDINATION.

[The following letter was addressed on this subject to his clergy, some years ago, by the eloquent Bishop of Orleans, on the occasion of a pamphlet which had been published by an ecclesiastic against the Archbishop of Paris. The words of the venerable writer, well suited as they are to the circumstances of the present times, will be read still with interest and advantage.]

"VERY REV. BRETHREN AND FELLOW LABOURERS :

"I deem it necessary to communicate to you a letter lately addressed by me to an ecclesiastic in reply to a document, of which he presented me a copy, published by him against His Grace the Archbishop of Paris.

"This document, and a preceding one of the same description, being widely circulated through our ecclesiastical province,

¹ Bibliotheca Marsiana, v. 3, 1. 18. ² French Ambassador to De Rohan.

³ F. Meehan's "Flight of the Earls," p. 14.

are exciting in it a violent and painful agitation, and at a moment when nothing is so desirable as order and tranquillity, threaten us with mischievous discussions, calculated to disturb and afflict the Church, and to bring joy to our enemies.

“Writings of this character are most dangerous in their tendency, and I have, therefore, considered it my duty to caution you against them. As to the writer himself, I addressed him in the following words :—

“Your letter to the Archbishop of Paris against some of his pastoral regulations has reached me. Presuming that it has been sent by your direction to me from Lyons, where it has been printed, I feel obliged to repudiate the gift, and to send it back to you with the assurance that I look on your conduct in this affair as most reprehensible.

“Allow me to add that the course you are pursuing forcibly reminds us of the unfortunate letters written some twenty-five years ago to Mgr. De Quelen, then Archbishop of Paris, by a certain priest (De La Mennais), whose frightful fall commenced with an act of contempt for episcopal authority.

“Your way of acting seems to imply that there is no longer a Pope in the Church, or Bishops to consult for its interests and its welfare, and that in this imaginary state of things its defence devolves upon you.

“Foolishly presuming that, in default of the highest authorities in the Church, you are called on to save religion from its enemies, and under the pretext of administering fraternal correction to the Archbishop of Paris, you constitute yourself his accuser and judge. If you be invested with this power, you must admit that every other priest in the Church enjoys the same, and thus the delusions to which you abandon yourself are dangerous to the whole episcopate.

“And is it not evident that in this way you would introduce into every diocese, and give to every priest, against his own and other bishops, the right of the inferior to apply public correction to his superior—a right never recognised by the Church, and of so dangerous a tendency that even Protestantism itself has frequently shrunk from it with alarm.

“You pretend that you are defending the Church, and you do not seem to see that the irregularity of your conduct, were it imitated by others, would be to her the source of great dangers, bringing into the Church herself that principle of disorder which, under our eyes, disturbs and breaks up all social union.

“In this you entirely forget ecclesiastical law, you undermine the sacred hierarchy, you destroy the authority of the Church ; and you raise the standard of Presbyterianism,

around which unconsciously you call together all unsteady and rebellious spirits.

“As to your letter, candidly I state that the tone and language you adopt are unworthy of a priest, and that you have not learned such language in the school of Jesus Christ, but in the ways of the world. Take care lest this mode of acting lead you to extremes, and carry you on much farther than you intend.

“You see, Reverend Sir, that I do not enter into controversy with you, but that, for your instruction, I reply to the message you have sent me. It now only remains for me to pray that God may give you the light and grace of which you are so much in need in your present position. I do so with all my heart, and I hope that my prayer for an ecclesiastic so long engaged in missionary labours will not be rejected, and with these sentiments, I remain your devoted servant in Christ.’

“Returning now to you, Reverend Brethren, I am confident that you fully understand the pernicious consequences of excesses such as those which I have denounced.

“Vain would our labours be for religion if we allowed to be weakened or destroyed amongst us a due respect for the Divine Hierarchy, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ to uphold the whole ecclesiastical ministry.

“When all earthly society is tottering or falling into pieces, it would be wrong for us to abandon the Church to worldly troubles, or to allow the seeds of discord and anarchy to be scattered in her domain with impunity by reckless hands.

“On the contrary, when the earth is trembling and convulsed under our feet, when there is no appearance of stability about us, it is then that we should endeavour to strengthen and confirm those great principles of authority and subordination which, for the past nineteen centuries, constitute the foundation of the mysterious stability of the Church.

“It is also in such circumstances that every branch of the ecclesiastical Hierarchy should give to a troubled and disorganized society the noble example of that union which imparts strength, and of that subordination which gives tranquillity to order and peace.

“It is now, more than ever, that all Bishops should cheerfully rally in a spirit of reverence, obedience, and love around the throne of the Sovereign Pontiff, the successor of Peter, and Christ’s Vicar on earth, the Supreme Head and Prince of all Bishops, the Universal Pastor not only of the sheep but also of the shepherds—that all Bishops should rally around Him whom Christ has constituted the corner stone and immovable foun-

dation of the Church, in whom is centred the plenitude as well as the firmness of apostolic authority, the chief principality, the eminent rank of the Pontifical See, in which See—one and indefectible—all the faithful are bound together in the bonds of unity.

“Moreover, it is now, Reverend Brethren, that in a special manner all good priests are bound to rally with sincere respect and religious submission around their Bishops, their immediate pastors under the superior and ruling authority of the Sovereign Pontiff—around those who, according to the express declaration of the Council of Trent—are the successors of the Apostles, placed, as St. Paul says, by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God, to whom Christ said: ‘Go, teach all nations’ (Mat. xxviii. 19), and again, ‘He who heareth you, heareth me, and he who despiseth you, despiseth me.’ (*ib.*)

“It is now also more than ever that the faithful ought to be most closely connected, and bound in union with their priests, who are the representatives and assistants of the Bishops, charged to break the bread of the Divine Word, and to administer the sacraments to their flocks. In this way Bishops, priests, and people, under our invisible Head, Christ Jesus, and under the successor of St. Peter His Vicar on earth, will form here below the strong and powerful body of the Church, in which all is compact and fully joined together, and in which the Lord Jesus communicates by a secret influence to all the members that which is proportioned to each, so that the whole body may increase unto the edifying of itself in charity.—(Eph. iv. 15).

“Must we not admire, Reverend Brethren, these divine and wonderful words? Could the Divine Spirit have expressed more accurately, or with greater force and vigour, the all-powerful efficacy of the living unity of the body of the Church, where all is divine because all is one, and where all things being connected and interwoven, each element, when in its proper place, receives strength from the whole. Woe to those whose recklessness and pride tend to disturb this admirable order: woe to those whose violent and irregular conduct seeks to break up the unity of this divine subordination, and to separate that which Christ has made to be eternally united.

“How much better that, piously and inseparably united among ourselves, and firmly adhering to the chair of Peter, and to that Church which is the mother and mistress of all other churches, we should remove even the shadow of division, and that, generously forgetting ourselves, and sacrificing personal prejudices in the interest of the Church, we should make unanimous efforts to preserve that peace and union in which

God delights to dwell. By doing so, and not otherwise, we shall present to the world and to the power of hell the image of that mighty army mentioned in the Scripture, invincible on account of being in battle array.

“In this way, not less by example than by teaching, we shall give to society, now surrounded by dangers, that salutary assistance which it needs, and the last resources of life which it loudly demands, and without which it must perish.

“Let us then, altogether, Reverend Brethren, beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to pour forth abundantly upon us, through His Divine Spirit, the gifts of His charity and peace, and to grant that His Church, in these sad days of trouble and confusion, may experience the effect of the admirable prayer which, the day before His death, He addressed for her to His Eternal Father:

“‘Keep them, Holy Father, in my name, whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we also are That they all may be one, as thou Father in me, and I in thee: that they may be also one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me . . . and the glory which thou hast given me, I have given to them, that they may be one as we also are one . . . and the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast also loved me.’—(John xvii. 11.)

“✠ FELIX, Bishop of Orleans.”

DR. DÖLLINGER AND THE DOGMA OF INFALLIBILITY.

BY DR. HERGENRÖTHER, PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND CANON LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WÜRZBURG.

(Translated from the German.)

[DR. DÖLLINGER'S manifesto regarding the Vatican Council and its definition of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility was, very soon after its publication, introduced to the notice of English readers by a leading article in the *Times* newspaper. As the article presents, within a short compass, a singularly faithful sketch of Dr. Döllinger's views, a few extracts from it will form a useful introduction to the translation of Dr. Hergenröther's pamphlet; they will enable the readers of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD to appreciate more fully the line of reasoning pursued by the learned author.

"In Germany," says the writer of the article, "we hear of an uncompromising repudiation of the powers lately arrogated by the Pontiff. . . We could not but hope that this last outrage on truth and liberty would somewhere arouse the slumbering convictions of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics. . .

"In Professor Döllinger the man has at length been found who possesses not merely the knowledge of the truth, but the courage necessary to assert it. . . After a first refusal to accept the new dogma, he was formally summoned to submit, under penalty, as he expresses it, 'of such penal measures as are used only against such persons as have been guilty of gross moral crimes, and even but seldom against these.'

"He has replied in terms which, in their combined firmness and modesty, *singularly resemble the language of Luther* when similarly challenged. He requests a hearing before an assembly of bishops or theologians, and says, *like Luther*, 'Should I be confuted by testimonies and facts, I engage myself to revoke publicly all that I have written in this matter, and to confute myself.' But in the absence of such refutation, he reiterates his assertion that the dogma is destitute of foundation either in scripture or history; that it has been defended and accepted on the faith of false, distorted, or invented quotations; that it contradicts the decisions of previous Councils and Popes; and that it is 'simply incompatible with the constitutions of the states of Europe, and especially with that of Bavaria.'

"He asserts that the system, of which it is the cornerstone, bears its Romish origin on its forehead, and will never be able to penetrate in Germanic countries: and he concludes by the emphatic declaration:—'As a Christian, as a theologian, as a student of history, as a citizen, I cannot accept this doctrine.'

"This is plain speaking, and it has been met not less plainly. The Archbishop of Munich declines any discussion, because 'there is no question at all at issue, for the question has been decided by an Œcumenical Council.' He simply repudiates the charge that the dogma is incompatible with European constitutions; and above all, he declares that 'historical criticism cannot be placed above the authority of the Church.'¹

Dr. Hergenröther's pamphlet is an exhaustive analysis and refutation of the protest thus described in the *Times*. It consists of five sections. 1. Dr. Döllinger's Standpoint. 2. His Proposals. 3. Historical Precedents. 4. His Five Propositions. 5. Conclusion. The following pages are a trans-

¹ *The Times*, April the 18th, 1871.

lation of the first section: the remainder will appear in the next and subsequent numbers of the RECORD.

It remains only to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. Hergenröther in sanctioning the translation of his work, and its publication in these pages: and of Professor Robertson, of the Catholic University of Ireland, who first brought the pamphlet under the translator's notice, and through whom the author's permission for its translation and publication in the RECORD was obtained.]

I.—DR. DÖLLINGER'S STANDPOINT.

The *Allgemeine Zeitung* announced in its issue of the 30th of March, 1871, that it would publish in an extraordinary supplement on the following day, Dr. Döllinger's reply to the ecclesiastical citation which the Archbishop of Munich had served on that "eminent Doctor of the Church," in reference to his attitude towards the Vatican Council. And in accordance with this announcement, Dr. Döllinger's letter to the Archbishop was published on the next day, occupying more than six columns of the *Gazette*. It is dated 28th of March, 1871.

Immediately on the publication of this letter, numerous addresses of adherence flowed in upon its learned author, whose "firmness," "steadfastness," and "heroic spirit" were applauded with triumphant acclamation by all the enemies of the Catholic Church. Very different feelings, however, were excited in the minds of Catholics who, steadfast in loyalty to the Church, were not to be dazzled by the splendour of a name, however famous, and who, even though their religious education may have been defective in some respects, were not prepared to supply the deficiency from the columns of the *Augsburg Gazette*.

But it is not with the feelings to which this publication has given rise that we have now to deal. For the satisfaction of all whose peace of mind it has disturbed, a scientific treatment of the questions which are raised in it is indispensable. In the light, therefore, of science—which, surely, is not in the exclusive possession of a single individual—we purpose to subject to a searching examination this letter of Dr. Döllinger, which, now that it has appeared in the public press, is a fair subject for public criticism, more especially as, from its whole structure and composition, it is obviously intended for the public at large, rather than for the ecclesiastical dignitary to whom it is immediately addressed.

To expose its true character, so hostile in its spirit and its teaching to the spirit and teaching of the Church, is a painful duty for a Catholic theologian, especially for one who has undertaken the task at the request of Catholics whose faith its publication has disturbed.

The gist of Dr. Döllinger's "Declaration" is contained in the statement with which he concludes—that neither as a Christian, nor as a theologian, nor as a student of history, nor as a citizen, can he accept the dogma which was defined in the fourth session of the Vatican Council.

1. "Not as a Christian: for this doctrine is at variance with the spirit of the Gospel and with the plain utterances of Christ and His Apostles: its result will simply be the establishment of that 'kingdom of this world,' which Christ renounced and of that 'lordship over the faithful,' which Peter, disclaiming it for himself, forbade to all."

If a Protestant "Christian" had expressed himself thus, there would be no difficulty in understanding his position. By such a writer, subject to no authority in his interpretation of Scripture, and following the dictates of his own private judgment, the Catholic Church herself, majestic in the order of her hierarchy, would be regarded as a "kingdom of this world," claiming an unscriptural "lordship over the faithful." But no Catholic "Christian" can thus approach the discussion of a question regarding faith, who has not first abandoned the Catholic standpoint. For it is the duty of every Catholic to believe whatever the Church proposes to his belief, to submit his private judgment to her authority as teacher: the virtue of faith, as described in Scripture and in the writings of the Fathers, being supernatural in its character, and based, not upon intrinsic reasoning or private investigations, but upon simple obedience to authority. The necessity of "bringing every understanding into captivity unto the obedience of Christ" is insisted upon by the Apostle.—(2 Cor. x. 5.) And when Dr. Döllinger, echoing the cry of Protestant controversialists,¹ sets down the "sacrifice of the understanding" as an invention of the Jesuits, he completely overlooks the fact, that the necessity of this sacrifice has at all times been put forward by the Fathers of the Church, and that it is by no means incompatible with a reasoning obedience. No Catholic is at liberty to use such language as that in which the author of this protest has attempted, from his standpoint as a "Christian," to justify his refusal of obedience to the Church. And un-

¹ HASE.—*Handbook of Protestant Controversy with the Roman Catholic Church.* Leipzig, 1871, page 172.

doubtedly he felt this when—assuredly not without having duly weighed his words—he protested “as a Christian,” and not as a Catholic.¹

2. “As a theologian” also, he protests: “for the pure tradition of the Church is irreconcilably at variance with it” [this doctrine]. All we know is that Dr. Döllinger’s teaching is irreconcilably at variance with it. But, surely, he can have no claim to be identified either with theological science, or still less (if we may use a phrase, which has been calumniously ascribed to the Holy Father) with the tradition of the Church.²

Indeed, to say nothing of the fact that Dr. Döllinger has never attained great eminence as a writer on dogma, he has lately made so many theological blunders, especially in his criticisms on the bishops, that he has forfeited all claim to be regarded as a theologian. The maxims which he lays down regarding the objects of faith³ are at variance with the first principles of theology. The bishops, he represents as agents and envoys accredited to the Council by their several sees, and as deputies who can act only within the limits of the powers entrusted to them by those whom they represent: so that their decisions can have no weight until approved by the faithful, who are thus set up as judges invested with authority to revise the acts of their ecclesiastical superiors.⁴ In this way, as is obvious, the whole constitution of the Church is subverted, the infallibility of the

¹ The question “Why not, ‘as a Catholic?’” has been asked, too, in other quarters. A correspondent of the *Augsburg Gazette*, writing from Munich on the 2nd of April, is of opinion that Dr. Döllinger “took this way of indicating the full extent of the antagonism which he believes to exist between the decrees enacted by the Vatican Council, in July, 1870, and the constitution of the Church as it existed both *before* and *since* the Reformation.” Either this conjecture is altogether insufficient to account for the use of the phrase in question, or it exhibits an inaccurate conception of the condition of the Church before the Lutheran schism. For Catholics were known by that name, before the Reformation, as well as since.

The same correspondent says in another part of his letter:—“No one who has learned, whether from personal observation or from the testimony of others, what conscientious fidelity characterizes the venerable Provost’s discharge of his priestly duties, even in the smallest particulars, [including the Breviary so shamefully reviled by Janus?] no one who is capable of appreciating the earnestness of his appeal to a Synod of German Bishops, or to the Cathedral Chapter of Munich, can think of questioning the sincerity of his Catholicity.” Indeed! As if the same “conscientious fidelity” had not characterized, in a still higher degree, the lives of those adepts in the art of assuming the garb of sanctity, the founders of Jansenism and their first followers.

² The *Allgemeine Zeitung* (3rd July, 1870,) did not scruple to represent his Holiness as having said “La tradizione son io,” words which have since been repeated, times without number, and from which countless inferences have been deduced. The story did not fail, of course, to make a deep impression on the public, heedless of its anonymous origin. Would it not have been more telling to have made the Pope say at once, “Lo Spirito Santo son io?”

³ *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21st January, 1870. ⁴ *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11th March, 1870.

General Council indirectly denied, and its authority deprived of its supernatural character, and reduced to a merely human moral certainty.¹

Moreover, whatever be the view of the rights and prerogatives of the Holy See, which is presented in the authentic tradition of the Church, there can be no doubt that Dr. Döllinger has frequently changed his opinions on the subject, and given, in fact, at different times, different interpretations of the same texts.² And yet it is to him we are to look for an exposition of the "pure tradition of the Church!" Can he have forgotten that in all that concerns faith, the decisions of the Church herself must be obeyed, even by learned theologians?

3. "Nor as a student of history" can he accept the doctrine: "for as such," he says, "I know that the persistent endeavour to realise this theory of universal domination has deluged Europe with rivers of blood, has confounded and degraded whole nations, has shaken the organization of the early Church, so marvellous in its beauty, and has engendered, nourished, and sustained the worst abuses in the Church." Here we have identically the historical views of Janus: how little of all this was known to Dr. Döllinger in 1843, and yet he was then a writer of established reputation, whose character for impartiality and mental power stood higher perhaps than it does to-day. At least he had not, at that time, been forced by the exigencies of his position to put forward so many unsound and inaccurate statements on historical points as he has been obliged to do since he openly took his stand with the enemies of the Holy See. Such, for instance, is his assertion regarding the corruption of the text of the Decree of Union drawn up by the Council of Florence, an allegation which has been shown, not merely by Catholic writers, but also by writers outside the Church, to be totally devoid of foundation:³ such, too, is the statement which he has put forward with so much confidence, that the œcumenicity of the General Council of Florence had not been recognised in France before the Revolution, a statement which has been proved by abundant evidence to be altogether groundless. The authority of the Council was fully recognised by Natalis Alexander, Bossuet, and other French writers, who undertook to explain its

¹ See *Historisch-politische Blätter*, vol. 66, p. 508.

² The explanations of the passages of Scripture regarding the Primacy, which he had given in the first edition of his work on "Christianity and the Church," have been omitted from the second edition. In his "Reflections" he has given an exposition of the well-known text of Saint Irenæus totally at variance with his former interpretation.

³ See Translator's Note, p. 367.

decrees in a sense conformable to their own views: and the Sorbonnist Pirot, writing in the time of Louis XVI., says expressly:—"I know of no French Catholic who does not now accept the Council of Florence as œcumenical." Nor would it be difficult to bring other examples, if necessary, to show that since 1861, the versatile historian and critic has not fulfilled the promise of his earlier years, and that at times he has put forward the most frivolous statements, and committed the most serious blunders in his zeal for the defence of the cause in which he happened for the moment to be interested.¹

4. "As a citizen," too, he must reject this dogma; "because by its claim to subject states and monarchs, and the whole political order, to the Papal power, and by the exceptional position which it claims for the clergy [where? how?] it lays the foundation of endless and ruinous conflicts between State and Church, between the clergy and the laity." We shall show, farther on, how groundless are these assertions which bear such a striking resemblance to the statements of the Nuremberg Protest. Here we shall merely record our conviction that their author "as a citizen," is, beyond question, a more redoubtable adversary than "as a Christian," or a "theologian," or even as a "student of history."

As a citizen his opposition is to be dreaded on this account: that the influence which his name acquired in years past, and which it has not yet lost, is giving an impulse to political movements, by which those Catholics who remain faithful to their Church may be robbed of their political rights. Already in the German Reichstag, on the 3rd of April, his authority was appealed to by the deputy Miquel in the most significant way: and, of course, Catholics must be prepared for the worst from a priest who has acted with disloyalty to the Church.

In fact, Dr. Döllinger, until he withdraws from the position which he has taken up in this manifesto, has no claim to be

¹ For instance, when treating of the Papal Government in his work, "The Church and the Churches," in which he blindly follows the hireling slanderers of the Piedmontese press, he brings forward a report drawn up by Sig. Galli, who, he says, became Minister of Finance in Rome in 1848, and presented, after his accession to office, a report describing the disorganized condition in which he found the treasury, and the gross mismanagement which had prevailed in that department during the preceding Pontificate. Now the fact is, that Sig. Galli did not become Minister of Finance until after the Mazzinians had been expelled by the French troops in 1849, and his report has no reference whatever to the management of the finances during the reign of Gregory XVI. It refers exclusively to the disorganized condition in which they were left by the Mazzinian Republicans.

regarded as a Catholic. We may take as fully applicable to him, what the Holy Father, writing on the 28th of October to the bishops who published the joint pastoral in August, says of those who refuse to obey the Decrees of the General Council—that they undermine the very groundwork of Catholic faith and of Catholic doctrine. “Although,” says his Holiness, “they acknowledge that Scripture and Tradition are the sources of divine revelation, they refuse to obey the living ministry of the Church, the authority of which, as revealed in Scripture and Tradition, has been established by God for the safe keeping and for the infallible exposition and interpretation of the dogmas which Scripture and Tradition contain: and thus, independent of all authority, nay, even in opposition to the authority of the ministry which God has established, they set themselves up with no other aid than their fallible and erring science, to decide what dogmas are contained in the sources of revelation. For in what other light can we regard their conduct in venturing to assert that the dogma which we have defined with the consent of the Holy Council,¹ is not a truth revealed by God, and even that it is inconsistent with Catholic faith, because they *cannot discover*, in Scripture or Tradition, *what they would regard* as satisfactory evidence of its truth? As if it had not been ordained by our Redeemer, and ever upheld as the Church’s rule of faith, that the definition of a dogma should form a decisive proof, sufficient and suited to the capacity of all, that the defined doctrine was contained in the deposit of the written or unwritten word.”

And even if the Vatican Council were not œcumenical, the unanimous agreement of the Pope and the Bishops of the Church would suffice, even on Gallican principles. For surely, if the pastors of the Church have ever spoken authoritatively on any point of doctrine, they have done so in this case. It is no longer possible to deny the infallibility of the Pope without denying the infallibility of the Church as well; for the events which have followed the definition of the Vatican Council have established beyond all question, and placed in the clearest light, a truth which was long since admitted even by candid Protestants,² that every argu-

¹ In reference to the formula prefixed to the Definitions of the Vatican Council—*Pius Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Sacro Approbante Concilio*—the *Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote on the 25th of March, 1871:—“No such form has been heretofore known in the Church: in all previous Councils the definitions were published as Decrees of the Council, *Confirmante Papa*.” Plainly, the writer of the article had never read the Acts of the œcumenical councils of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, at which the Popes presided in person.

² HASE. *Handbook of Protestant Controversy*. Leipzig 1871, p. 200.

ment against the infallibility of the Pope tells with equal force against the existence of all infallibility in the Church. The principles therefore of Dr. Döllinger's manifesto cannot be regarded as Catholic ; they are, on the contrary, thoroughly and unmistakably anti-Catholic.

(Translator's Note.)

The statement to which Dr. Hergenröther refers, regarding the Florentine Decree of Union, was put forward by Dr. Döllinger in an elaborate criticism, partly theological, partly historical, on the *Postulatum* presented to the Vatican Council by more than four hundred bishops, praying that the doctrine of Infallibility might be defined.

The *Postulatum* appealed to "the universal and constant tradition of the Church, as seen both in facts and in the teaching of the Fathers, as well as in the manner of acting and speaking adopted by many Councils, some of which were œcumenical," as teaching "that the judgments of the Roman Pontiff in matters of faith and morals are irreformable." And in support of this statement, so far as it regarded the teaching of œcumenical councils, the Decree of the Council of Florence was quoted in a subsequent paragraph, defining that "the Roman Pontiff is Christ's true Vicar, the Head of the whole Church, and Father and Teacher of all Christians ; and that to him, in blessed Peter, was given by Jesus Christ the plenitude of power to rule and govern the universal Church."¹

Dr. Döllinger, in his criticism, charged the compilers of the Petition with having "mutilated" the Florentine Decree by omitting the clause "quemadmodum et in gestis Conciliorum et in Sacris Canonibus continetur," which immediately follows, and which, as he goes on to explain, substantially modifies the force of the passage quoted in the *Postulatum*. For that passage undoubtedly implies that the Pope, having received the plenitude of power (*potestatem plenam*) to teach and govern the universal Church, is free from all ecclesiastical restraint, and subject to no ecclesiastical authority in the discharge of those functions. And it is unnecessary to point out how widely such an exposition of the Papal prerogatives differs from that which represents the Roman Pontiff as invested merely with power to teach and govern the Church in such manner as is laid down both in the Decrees of Councils and in the Canons of the Church.

¹ I have transcribed this passage from the translation of the *Postulatum* given by the Archbishop of Westminster in the Appendix to his work, "*Petri Privilegium*." London, 1871.

He suggested, indeed, that possibly "the compilers of the Petition accept the *falsified version* of the Decree (first published by Abraham Bartolomæus), in which an *etiam* takes the place of *et* [so that the passage would run thus:—'To him was given the plenitude of power . . . *as is laid down also* (quemadmodum *etiam*) in the Decrees of General Councils and the Canons of the Church']. . . According to this reading the Decree would state two things: (1)—that the power of the Pope is plenary; and (2)—that evidence of the existence of this power is to be found in the sources indicated. By this *etiam*, then, the sense of the Decree is entirely changed; and still, although a palpable falsification, it has got introduced into all the collections of Councils, and into the books of Dogmatic Theology. It is quite time to remove this stone of stumbling . . . and to restore the true text."

If the evidence bearing upon the question of fact, which is thus raised by Dr. Döllinger, were not absolutely decisive against his view, it might be useful, as indeed it would be easy, to show that even accepting his version of the clause, it would by no means follow that his interpretation of it should be adopted. Why, for instance, might it not be understood as follows:—"To the Roman Pontiff has been given the plenitude of power, . . . as is laid down *both* (quemadmodum *et*) in the Acts of General Councils and in the Canons of the Church"—a sense almost identical with that which, as he admits, is the obvious meaning of the text in what he regards as its falsified version? Dr. Döllinger, then, is not justified in representing the difference of meaning between the two versions as a difference between stating in one case that the Papal power is plenary, and in the other that it is restricted. For, in the preceding clause, quoted in the *Postulatum*, it is expressly defined that the Papal power is plenary—"ipsi in beato Petro, pascendi, regendi, et gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo *plenam* potestatem traditam esse." And the remainder of the passage, even accepting Dr. Döllinger's version of it, is, as we have seen, capable of being understood in a sense thoroughly conformable to that definition.

But it is unnecessary to dwell at greater length upon this branch of the question; for there is abundant evidence of the clearest and most convincing kind, that the version which Dr. Döllinger regards as "a falsification of the sixteenth century," represents, beyond all question, the original text of the Decree. Its correctness had, indeed, been long since demonstrated by Mamachi and Zaccaria, whose learned and laborious researches Dr. Döllinger has disingenuously ignored.

But an investigation carried on at Rome and Florence since the publication of his article, has so clearly established the genuineness of this reading that even German criticism must acquiesce in the result. The following statement of the evidence thus obtained, is a summary of a detailed account of the various manuscripts examined, which was published, with *fac-similes* of each, in the *Civiltà Cattolica*.¹

“Wishing for more tangible proof, we obtained from the custodian of the Vatican Library permission to inspect the manuscripts in which the Acts of the Council of Florence are to be found. They are all of the fifteenth century and quite near to the date of the Council (A.D. 1439). In these we have read with our own eyes the words ‘*quemadmodum etiam*.’ In one codex, indeed, the *etiam* is abbreviated, and although the sign of abbreviation is as clear as possible, we can understand how easily the word may have got changed into *et* in some codices and some more recent books.

“From the library we descended to the archives of the Vatican Basilica, where one of the *originals* of the Decree of Union is preserved. And in this well-known record, bearing the *autograph* signatures of Pope Eugene IV. and of John Paleologus, the word *etiam*, which Dr. Döllinger has ventured to describe as ‘a falsification of the sixteenth century,’ that has found its way ‘into all the collections of Councils, and into the books of Dogmatic Theology,’ is to be read in the plainest letters and at full length.

“The *etiam* is to be read also in the other original exemplars preserved at Florence, Bologna, and Paris. [It may be well to explain that, at the Council of Florence, five copies of the Decree of Union were signed in autograph by the Pope on the part of the Latins, and by the Emperor John Paleologus on the part of the Greeks. These are the original exemplars to which the editor of the *Civiltà Cattolica* refers]. The most valuable of all is that which is preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, and which bears the autograph signatures, not merely of the Pope and of the Emperor, but of all the Fathers, both Latin and Greek, who were present at the Council, with the leaden *Bulla* of the Pope, and the golden one of the Emperor. And in this most precious original too, the words *quemadmodum etiam* are found without abbreviation, and as plainly written as in the other original manuscript which we examined at Rome.”

And thus the genuineness of the version adopted in all standard works of Catholic Theology, but rejected by the

¹ *Civiltà Cattolica* (February 19th, 1870.) Not having the original at hand, I have made use of the translation published in *The Vatican* newspaper (March 4th, 1870.)

“scientific historians” of Dr. Döllinger’s school, is established by the most satisfactory of tests—an inspection of the original manuscript itself.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of this demonstration. In the first place, it proves, beyond question, that the power of the Pope, as defined by the Council of Florence, is “plenary”; for this, as Dr. Döllinger admits in his criticism, “results from the reading which has found its way into all the collections of Councils and books of Dogmatic Theology.”

But this is not all. It is asserted as a fundamental principle by Dr. Dollinger and his colleagues, the authors of *Janus*, that “the whole Papal system of universal monarchy has been gradually built up during seven centuries, and is now being energetically pushed on to its final completion” by means of “pretended Decrees,” “spurious writings,” “frauds,” “tricks,” “successful forgeries,” “historical facts invented or adapted for party purposes,” “corruption of the canons of Œcumenical Councils,” “fabricated records,” “passages twisted by means of omissions and arbitrary collocations,” “falsifying again what was a falsification to begin with,” “forgeries and fabrications piled up, layer after layer, in the Church, covering one another like the strata of the earth,” “systematic fabrications, sometimes manufactured in Rome sometimes originating elsewhere, but adapted and utilized there,” “a process of forgeries and fictions actively carried on in the interests of Rome, which modern criticism, even at Rome, has been obliged to give up,” “deceit, error, and forgeries, which, like a great wedge driven into the fabric of the Church, have gradually loosened, disjointed, and disintegrated the whole of its ancient constitution.”¹

The alleged corruption in the case of the Florentine Decree is one of the specific instances which they put forward in illustration of this view. And surely it cannot be regarded as the least important result of the investigation which the preservation of the original documents has fortunately rendered possible in this case, that it has furnished incontestable proof of how little weight should be attached to the unproved assertions of these “scientific historians” and professors of “the higher criticism,” who are so far from being infallible guides even in their own department of science, although with overweening self-sufficiency they do not shrink from putting forward their views on revealed doctrines in opposition to the dogmatic decisions of the infallible Church.

W. J. W.

¹ *The Pope and the Council*, by Janus. Authorized Translation. London, 1869. *Passim*.

DR. TROY, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

JOHN THOMAS TROY, Archbishop of Dublin, and Primate of Ireland, was born near Porterstown, in the now parish of Blanchardstown, county Dublin, June 26, 1739 (O.S.), or July 7th (N.S.) He had three younger brothers, William, b. 1741; Walter, b. 1742; and James, b. 1748; and three sisters, the last of whom was born 24th July, 1755.

Of his early life and first journey to Rome, Dr. Troy has left a most interesting account, written with that touching simplicity and fulness of detail which distinguish all the productions of his pen. The documents from which we quote were never published, and so far escaped the notice of some of his nearest friends, who, we have reason to know, have collected with much pains the family papers. Yet, of the authenticity of these diaries no one can doubt who ever read a line of Dr. Troy's letters.

In the following diary he gives an account of his early education, and of his first journey from Dublin to Rome:—

DIARY No. I.

While yet very young, I was removed to Smithfield, and sent to school in Liffey-street; I was received into the Order of the Most Holy Rosary at Dublin, July 5th, 1755 (N.S.); I was examined by the gentlemen of Bridge-street, Dublin, 5th July, 1755; I suppose I pleased them, though I must have made very little progress in study; I owed my success more to the care of friends than to the lessons I learned in school.

My grandmother FitzGerald, died February 13, 1756, and my aunt FitzGerald, died March 30, 1752. They were both very kind to me, and I should not forget their love and affection. Their deaths made a deep impression on me.

I sailed from Dublin for Leghorn on Sunday, January 18, 1756, at 12 o'clock noon, in the "Princess Anne," of Dublin, Captain John Dempsy, commander. But the wind turning directly against us, we were obliged to come back and anchor in the bay of Dublin on Monday morning, the 19th of January, where we remained until Sunday the 25th, when we entered the harbour. On Saturday, the 24th, the captain put all hands to work about midnight, and got in his ship at 4 a.m. on Sunday. I surprised my friends in Smithfield with my presence about 11 o'clock that morning.

Wednesday, February 18, 1756.—Sailed with a fair wind from the harbour of Dublin about 11 a.m., and cleared Tuscar Rock at 10 p.m. same day; came in sight of Kinsale in the evening on Saturday, the 21st. Friday, 5th March.—We spoke to a

vessel from Cork to Gibraltar, laden with potatoes: as we sailed faster, we lost sight of her that same night.

Saturday, the 13th, at 6 a.m.—Made Cape St. Vincent, on which is a Franciscan Convent, which we saw, and a strong fort. All this day sailed in sight of the land of Portugal. Sunday, 14th, 1756.—Made the land of Spain this morning, and sighted the African coast; kept close to Cape Trafalgar, and at 3 o'clock p.m., passed by Gibraltar. Monday, made Cape de Gata; and on Tuesday 16th, made Cape Palos.

Wednesday, the 17th, being St. Patrick's day, came in sight of the hill of Alicant; anchored in the bay of Alicant about four o'clock. Next morning, Thursday, 18th, went ashore, visited the town and friends—M'Donnell and family. Saturday, 20th, stayed on board all day, and wrote to my father. Tuesday, the 23rd of March, sailed from the bay of Alicant, with a fair wind. Wednesday, 24th, reached the Island of Iviza. Friday, 26th, made the Island of Minorca. Monday, 29th, left, after a great storm, Corsica to leeward of us, and in the evening of March 29, arrived at Leghorn.

Tuesday, March 30.—Went ashore; delivered my papers to Mr. Cosgrave; dined, and lay at Mr. Cassidy's, who kept the ordinary. Wednesday, 31, waited on Mr. Flood.

Saturday, April 3, 1756.—Set out for Rome, at two p.m.; stopped at Ferrara that night. Sunday, April 4.—Passed through a delightful country; lay at a little village—name unknown to me.

Monday, April 5, about noon, arrived at Sienna; departed about two o'clock.

Tuesday, 6.—Passed over the great mountains of Radicofani; were obliged to get fresh horses. This day walked from Aqua Pendente, where we dined at Belsano, where we rested for the night, being two posts or fourteen Italian miles. Thursday, April 8.—Walked over Monte Fiascone, and thence to Viterbo, which we reached at two o'clock; stayed there that night. I went to the convent of nuns of the holy order of St. Dominick, to see the sacred relics of St. Rose, virgin, who was of that order; her body lies there in a noble shrine, whole and entire as when she died, without any offensive smell whatever, after her rest of 500 years.

Saturday, April 10.—Set out from Viterbo, at nine o'clock a.m.; dined, supped, and lay at Monte Rosa. Palm Sunday, April 11, 1756, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I arrived at St. Clement's in Rome.

It would be difficult, we think, to get a more accurate and minute account of a voyage from Dublin to Leghorn, written

more than a hundred years ago, than what is contained in this journal. The days, and hours, and state of the weather are noted with the precision of an experienced seaman; and yet that journal was kept by a boy of sixteen, who humbly confesses that he had made but little progress in study. It is also interesting to compare his voyage, and the journey from Leghorn to Rome, more than a century ago, with a like journey in our own day, when a young student, starting from Dublin at the beginning of the week, may reach the Eternal City with ease and security within the same week.

The thoughts that were uppermost in the young traveller's mind are prominent in his diary. He takes special notice of the Franciscan and Dominican convents. He looks with reverence on the body of a virgin of that holy order, of which he was already resolved to become a humble member; and in the midst of his voyage, far away from home and kindred, he remembers piously the feast of the patron saint of his country.

Neither of his noviciate, nor of his profession in the Dominican order, has Dr. Troy left, that we know, any detailed account. That he was a distinguished student, and assiduous in the discharge of duty, is plain from the fact that he filled successively every office in the convent of St. Clement's. Even before his profession, and while yet a student, he gave lectures in philosophy. Then he was appointed Professor of Theology and Canon Law; then Master of Novices, and finally, President or Prior of the convent. In one of the documents presented to the congregation of Propaganda in his favour, at the time of his appointment to Ossory, he is described as "S. ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae praesentatus, conventus Romani SS. Sixti et Clementis actualis praeses seu Prior, postquam per viginti et unum ferme annos in eodem coenobio continuo versatus fuerit, expletis ibidem singulis scholae muneribus et domesticis officiis."

When the See of Ossory became vacant by the death of the illustrious DeBurgo, the author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, the clergy of the diocese, and the bishops of Leinster and Munster (with one exception), desired and earnestly solicited the appointment of Dr. Mulloy, P.P. of St. Mary's, Kilkenny. The archbishops of Dublin and Cashel used every exertion in his favour. He was also strongly recommended by some of the Catholic nobility, who, on account of the sacrifices they had made for their religion, were believed to have much influence at the court of Rome. Among the papers of Dr. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, are two letters still extant, sent to his grace by Mr. Phil. Farrell, at request

of Lord Fingall. In the first of these, dated Rome, 1777, Mr. Stonor writes to Lord Fingall that, on receipt of his Lordship's letter, recommending Mr. Mulloy, he had brought the matter under the notice of the Cardinal Prefect, and that his Eminence promised to pay every attention to his Lordship's request. Mr. Stonor adds that several other parties of influence deprecated any other appointment, "and made great interest for Mr. Mulloy. I believe, however, that neither he, nor the principal candidate opposed to him, will be appointed, but a Mr. Troy, who, I am persuaded, had no such views, and who, from what I know of his piety, learning, and prudence, will give satisfaction to the clergy and people of Ossory." In the second letter, Cardinal Castelli tells Lord Fingall that Mr. Troy was appointed and confirmed to Ossory before the receipt of his Lordship's letter.

Dr. Troy was proposed for the vacant See of Ossory on November 26th, 1777, in the congregation of Propaganda, consisting then of Cardinals Castelli (Prefect), Corsini, Visconti, Antonelli, Orsino, and the Secretary Borgia, and chosen the same day. His merits were well known to the Supreme Pontiff Pius VI., who confirmed the appointment on the first Sunday of December the same year. If there was any external influence used in Dr. Troy's favour, it was chiefly that of the "Pretender," who, as we noticed already,¹ exercised his privilege of nominating Irish bishops in this instance for the last time. Diary No. II., containing Dr. Troy's journey from Rome to Kilkenny, will be given in our next number.

THE TWENTY-FIRST CATHOLIC CONGRESS IN MAYENCE.

TAKEN FROM THE GERMAN PAPER DER KATHOLIK.

IT is evident that we have reached a turning point in the history of the world; that a crisis of terrible interest for the Church, for Christian Europe, for peoples, and for nations, is at hand. It must, indeed, soon be decided whether Christianity shall continue to be, in the life of the nations, what from its very nature and design it is intended to be; whether it shall remain what it has been acknowledged to be since it overcame the heathenism of old, the light of the world, the supernatural leaven permeating all the relations of life, purify-

¹ See RECORD for March, p. 256, note.

ing and enobling them; or whether it shall be cast out of public life as an illusion, and at most—and who knows how long even that?—be tolerated as a species of superstition. The nations—and especially the recently founded German Empire—must soon decide whether they shall accept as their basis the laws of eternal justice, whose root is in the holy and personal God, and in him alone; whether they will hold to that Christian civilization which reposes on the public recognition of Christianity, of the Church as a divine institution not subject to the arbitrament of man; in fine, whether they will respect as sacred those prescriptive rights of mankind which every one must respect who believes in the divine government of the world—rights of which history is the evidence; or whether they will yield to the pressure of the revolution and of false science, throw Christianity and Christian civilization overboard, proclaim the present will of the dominant political powers or party the only and highest law of the state, and, having done this, use their immense power to infuse this “modern” spirit and these “modern” principles into the life of the people, and force it on them by every means at their disposal, through legislation, government patronage, their system of public instruction, and the whole organization of society; in short, whether they will place naturalism and rationalism instead of Christianity, the vital principle of national and popular life, and thereby—no intelligent person can doubt it, for reason and experience conspire to teach it—hasten for the nations the inevitable catastrophe of which the burning of Paris was only a premonitory symptom.

And precisely at this fatal moment in the history of the world it is that, in Germany, a number of men, among them a few who have deserved well of the church, blinded to a degree which it seems hard to account for, have raised the standard of rebellion against their mother, the Church, because the Œcumenical Council did not think fit to decide as they thought best, because it decided as it pleased the pastors of the Church and the Holy Ghost. The foundation-stone of the Church, laid by Christ himself, to preserve unity and love within it for ever, has become a stumbling-block to them. They have made shipwreck of the faith, and burst the bonds of love that held them in union with their brethren in the faith. Following the example of those who before them rebelled against the Church, they call themselves defenders of the faith, while denying the very principle on which all faith reposes. Proclaiming human science the supreme authority in matters of religion, placing it above the highest authority in the Church, above the Pope and the Council, above the assent of the whole Catholic world, they

have ceased to be servants of God and of his Church; they have gone over to the rationalism and naturalism which are striving so hard to do away with Christianity entirely, and to constitute themselves in its place a new cosmopolitan religion.

The turpitude of their rebellion against the Church is equalled only by that of the means which they have adopted to defend it and to spread its principles. Repeating the worst and most perfidious slanders of the past against the Church, and giving them out as the result of science, they proclaim to the world that the Apostolic See has for a thousand years been the seat of well-concocted fraud and deceit, and that in the most sacred of matters; that the Catholic Church is dangerous both to the state and to morals; and that the decree solemnly proclaimed by the Œcumenical Council, that Christ will for ever preserve his visible representative on earth from all error in faith and morals—a belief which has always been the keystone of Catholic faith, Catholic life, and Catholic practice—is a doctrine inimical to the rights of the state. Under these pretexts, they require the state to deprive the Catholic Church of its rights, and of the liberty which has been guaranteed to it by the state, and not to recognise the Church represented by the bishops and the Pope, but themselves, who have renounced all allegiance to it, as the legal Catholic Church, the only one recognised and promised protection by the state. Moreover, they desire that those Catholics who have remained faithful to the Church shall be looked upon as recreant to the state, accusing them of want of patriotism. Designating all those peoples embraced in the Catholic Church by the name of the *Romanists*, they, in the name of what they designate Germanism, demand their oppression and extirpation.

And, we are sorry to say, these attempts have not been without some success. Individual governments have been induced to take steps against the Church which, a short time ago, it was supposed it would be impossible to take, and which the Catholics living under those governments did nothing to warrant.

During this condition of affairs, the twenty-first Catholic Congress met in the second week of September in Mayence, to give expression in no weak or ambiguous terms to their faith, and to their views on the condition of things; and they did it with that unanimity and certainty which Catholic faith alone can give—a faith neither anxious nor troubled with doubt, nor weakened by the spirit of the age.

This they did by their resolutions on the Roman question, on the Vatican Council, and on the more recent opposition that has been made to its decrees—and rightly; for, in the Roman

question, the question of all external Christian law and order reaches its culminating point, as do theirs the constitution of the Church itself, and the whole of Catholic faith, in the decrees of the Vatican Council.

The occupation of Rome is simply robbery—a crime against the Church, against every individual Catholic which nothing can justify, which no principle of international law can excuse or cover, which no prescription can make valid. The so-called guarantees made to the Church by the Italian government can never be accepted, because they are based upon the false principle that the state alone has the right to declare under what conditions the Church and its pastors shall exercise their functions as teachers, priests, and shepherds of the flock—functions which they exercise in virtue of the power conferred upon them by Jesus Christ himself; because these laws do not by any means guarantee to the Pope the free discharge of his supreme authority as chief pastor, and, moreover, because there is not the least security that these guarantees will be respected. The occupation of Rome and of the Quirinal is the culmination of the policy of the Italian revolution, and the success of that policy the disgrace of this age. That the governments of European nations have done nothing to defend the Pope is an injustice to their Catholic subjects, a violation of the law of nations, and paves the way, necessarily, to the violation of all law and the overthrow of all order. And this is why it is that Catholics must for ever discountenance all these acts, and oppose them by all legitimate means. And their opposition cannot be rightfully construed as insubordination to the powers that be, or as a want of patriotism on their part. On the contrary, Catholics may be sure that in so acting they will be doing their government and their country the greatest possible service. Such service has been rendered by the resolutions of the Catholic Congress in Mayence.

It was well that, at the first general meeting of the society after the occupation of Rome, its members should give expression to their thought on the wicked act by which, for the third time in this century, it was attempted to destroy the work founded by divine Providence since the christianizing of the world, in order to secure to the head of the Church his liberty and the efficient discharge of the duties of his high office. Nor could the members of the society express themselves concerning this crime otherwise than in bold words of truth and justice—in words becoming an occasion when the interests of God and man are alike at stake—in words such as nature itself puts into the mouth of those who have been

the victims of great injustice or great misfortune. Worldly policy may wait, and consider itself justified in waiting, to take account of circumstances; but for us Catholics there is but one thing to do when the question is simply this—whether Christ or Antichrist shall reign, namely, what the martyrs did under circumstances still more aggravating, what God himself has commanded us to do, what we see His representative on earth doing—to proclaim the truth to those in power before kings and peoples.

It was, if possible, yet more necessary that the Catholic Congress should make a public profession of its faith in the decrees of the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, that it should raise its voice against those proceedings of the government which have no object but to hinder the Catholic Church in the declaration of its doctrines, and to lead or force Catholics into heresy. And on these points again the association, in its resolutions, speaks the truth, and expresses the Catholic view on them, in the plainest and most direct manner, without any show of diplomacy or of pedantry. We joyfully profess, say they, our faith in everything which the Church requires, particularly in the infallibility of the Pope teaching the universal Church, and in the very sense in which the Vatican Council has defined it, do we believe it. And we are convinced that the definition of this truth in our time is no evil, but the work of a kind and good Providence, intended to strengthen the Church, to preserve unity, to reclaim the erring. We reject with horror the caricature of the doctrine of Papal infallibility which the opponents of the Vatican Council have drawn, and we repudiate the slander that this doctrine or any other article of our faith is in conflict with our duties as subjects of our government, or with the allegiance which we owe our fatherland. We protest against the course of those governments which have endeavoured to hinder the propagation of Catholic doctrine within their territories, and to favor the opposition to the Church by their protecting the rebellion against it. In this manner they have overstepped the bounds of their rightful authority, infringed the rights of conscience of their Catholic subjects, and made themselves responsible before God for a host of evils. The political principles which have led to these things are in conflict with the law of God, in fact with all law and order, and can never be recognised by Catholics as right or just. Yet are we not without the hope that the governments which have been guilty of these things will, at no distant future, forsake the unholy path upon which they have entered.

But the members of the Catholic Congress did not confine themselves to professing the Catholic faith, to raising a protesting voice against the encroachments on their liberties and on their rights—rights which should be ever inviolate; they pointed out the fertile source from which have flown as well the most recent evils as the more ancient ones, which have done so much injury to the Catholic life of Germany. The source of all these evils, past as well as present, is in a science grounded on false principles, and which appropriates to itself exclusively, but not with any show of reason, the name of German science. These evils can be healed only by the cultivation of real Catholic science in Germany, and the most recent events demand absolutely that the reign of such a science should be inaugurated at once. But so long as the ancient institutions founded for Catholic purposes ignore, for the most part, the object of their being; when they have gone over, to a great extent, to infidelity, or to secular management, it is extremely important both to pastors and people, that new seats of science, of education, of real science and Christian education, should be established.

Such are the principal resolutions of the Catholic Congress held during the present year. What these resolutions contain is only the echo and essence of the thought of the assembly expressed in the orations and sayings of the members—the deep, unanimous, and undoubted convictions of all. These same thoughts found expression also in their addresses to the Holy Father, to the Bishop of Ermeland, to the Bavarian Episcopate, to the Bishops of Switzerland, as well as to the defenders of the Catholic faith in Italy and Austria. But is it right to assume that the voice of all Catholic Germany has been heard, and is heard, in the voice of this general meeting of Catholics? True it is that they would entirely misunderstand the essence and the spirit of the principles of the members of those meetings who would invest their doings or their sayings as a society with any authority; but they would err no less grossly who would consider these meetings as mere party meetings, or as meaning nothing, as merely the coming together of a few private individuals. From the very significance of this year's meeting's resolutions, it may not be amiss to examine the question somewhat more closely—how much importance is to be attached, what significance and authority such Catholic meetings may have.

These general meetings are nothing more than the coming together of believing Catholics. They do not assume to have any power or authority ecclesiastical or political. They have

nothing in their own right that entitles them to be considered as possessed of such power or authority, nor have they a power of attorney of any kind to represent any one else in these meetings.

In the Church no one has any power whatever except those to whom Christ has granted it, and only such power as he conferred upon them. But he has granted no power to any one in the Church but to Peter and the apostles. On this account the Catholic Church recognises no representatives, save only the Pope and the bishops. There is no such thing among Catholics as lay-participation in the government of the Church. Laymen have no power in Church government that is theirs of right, and they in no manner take the place of or represent even the inferior clergy. Every tendency in that direction is heretical and schismatical.

The society in question, and all other societies of the same nature, have recognised, acted upon, this principle from the beginning. Being Catholics and wishing to remain Catholics, they have never interfered in the government of the Church. On the contrary, they consider it their duty to show to others the example of the most religious submission to the Pope and the bishops in matters relating to faith and ecclesiastical discipline. They, therefore, represent no party in the Church. The Church wants no parties and recognises no parties within its bosom. Following the Church, the general meeting of Catholics negatives every division in the body of the Church. Its only desire is to find itself always one with the Church in all things, to be simply Catholic and nothing else.

There is no use in wasting words to show that the Catholic Congress and other Catholic societies claim no power of any kind whatever in the state. They neither represent a political party, nor do they belong to any, nor will they ever constitute themselves a political party in the state.

True, the members of the societies are very far removed, as they ought to be, from an unreasonable, unmanly, unchristian, and un-Catholic indifference in matters pertaining to the nation. They are by no means of opinion that it matters nothing to a Catholic to which party in the country he belongs. They believe firmly that it is the duty of Catholics, as well as their right, to watch over the rights of the Church and of its members, and to defend them by the exercise of their political franchises. They do not, however, doubt that it is perfectly legitimate for Catholics, wherever they are, to organize themselves into a party for the exercise of their political rights. But as the political life of every individual Catholic is different

from his religious life, and that, although he may be guided in his politics by the principles of Christianity, in like manner these associations of Catholics, inasmuch as they are Catholic, are something higher and broader than mere political associations. Their objects are not the political, but the religious and ecclesiastical rights of Catholics. This has been the universal understanding of the members of these associations from the very beginning of their organizations. These have been the principles which have always guided them, and which they have found it well to be guided by. These associations have never allowed themselves to forget these principles. They have never forgotten them, not even in times of the greatest political excitement. And in the last general meeting, the members of the association did not swerve from these principles by as much as a hair's breadth.

And precisely because these associations have held to their principles as Catholics, to the very principles we have been mentioning above, are they entitled to attention. They manifest, in a manner that can be relied upon, the mind and conviction, the determination and feeling, of those who are true to the church and to the faith. It thus happens that this general meeting of Catholics has given expression to the thought and feeling of the Catholic clergy and Catholic people. And hence it is that those who would learn what Catholics think and feel on the stirring questions of the present must turn their attention to the resolutions of this Catholic Congress. There is unmistakable evidence that these general meetings express the feeling and ideas common to all Catholics. For twenty-three years they have enjoyed the complete confidence of the bishops of the Church. The Holy Father and the bishops of Germany have never hesitated to bless and to approve the efforts of the Catholic association. This were impossible if these meetings did not give expression to the Catholic mind on the questions of the day, if there were any danger in them of a departure from the principles of the faith or of the Church. Moreover, we may ask, Who are they that take part in these meetings? They are precisely those persons who with living faith partake of the sacraments, and are in habitual attendance at the services of the Church, and in the life of the Church generally. During the twenty-three years of their existence, these Catholic associations have in every German diocese and everywhere been one with the clergy on all subjects. Zealous and true Catholics of every social position have been largely represented in them. Hither have come the Catholic nobleman, the Catholic of the middle class, the Catholic peasant, the physician of souls—the priest

himself sprung from the people—the Catholic *savant*, the teacher, author, and publicist. Here, too, have been represented those Catholic societies made up of those who really love the Church. In short, in those societies are represented those even who are most despised and seldom represented anywhere else. The members of the Catholic Congress are not representatives of their individual opinions; they seek no worldly interest. It were more than folly for any one to come to those meetings with any such intention. Neither do these meetings represent any party on which they are dependent. They represent no majority or minority to whom they are responsible. Their faith and Catholic feeling it is that bring them to these meetings, and those they have in common with the hundreds and thousands from whose midst they come. There is a yet stronger argument to show that these general assemblies really represent the mind of all true Catholics. It is their unanimity on all questions bearing on religion and on the Church—a mark which belongs to Catholics exclusively.

After all this, we feel ourselves warranted to say that these meetings express decidedly the feelings and convictions of those Catholics who are *worthy* of the name.

The Catholic Congress this year could not well help—as, indeed, all those which preceded it did—considering the school question. There can be no question that the anti-Christian party in the state is straining every nerve to do away, by means of legislation, with the right of Catholic parents to a Catholic education of their children in Catholic schools—with the right of the church to instruct her people in a Catholic manner, and to found institutions for that purpose. The members of the assembly spoke on these matters in no ambiguous terms, and took, besides, into consideration what they should do in case the state, siding with the liberalism of the day, should banish the Catholic religion, the Catholic Church from the schools of the nation. Should this happen, there was nothing left but to appeal to the consciences of parents. It then became the duty of bishops to tell their people that it was not allowed them to send their children to unchristian schools. Liberty of education must be defended to the utmost, and every sacrifice made in order to give Catholic children opportunities for a Catholic education from the primary schools to the university. But the impression is not hereby intended to be conveyed that in this Catholics see the salvation of the church, of her children, and of the nation. No; they will always remind princes and states that it is their solemn duty to govern a Christian people in a Christian manner, and, leaving out of consideration the sacredness of the

foundations and the right of the church to teach, to give their Catholic subjects Catholic schools—schools standing in proper relations with the church.

Yet, on account of the more universal questions, and the great contests which the Church is waging for her most important possessions, for the independence and for the integrity of its faith, the school question, even at this meeting, was held somewhat in the background.

The general assembly was content with adopting a few resolutions, embodying the simple principles which must guide Catholics, should the state break with the Church on the school question, and, violating the natural and prescriptive rights of Catholics, introduce a system of non-Catholic schools—principles not sufficiently recognised by even well-meaning Catholics. These resolutions are worded thus: "The monopoly of the school system by the state is an unwarranted restriction of liberty of conscience, and therefore to be opposed by all Catholics. Very many of the schools have notoriously been founded by Catholics, and it is only just that they should continue to accomplish those ends for which they are established. In these schools, and in all Catholic schools yet to be established, the Catholic Church must possess perfect and unrestricted liberty in its capacity as a teacher." Thus, while the school question was not the most prominent before the general assembly, the words spoken at that meeting will not, we hope, be without beneficial results in the province of Catholic Education.

All rights and liberties avail nothing in the end if Catholic education itself is not what it ought to be. And the great battle that is waging, that education may not be deprived of its Christian character, can be won by us only on condition that teachers and educators themselves, as well as parents and the clergy, understand precisely the full bearing of the question.

It was, therefore, a happy thought to unite teachers, clergy, and parents into one grand society, in order to further the great matter of Christian education—a matter on which our whole future for weal or woe depends. The association of teachers founded in Bavaria, approved by the bishops, embracing among its members many distinguished men, and directed by one evidently called by God to fill that very position, Ludwig Aner, has sought and is seeking to carry this thought into practice. The Catholic Congress held at Düsseldorf had already called attention to the importance of establishing similar societies elsewhere, only modified in their character by the different nature of place or other circumstances. The realization of this thought was a matter for the meeting at

Mayence to consider more closely yet. There was here assembled a goodly number of educators and friends of youth from every part of Germany, among them a number of the most widely known teachers in the country; and they took occasion to most earnestly confer on this matter each day of the meeting. They gave a general plan, and threw out some very practical hints for the organization of Catholic educational associations.

We give them here with the hope that they may prove as fertile in blessings as did those thrown out on a former occasion, and which resulted in the Society of St. Boniface, and in the Catholic Association for Young Men, so often recommended by those meetings since.

The matter is one of at least as much importance, and the general plan of the organization of these societies at least as simple and practical. Here are the broad outlines of the plan: "The task of education, rendered more than ever before difficult on account of the times in which we live, and the school question, now everywhere looming into such immense proportions, render the foundation of Catholic educational institutions imperative."

The Mayence Association of Teachers—pointing to the association already existing in Bavaria—suggests the following as the ground principles of the new associations:

I. The Catholic educational associations recognise as their foundation, first and last, the faith of the Catholic Church.

II. Excluding all party issues, their only object is the furtherance of the temporal and eternal welfare of youth.

III. The Catholic educational associations desire that the youth of the age should profit by all that the world has of good, and that in their education all that it has of evil should be avoided.

Therefore, they are ready to accept and to use all that there is of real worth in the educational systems of the age, all that can promote real progress.

IV. These associations consider the proper education of youth in the family, the schools, and later in life, that is, after the youth have left the schools, as their exclusive object.

Therefore is it that they accept as members, parents, teachers, the clergy, and all who, in any manner, are interested in the education of youth.

V. They recommend to these associations, 1. The defence and propagation of Catholic principles in education by word, writing, and action. 2. The defence of the rights of parents to the Christian education and Christian instruction of their children. 3. The improvement of the family education of

children, of schools, and the providing of means for the continuance of education after children leave schools. 4. The furtherance of the interests of teachers, to support them in their efforts in the direction of education, and particularly to help to elevate their material and social position; the collecting of funds to aid in the education of teachers, and in the support of their widows. 5. The encouragement of literature bearing on the interests of education. 6. Founding and caring for educational institutions of all kinds—schools for children, boys, girls, apprentices, etc.

VI. The means for attaining the objects of these associations are, besides the means suggested by the very nature of our holy religion, 1. Periodicals; 2. Appropriate publications for teachers and for families; 3. The establishment of libraries and literary associations; 4. Co-operating with other associations—the pecuniary assistance needed in any case to be obtained by regular fees from the members, presents, etc.

VII. The getting up of particular by-laws to be left to the associations from each separate province, but the by-laws to be got up in such a manner that the above principles be not ignored.

The elevation of the tone and the support of the Catholic press must ever be one of the principal objects of all Catholic associations, and of the general meetings.

This year a great number of Catholic publishers and editors came together at this meeting. All the principal organs of the Catholic daily press were represented. The principal object gained was that they became acquainted with one another, which is the first step towards their understanding and appreciating one another.

As far as the press is concerned, we Catholics have nothing to do but to look at things just as they stand. It is certain that the unrestricted freedom of the press, which every one is ready to abuse, and which allows every one to constitute himself a teacher of the public, can be defended neither on principles of reason nor of faith. It is certain, too, that the rank growth of periodicals which has followed with all its attendant evils, and the heterogeneous character of the reading of a great many people, is a deplorable evil. But as, unfortunately, an unchristian press is guaranteed the fullest liberty and the evils that flow from that liberty, are widely spread, it becomes not only our privilege, but our solemn duty to combat the unchristian by a really Christian press—a matter on which the Church and the Head of the Church have spoken in an unmistakable manner. Yes, it is absolutely necessary to call a Catholic journal into existence on every hand, and to spare

no sacrifice to do so. The beginnings of the Catholic press have been everywhere small, and those who have interested themselves in it have everywhere had to contend with untold difficulties. This is true particularly of the larger journals, which, to enable them to compete with other journals, need support from other sources besides that derived from subscriptions and advertisements. It is certainly the duty of Catholics, out of pure love for God and for the Church, to establish Catholic press associations, in order to provide means for the support of Catholic papers, just as the government and political parties find funds to support their own organs. The financial difficulties which the larger journals have to fear consist sometimes only in the apprehension of too great a competition on the part of smaller or other journals. There may be such a thing as a reprehensible competition when, for example, as in the same locality attempts are made to found or establish new journals of the same nature as those already existing, when those already existing are sufficient to supply the demand. But, on the whole, we have by no means thus far enough Catholic papers. There was a time, and it is not yet entirely over, when Catholic Germany had very few papers among the daily press of the country. And almost every one of these few papers had an equal prospect, and it naturally enough seemed to be the ambition of the editor or proprietor of each to make his paper the central organ of the whole of Catholic Germany.

Naturally enough, too, those pecuniarily or otherwise interested in these journals looked with a rather jealous eye upon all attempts to found other Catholic journals. Whenever a new paper was established, the old ones lost a number of subscribers, and sometimes fears were entertained for the existence of the older papers themselves. But experience has shown that these fears were unfounded. Wherever and whenever a paper was properly managed and ably edited, it has contrived to live and to do well. Thus, competition has, on the whole, worked advantageously rather than otherwise.

If we look at the matter closely, we will see that it is quite an abnormal state of affairs that Catholic Germany should possess so few of the larger political papers. Compared with the time when Catholics had no press at all, the existence of even one good paper through which they can give expression to their thoughts is a great blessing and a great gain; but that certainly does not enable them to give their voice that weight in the questions of the day to which it is entitled. Besides, it must be remembered that, if Catholics have not this class of papers, they will take periodicals which are not

Catholic. Experience teaches, and it might be expected from the very nature of things that a paper can rarely obtain a very large circulation outside of the locality in which it is published. Outside of these bounds it will find only a few isolated subscribers. Hence it follows that every large city ought to have its own Catholic paper, one that will worthily represent it.

These papers outside of the place of their publication will thus find a number of subscribers—a number which will always depend upon the ability with which they are edited, the reliability of the views they advocate, and the interest which on other grounds they may awaken. We cannot, however, be satisfied with a so-called central organ, or with a small number of large papers. No; every large city should have its Catholic paper, and support it, cost what it may. We thank God that such papers have, during the past year, been established in many parts. That such a journal should be established in the capital of the new German Empire, at the seat of government, was an evident necessity; and it is one of the most pleasant events in the history of our time that a paper like the *Germania* should have in a short time taken its position as a first-class and widely circulated Catholic journal.

All our already existing Catholic journals, and all those to be hereafter established, instead of hindering, will help one another, and that from the very fact that they exist; for, the stronger the Catholic press becomes, the more the attention of the nation is called to it, the more secure must become the existence of each individual journal. Therefore, we hope that there will be no jealousy between those interested in different Catholic journals; that, on the contrary, they will help to support one another at all times. Still more important is it to take a proper view of the smaller local press. It would be a great absurdity were Catholics to neglect the establishment of smaller Catholic journals lest they should interfere or compete with the larger ones. This competition is not dangerous; but it is dangerous to put no antagonist in the field to meet and to oppose the unchristian press in smaller places. The large journals can neither be paid for nor read by the vast majority of the inhabitants of such places—and does it not seem wrong to leave them, or the Catholics among them to the evil influence of a press totally antagonistic to the faith? The establishment and support of such papers is not hard, and the financial difficulties which stand in the way of the larger papers for the larger cities are not to be here encountered. Wherever the matter of the establishment of such papers has been rightly taken in hand,

it has proved successful. If the clergy only take the matter under advisement, they will find those willing and able to carry the matter through. It is not a very hard matter to purchase a press and find subscribers in such places. A feature which will contribute not a little to aid in the matter is the finding of the proper person to carry the papers around, and to canvass for subscribers and advertisements. By being thus practical, Catholic men have established Catholic papers in localities where one might have despaired of ever establishing them; and not only have they been established, but they have succeeded. No matter what the condition of our press, it is far from being in a state to despair of. Oh! if the children of light were only as wise as the children of the world, we should witness wonders. It is true that evil makes its way in this world better than goodness does; but it is also true that goodness does not prosper, because those who represent it take the matter too lightly, or do not go about it as they should. More is often done for the worst cause than men are willing to do or to sacrifice for the best. A great deal has of late years been done for the local press, and we sincerely hope that a great deal more will be done and more universally, and need requires us not only to pray, but to act and make sacrifices.

Other proposals were made at the general meeting to carry out projects, which, of course, the general meeting itself could neither undertake nor perfect, as, for instance, the furtherance of this or that literary undertaking; yet these proposals are not without their use. They suggest something, or call attention to something already existing. Thus, at the present general meeting the establishment of a journal, as the organ for the various associations of young Catholics, was recommended. The proposer of the resolution was informed that there already existed a journal of that character, and a very good one; that it was published by the associations of young Catholics in Austria, and edited in a very able manner, under the name of the *Bund*, in Vienna; and the general meeting, therefore, recommended it for the purpose named.

Many other things relating to the press were touched upon. We feel assured that the general meeting has done much for the Catholic press of the whole country. We pass over many things bearing on Catholic charity, which ever engages anew the attention of the general meeting. We can only mention that the members of St. Vincent's Association held a special meeting.

May the blessing of God, which has never failed the Catholic Congress, bless their efforts of this year!

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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JUNE, 1872.

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II.—THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

FREE Trade in Education, as represented by the University of London, though not yet popularized among us, counted, not many years ago, some adherents in Ireland. They were few; and it may be doubted if their number has increased. Bacon has remarked the influence which words have over men. Perhaps in the English language there is not one that has led more minds captive than "Free Trade." In the great Republic across the Atlantic, Free Trade in Religion is a popular cry. This has found no echo in our island. But we have our free traders too, and in a department of the social system only second in importance to religion. Perhaps, however, the advocacy of the few to whom we allude, has sprung in part from a hasty estimate of the Educational wants of the country, and in part from overlooking the difference in the circumstances of England and Ireland; perhaps from a vague, hazy perception of the meaning and value of a Degree, a confusion, as it were, of it, and that of which it is the conventional sign; perhaps, in fine, from these causes, and also and chiefly from a fundamentally erroneous view of the very nature of Education. However this be, certain it is that there have been admirers and advocates of an Irish University on the model of the London, and equally certain is it, that they are to be reckoned, however few and feeble, as among the elements of obstruction to a satisfactory solution of the Irish Education problem. The Supplemental Charter, of brief and noisy notoriety, was a step, but only a step, in the direction of the London University: only a step, because those who initiated it, and those who accepted it (whether as a final and satisfactory settlement, or as a paltry instalment), were alike honestly determined to restrict the affiliations to a few centres. Though

this resolve was frequently and openly avowed, yet such was the general aversion to the system of Degree-traffic, that the opponents of the Supplemental Charter knew they were bringing their most telling charge against it when they alleged that it would establish a second (and inferior) University of London.

The Fundamental Charter is defunct ; the Free Trade Idea still contrives to keep its few sparks of life ; but it is not and never will be popular, at least with those who set a value upon genuine mental culture, and who have even a limited conception of the conditions of its attainment.

There can be no doubt that the London University has been a (numerical) success. From the year 1838 to 1870 inclusive, there were 19,085 candidates for its diplomas. These numbers have not been attracted by the easy conditions of success. There is no Pass standard higher than the London. This severity of test is essential to its very existence : if the examinations were as easy as those of Teaching Universities, its diplomas would not be worth the parchment on which they are written.

As little can we doubt that those Colleges which train for it have to lament a decay in the sound scholarship of their students. The attainments demanded from candidates are more remarkable for breadth than for depth. The youth of sixteen who matriculates is supposed to know a little of every thing—Latin, Greek, a modern language, chemistry, mathematics, and mechanical philosophy. The Arts student has, besides a more extended knowledge of these and kindred subjects, to add Moral and Mental Science, and to crown all, Physiology, Human and Comparative.

A central count of our indictment against the system of combined examination upheld by the London University, relates to the department of Mental and Moral Science. The Charter which empowers the University to confer the several Degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor in all other departments of knowledge, specially excepts Theology. Considering that this University was designed to confer the franchise on those to whom Oxford and Cambridge refused the Citizenship of Letters—a heterogeneous and unassimilating constituency of every colour of professing Christian or non-Christian—the restriction was not only wise but apparently inevitable.

But there is a science which, if not within the domain of Theology, at least verges on its confines. The Intellectual Sciences—the sciences of Mind and of Morals—are a constituent and inseparable part of Theology—of Catholic Theology at all events. The union of the two is as old as Theology itself : it

is attested by the patrology and the sacred literature of the Church ; it is solemnly ratified in the decrees of her congregations, and in the allocutions of her Pontiffs ; it is holy and indissoluble ; it is not of man but of God, and what God has joined man cannot be permitted to sever. Let us not be understood as holding that the moral and mental sciences are not legitimate subjects for the study of an educated Christian gentleman. We are far from wishing to maintain anything of the sort. What we assert is, that they are studies that can with safety be pursued only in the light of Theology. They are not subjects of free speculation or of merely literary interest. They are of vital consideration to the Christian here and hereafter. They belong to those pursuits which no views, however " liberal," of the Church's place in relation to the intellect of man can " emancipate" from her tutelary authority. Unless she abdicate her place on earth and refuse her mission from heaven, questions of such paramount moment to her children must come of necessity under, and belong of right to her teaching functions. The moment we pass the boundary that separates the Natural Sciences from the Rational, we enter her jurisdiction. Once here, we must bow to her laws, acknowledge her authority, and accept for the guidance of our new investigations the unerring direction of her supernatural light. In a Catholic College the system of education invariably culminates in a thorough course of Mental Philosophy. It may be that non-Catholics do not regard the relations of Theology and Moral Philosophy as of that intimate nature which we claim for them. It is conceivable that they may believe a common Philosophical creed an attainable result, while regarding a common Theological creed as neither possible nor desirable. In some such view as this we must seek for the explanation of the apparent anomaly of retaining one of these two departments of knowledge, and not the other, when we should expect they would both be excluded if they could not both be retained.

Nevertheless the explanation here suggested, if one it be, loses the force of an excuse for the retention of Philosophy in a programme of examination for *mixed* students, unless it be demonstrated that Philosophy is an absolutely indispensable test for candidates for the literary and professional Degrees. But surely it is not indispensable. Is there not " ample room and verge enough" without recourse to it for testing the proficiency of a candidate in Arts or in Sciences? There are the Greek and Latin Classics, the Physical and Natural Sciences, Mathematics, Modern Languages, and the Literature of the country. Here is a wide field, and one free from theological

difficulties, if religious impartiality is really, as it is professedly, the object of the University. But religious impartiality, as practised by the government of that institution, is religious indifference in its worst sense. If there is no good reason for retaining Philosophy in the department of Literature, what possible excuse can be devised for admitting it into the professional examinations? Of the three professions in which the University is empowered to confer degrees—Law, Medicine, and Surgery—the first is exempt (curiously enough, considering the suspicious fondness for philosophy that distinguishes the institution) from the otherwise indispensable test. Why this should be so is hard to conjecture. Can the Senate share the vulgar prejudices respecting the incompatibility of Law and Morality? Anyhow, if the extensive, or varied, or important nature of the professional subjects in which the student of Laws is examined is entitled to dispense him, it is not too much to say that Medicine and Surgery might be trusted to furnish abundant materials sufficient of themselves to constitute a searching test of the proficiency of the candidates in these departments. If one can write LL.D. after his name without having been compelled to study Bain's *Metaphysics*, there can be no conceivable reason why the M.S. or M.D. should not escape the contamination. Yet we think we can detect the "reason" in a hasty inspection of the Calendar. The Graduates in Laws are comparatively few. If the spread of irreligious thought, and scattering broadcast among the masses the poisonous seeds of Materialism be, as unquestionably it seems to be, the secret aim of the powers that rule the University, it is not through their legal following they can hope to effect their purpose; and hence the only department to which the study of the Rational Sciences are strictly germane enjoys the privilege of immunity. The Medical professions are more numerous represented; and the peculiar relations of the members of these professions towards society mark them out as the appropriate agents for influencing society in the direction intended. Besides, the experience of Continental schools has established how accessible the medical student, from some accident of his training, has been always found to the insidious approaches of Materialist teaching; accordingly, his technical education is supplemented by a course of the *Ethics of the Expedient* and the *Psychology of the Muscle*, the only moral and mental "Philosophy" recognised in the London University. If we have not mistaken the objects of the governing powers of the University—their enthusiasm for Philosophy is at once intelligible and justified by the teachings of history. The terrible effects which false "Philosophy" wrought at the bid-

ding of bold bad men at all times—Jansenists, Encyclopedists, Comptists, and their congeners—in every age, and in all countries, are no secret.

From like causes like results are expected. Whether it be the steady progress of Catholicity that is to be resisted, or the spread of universal “liberty, equality, and fraternity” that is to be accelerated, what agent so potent as “Philosophy?” And where could “Philosophy” find so wide a field to let slip its fell forces as the London University supplies—the University of the million, the University of all religions and of none—the Catholic at one Pole, the Unitarian or some other rudimentary Christian, or, perhaps, Jew or Mohammedan, at the other; the alma mater

“Quæ quantum vertice ad auras
Aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit?”

What wonder the formula, “Logic and Moral Philosophy,” appeals to the eye from every page of the Calendar, when a glance at the programme discloses the secret of the Logic and the Philosophy that are meant? Taking the volume alluded to for text-book, we shall find the heads of Examination in this department, whatever the degree (except in Laws), to be set down in, or nearly in, the phrase following:—

“LOGIC AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

“*Names, Notions, and Propositions—Syllogism—Induction and Subsidiary Operations.*”

“*The Senses—The Intellect—The Emotions—The Will—The Ethical Systems.*”

The group of headings referring to “Logic” will at once suggest Mr. Mill to those who have read his works; the second group, which refer to the “Moral Philosophy,” are the titles of the Books into which Mr. Bain’s work, “*Mental and Moral Science,*” is divided.

Thus, what we might call the Logic and Moral Philosophy Syllabus of the London University, is seen by the inquiring student to be a kind of compendious index to the works of these two eminent enemies of all religion. His choice of text-books is soon made. We have before us the “Guide to Matriculation in the University of London.” Here the student will find, from the pen of a competent authority—a Clergyman and Fellow of a University too—reliable advice for the direction of his studies. We turn to the pages of this work to seek an introduction to the proper books, by help of which the student is to “make up” the dominant and all pervading

subject, and we read :—“It is fortunate that for a number of years past the examination has had such a form that a candidate who has carefully got up the first of Mr. Bain’s volumes (‘The Senses and the Intellect’), may consider himself fairly prepared for it. . . . The *Author* here is in fact of equal importance with the *subject*: a work so elaborate as Sir William Hamilton’s Lectures on Metaphysics, would often fail in affording *any* assistance to the candidate. . . . An essential point in the successful study of this volume (‘The Senses and the Intellect’), is to understand clearly what the author means by the Emotional, Intellectual, and Volitional character of a sensation. Another characteristic which runs through Mr. Bain’s system is the prominence which he assigns to the sensations derived from the muscles in the genesis and growth of our knowledge: according to his views all our knowledge of external realities without us, and of their properties, their form, magnitude, distance, and direction, is a product of what may be called our ‘Muscular experience.’ It is from movements of various kinds, and from the sensations which accompany them, that any recognition of the non-ego, the object, as something real and external, is exclusively derived.”¹

We had hoped to test the soundness of the advice tendered by our Guide by an appeal to examples from the Examination Papers supplied by the same friendly source. Failing to find any specimens in this quarter, we have ventured to have recourse to the few Calendars at hand. Looking over these we are struck by the predominance of such questions as relate to Materialism, and suppose an acceptance of its doctrines. We venture to quote some of them. In the Arts Examinations for 1865, we come across the following :—“Enumerate and describe the Muscular Feelings and the perceptions dependent on them, and state the relation they bear to the sensations of the five senses.”

“Enumerate the parts of the human system that appear to be concerned in the physical embodiment or Expression of Feeling.”

“Give an account of the Sensations of Touch.”

These and the like questions, allied with others that in morals imply the candidate’s adoption of the Utilitarian Theories of the Examiners recur, conceived in all that variety

¹The Critic falls into an error here respecting Mr. Bain’s views of an External World. So far from considering the object as something “Real and External,” Bain defines it to be, “Consciousness of muscular resistance.” “To convert the object world,” says Mr. Bain, “into a separate entity, to suppose an external and independent world, is the crowning instance of the realistic error.”

of expression necessary to disguise their frequency. Such are the following, taken at random :—

“What is Muscular Sensation? How does it differ from Touch? What conceptions are chiefly derived from it?”

“How is the idea of Dimension formed? What reasons are there for thinking that it is derived from the Touch rather than the Sight?”

“What different theories have been held respecting the sentiment of Moral obligation?”

“Explain the principle of Utility as the foundation of Morals, and compare the different modes of stating and defending it.”

“Illustrate the uniformity of sequence between Motives and Actions in the Human Will.”

Isolated questions, however, do not give as fair an idea of the character of the Examinations as may be derived from the perusal of the unabridged papers, of which two are appended from the Calendars for the years 1868 and 1864 respectively :—

- 1868.—1. What are the functions attributed respectively to the spinal cord, corpora quadrigemina, and cerebellum?
2. Give an account of the Sensations of Sight.
3. Discriminate the point where Sensation shades into Intellect.
4. Explain the intellectual operation called Reasoning. What ultimate powers of the mind does it depend upon?
5. How may we resolve Association by Contrast?
6. Explain the nature and mental foundations of Belief.
7. What is there that is real, and what factitious in the Free Will controversy?
- 1864.—1. How are the mental phenomena usually divided?
2. State the functions of the afferent and efferent nerves.
3. What do you understand by Spontaneous Activity? Give one or two proofs or illustrations of it.
4. Classify the Sensations.
5. State and illustrate the principal Laws of Association.
6. What question should we settle before discussing the question of the independent existence of matter?

Perceiving, on examination of a large number of papers on this subject, that the insidious questions touching the

Freedom of the Will receive the greatest prominence, we are tempted to extract a few sentences from Mr. Bain's chapter on the discussions of that all-important theme.

"The modern doctrine of Free Will as opposed to Necessity first assumed prominence and importance in connexion with the *theory* of original sin and the predestinarian views of St. Augustin. . . . The capital objection to Free Will is the unsuitability, irrelevance, or impropriety of the metaphor 'Freedom' in the question of the sequence of motive and act in volition. . . . In the word 'self-determination' there is supposed to be implied some peculiarity not fully expressed by the sequence of motive and action. A certain entity called 'self' irresolvable into motive, is believed to interfere in voluntary action. But as with the other terms (deliberation, &c.), self-determination has no intelligible meaning except as opposed to *compulsion from without*. If a man's conduct follows the motives of his own mind instead of being dictated by another man, he possesses self-determination in the proper sense of the word. . . . 'Self,' in the matter of action, is only the sum of the feelings pleasurable and painful, actual and ideal, that impel the conduct, together with the various actions so impelled. . . . *The collective I or self can be nothing different from the Feelings, Actions, and Intelligence of the Individual*, unless, indeed, the threefold classification of the mind be incomplete. But so long as human conduct can be accounted for by assigning certain *sensibilities to an Active machinery and an Intelligence*, we need not assume anything else to make up the I or self."¹

The same writer tells us in another place that "Morality is an *institution of society*, though not an arbitrary institution." What he thinks of conscience may be gathered from the last extract which we shall make from a work so pernicious in its principles, and at the same time so indispensable to the success of the London graduate:—

"It is one of the effects of moral training to create revulsion of feeling to whatever *society* deems wrong: vice is clothed with painful associations, and virtue is the only road compatible with happiness. *Such essentially is conscience*. The person trained to a high intensity of these feelings is unable to take delight in things really delightful, *if they are forbidden by Conscience echoing Society*."

Upon every question of psychology and morals the utmost latitude of opinion is allowed the candidate, and the utmost freedom in the expression of his opinions; and this is the standpoint of the few Catholic advocates, or, more truly,

¹ "Mental and Moral Science, a Manual of Psychology and Ethics."

apologists of the London University. What does this alleged toleration amount to? To this: that the student is at liberty to refute, if he can, theories which the character of the questions makes it imperative on him to have mastered by long and familiar study; and to expound opposite doctrines if he has imposed on himself the additional and (for his immediate object) gratuitous labour of searching for the truth and justifying it to himself by thoughtful and painstaking investigation. Truly, no small task to impose on an average student, of whom it may safely be predicted that he will take the shortest and most expeditious route to the goal of his ambition, and that he has tact enough to discern through what systems that lies. He may be trusted to take Mill for a lamp unto his feet, and Bain as a light unto his path. Is there no danger, no actual harm, in making experimental explorations with such guides along the devious ways that lead to the mazes and swamps of error, in losing oneself with such company in the intricate labyrinths of scepticism, materialism, phenomenalism, or Comptism? We think there is. He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith—*qui amat periculum in eo peribit.*

DR. TROY, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

(Continued from page 374.)

DR. TROY'S appointment to the See of Ossory was owing simply to his own manifest merits, and the high esteem in which he was held by those who had the best opportunity of judging of his character. At least no home influence, lay or clerical, had anything to do with his election, as his name was almost unknown in Ireland. Nor can it be said that in his case the strong and united suffrages of the prelates of two provinces, and of the priests and people of Ossory, were unheeded, because the friends of Dr. Mulloy did not forward their recommendations until after Dr. Troy's appointment. Then they became most active, and poured in petitions on all sides. Had they taken the same steps at an earlier period, they might have had little reason to complain of the issue; as it was, they had none whatever. The letters to Lord Fingall, already quoted, show how anxious the Roman authorities were to avoid offence. The Cardinal Prefect wrote also to the Bishops of Munster to the same effect. He assured them that their recommendation should always have the greatest

weight in Rome, and that before the receipt of their letter Dr. Troy's election had been confirmed by the Pope. It was now their duty to give every aid in their power to the new Bishop, and to see that he was received with due respect in his diocese.¹

The last sentence in this letter betrays a little misgiving as to the feeling in the diocese. It is plain that Dr. Troy himself, had also some fear of the kind. He knew well that no one in Ireland ever dreamed of his election, and he could not but know that piles of petitions for another candidate came now by every post. Hence, before leaving Rome, he addressed a very able pastoral to the chapter and clergy of the diocese, notifying his appointment, and expressing a confident hope that he would receive that obedience which the ever faithful Irish Catholics, priests and people, always paid to their pastors. The whole document is drawn up with great skill, and contains no allusion to fear or apprehension of disturbance. It is a strong appeal to the flock to hearken to him as their pastor, and thus to give proof of that docility for which they were always distinguished, and at the same time a solemn, stern warning not to fail in their bounden duty. He had previously written to appoint a procurator, authorizing him to take possession of the See in his name, and for him, which was accordingly done, March 1, 1777. In the meantime a rumour was industriously circulated that the Roman authorities, repenting of their course, had ordered the consecration to be put off until the state of feeling in Ireland should be fully ascertained. It was added that Dr. Troy, having been informed that he would be badly, or, rather, not at all, received in the diocese, resolved to give up a position which

¹ "*Jacobo Archiepiscopo Casseliensi, cæterisque ejus provinciae episcopis.*

"Per-illustrissime et Revme. Domine, uti frater. Priusquam Amplitudinum vestrarum literæ allatæ ad me essent, electus jam fuerat ab hac sacra Congregatione et a sanmo. Domino nostro confirmatus Ossoriensis Episcopus P. Joannes Troy, Dublinensis, ex ordine Praedicatorum actualis prior conventus S. Clementis de urbe, vir pietate, doctrina, cœterisque optimo pastore dignis virtutibus commendatissimus. Quare Amplitudines vestrae probe vident, testimoniorum vestrorum rationem a sacra Congregatione haberi minime potuisse, quorum tamen suffragia pro vestro zelo egregiisque meritis plurimum ponderis apud sacram congregationem fuissent habitura. Itaque cum minime dubito quin pro vestra sapientia id ratum et jucundum habere velitis, quod divina dispositione factum videtur, tum etiam confido, vestra auctoritate ac officiis curaturos, ut novus episcopus eo quo par est obsequio et filiali amore ab suæ dioecesis ordinibus excipiatur sic enim et rem facietis vestra pietate, perpetuoque erga S. sedem studio dignissimam et Ossoriensis ecclesiae bono cuius tam laudabilem sollicitudinem ostenditis, cumulare prospicietis. Quod dum a vobis sedulo factum iri confido, Deum precor ut Amplitudines vestras sospites diutissime servet.—Romae, Decbris. 14, 1776.

"Uti frater studiosissimus,

"J. M. CARD. CASTELLI, Praef.

"Stephanus Borgia, Secretarius."

he could not hold with profit to the Church. These and like stories are frequently alluded to by one of the Roman agents in his reports to some of the Irish Bishops who were most active in their canvass for Dr. Mulloy. We cannot find the shadow of foundation for them, except the delay in the consecration, which it is not easy to explain.

The only conjecture we can offer is, that Dr. Troy wished to be consecrated in his own cathedral church, before his own people, but that he was dissuaded from that course by the Nuncios at Paris and Brussels, who judged rightly that he would have more influence with his flock if he appeared from the first invested with all the dignity of his pastoral office.

After nearly four months' delay in Rome from his first nomination, and more than three from the date of the Apostolic letters (expedited at St. Peter's in the usual form, 16th December, 1776), Dr. Troy left Rome on Friday, March 21, 1777, passed through Florence, Leghorn, Marseilles, Lyons, &c., and reached Paris on the 11th of May. Of this journey we have a full and interesting account in the following diary:—

DIARY No. II.

FROM ROME TO PARIS IN 1777.

I set out from Rome on Friday, March 21, 1777, at twelve hours after taking a farewell leave at St. Clement's; supped and rested at Ronciglione, 33 miles from Rome. Saturday 22nd—I departed at 10 hours, and reached Grady, at Viterbo, at 15 $\frac{1}{4}$; went to the Quercia, where I saw Br. Kennedy, &c.

Observing a *perfect incognito*, left Viterbo at 17 $\frac{1}{4}$, and arrived at Bolseno, where I slept. Palm Sunday, March 23rd—Said Mass, and left Bolseno at 10, passed the mountain of Radicofani, and slept at Ricorsi.

Monday, 24th March.—Set out at 4 o'clock, and reached Sienna at 5 o'clock. Went to the Custom-house, where my trunk was examined, then to the Convent of St. Dominick, where I saw the prior, the sacristan, a lay brother, and no other of the fathers. As I observed my usual *incognito*, I got nothing but cold bad brocoli to eat in refectory after first table, in company of a secular servant. Not one of the fathers came to see me in my room. Had I declared my mission, the position I held in Rome, and even the designs of God in my regard, however unworthy of the place destined for me, it is likely I would have received more attention. Perhaps it is better to consider this as one poor instance of the influence which appearances have on the passions and conduct of mankind. I slept well in an indifferent bed. Before retiring I

intimated my desire to say Mass next morning at 5 o'clock, whereat the lay brother shrugged his shoulders, and afterwards sent me word by the secular servant that it was too early by an hour.

Tuesday, March 25th.—Heard Mass, and left at 9 o'clock.

Wednesday, March 26th.—Departed at 6, and arrived at S. Ma. Novella, at Florence, about 10, where I was received by the prior and fathers with great politeness and affection. They pressed me to remain during Holy Week, and I readily complied with their request, as this was the very thing I resolved to do when leaving Rome.

Tuesday, April 1st, 1777.—Set out for Prato in a coach and four about 3½ o'clock, reached it at 5½, and was most affectionately and politely received by Price, my old acquaintance.

Wednesday, April 2nd.—Said Mass at the Nunnery of St. Clement, afterwards took chocolate in sacristy; four nuns were present; after dinner went there again; saw the body of St. Catherine de Ricci. The lady sacristan afterwards showed us the choir; went to the Nunnery of St. Clement's, where I spoke to many of the nuns at the great door, where they gave me a dram and sweet cakes.

April 3rd.—Said Mass and took chocolate in Nunnery of St. Catherine; saw the lady prioress and other nuns; after dinner returned the visit of the dean and a canon who came to see me in the name of the chapter; went to the Nunnery of St. Vincent, and saw every part of the house.

Friday, April 4th, 1777.—Left Prato at 5 o'clock; reached Pistoja at 7.30; paid a visit to General O'Reilly, formerly governor of the city; he was not at home; left at 9.30, and arrived at Lucca at 6, where I was kindly received by all the fathers; visited the churches of . . . and S. Trigidian, our Irish saint, where I saw the great stone mentioned in his life.¹

April 5th.—After dinner took coffee at Nunnery of St. Dominick, where I spoke to eight of the nuns, one of whom had taken Tridian as her name in religion.

Sunday, April 6th.—Said Mass and took chocolate at said nunnery.

Monday, 7th.—Left Lucca at 2 p.m., and arrived at Pisa before 6 p.m.; met Father Donoghue in the convent there.

Tuesday.—Said Mass and took chocolate at the Nunnery of St. Dominick; do. on Wednesday; assisted at public lecture

¹ See Office of St. Trigidian, 2nd Noct. : Ad quam (ecclesiam) aedificandum saxum ingens, quod multi homines loco movere non potuerunt, nullo labore translit : quod hodie quoque in eadem ecclesia ob facti memoriam servatur.—Camp. Lanigan, E. H., vol. ii., pp. 25—27.

on civil law, in the university, delivered by the celebrated Guadagni, who paid me a compliment. I set out for Leghorn at 2 p.m., along with Father Donoghue; arrived at 6, and waited on Mr. Cosgrave. We met Father Francis Kelly on his way to Genoa.

I stayed at Leghorn until the 17th, where I was often hospitably entertained by Messrs. Cosgrave, M'Carthy, and Brennan, a ship-chandler from Kilkenny. I had also the pleasure of Mr. Stritch's company, and I visited Mr. Plunkett, ex-Jesuit, now Professor of Moral Divinity in the public school at Leghorn. In the meantime, my friends, Fathers Kelly and Donoghue, had set off for Genoa.

Thursday, April 17th.—Sailed from Leghorn for Marseilles at 6 a.m.; we entered the harbour about 1 p.m., on Wednesday, April 23rd, after a bad voyage.

Thursday, April 24th.—Went on shore; kindly received at convent by Father Stapleton; took a glass of punch with him; saw young Florence M'Carthy, destined for the Irish College at Rome; wrote to Cosgrave, Leghorn; Father Hore, St. Clement's, Civita Vecchia; Mr. Kelly, at Minerva; and to Mr. Thomas Netterville; wrote to recommend F. M'Carthy to Prior at St. Clement's.

Friday, April 25th.—In the Convent of Marseilles there are 16 friars and 6 seculars. Everyone does as he likes, no observance of rule, little learning, and that confined to the *belles lettres* and knowledge of Jansenism, as described by the Port Royalists. It is fortunate that they and other regulars of the same views are little esteemed.

I paid three livres for a chaise from Marseilles to Aix, and set out at 1 o'clock in company with two unmannerly Frenchmen; reached it at 6 o'clock.

Saturday, 26th.—The friars here are as above at Marseilles, but more prejudiced against the Jesuits, Rome, &c., and all on account of Jansenism, which they really are ignorant of. Port Royal is their school and Arnauld their master. They are suspended from hearing confessions these many years past. Strange blindness.

Left Aix at 2 o'clock in a chaise hired at 7 francs; reached Lambesch, four leagues, that night, where three Frenchmen eat meat at supper without scruple.

Sunday, April 27.—Reached Avignon, which is 18 leagues from Marseilles, and 13 from Aix, after 7 o'clock p.m. Went to the convent; the Fathers had retired, and I supped alone in the refectory; slept tolerably well in an indifferent bed and worse room with one window, and that over the door.

Monday, 28th.—Went about alone, as I could not get a

companion ; met Canon Power on Tuesday.¹ Wednesday, 30th.—Took tea with Canon Power, and discovered to him my station ; returned to take leave of prior, who, having now learned who I was, felt greatly mortified, and made several apologies for not accommodating me better ; set out for Lyons at 1 o'clock ; slept at Orange.

Thursday, May 1, 1777.—Set out from Orange for Lyons ; slept that night at Montelimar, the next at Valence, the next at Le Peage, and passing through Vienne, reached Lyons at 7 o'clock on Sunday evening, May 4th.

Monday.—Agreed for my journey to Paris in the *diligence* ; the prior of our convent here heard of my station.

On Wednesday, May 7th.—Sailed from Lyons up the Saone ; passed Maçon. Ascension Thursday, May 8th.—Arrived at Challon ; travelled thence in the *diligence* through Auxerre, Sens, Fontainebleau, Chailly, and reached Paris at six o'clock p.m. On Sunday, May 11th, 1777.—I was most kindly received by Father Dion, at Dominican Convent.

Monday, May 12, 1777.—Visited Abbey Hartford, the Irish, English, and Scotch seminaries, English Benedictines, Messrs. Lumisden and M'Mahon, and conversed three quarters of an hour with Nuncio at his bed-side.

Tuesday.—Went to a review ; met Mr. Knox, M.P., Carlingford, Chevalier Colonel M'Mahon, Messrs. Cook (Cashel), and Magill, both of Lombard ; went to Lombard College ; spoke to Dr. Stafford, provisor for Connaught, to Cook and Russell, students of Cashel and Dublin ; went with Cook in search of Plunkett, but did not find him.

Wednesday, 14th.—Drs. Cahill and Plunkett visited me this morning.

Thursday.—Dined at Chevalier M'Mahon's in company with his sister-in-law ; la Marquise d'Equelly, his nephew ; and two nieces ; the Abbé M'Mahon, doctor of Sorbonne ; and Colonel Sheridan. Friday.—Letters and visits. Saturday, May 17th.—Went to the Nuncio, who talked of the Test Oath and the Jesuits ; visited several churches and nunneries.

Whitsunday, May 18, 1777.—Visited St. Cloud and St. Germain ; walked this evening more than 12 miles.

¹ The Rev. James Power, Canon of Cassel, brother of Thomas Power, M.D., Clonmel and Tallow. About 1765 the Canon went to Rome as Chaplain to the French Ambassador, and there became intimately acquainted with the subject of this memoir. The family had purchased some land near Avignon, and resided there from time to time. Dr. Thomas's eldest son, Peter, was an officer in the Irish Brigade ; the second son, Edmond, became a Jesuit ; the third, Francis, was the first Vice-President of Maynooth ; and the fourth, John, studied medicine for a time, and then accepted a commission in the French army. The doctor's only sister, Margaret Power, was mother of the Most Rev. Thomas Bray, Archbishop of Cashel.

Monday, May 19, 1777.—Took a chaise and drove to Versailles before 9 a.m. ; met the King and Queen there in their private way ; dined there, and got back to Paris about 8 o'clock, and partook sparingly of an excellent supper prepared for us by the prior's orders.

On Wednesday, May 21, Dr. Troy left Paris, and proceeded through Lisle, Brussels, Mechlin, to Louvain, where he arrived on the 27th of May. He was consecrated June 8, 1777, in the church of the abbey of Park, near Louvain, belonging to the Premonstratensian Canons Regular, by the Most Excellent D. Ignatius Busca, Archbishop of Emessa, and Nuncio Apostolic, assisted by only two mitred abbots, Joseph de Rondeau, Abbot of Guinberg ; and Francis Genere, Abbot of Park. After his consecration he travelled homewards with all haste, and passing through London, landed at Dublin on July 21st. Here he remained only a few days to visit his old friends. On the 10th of August he set out for Kilkenny, where he arrived August 14, 1777.¹

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

MORE than two hundred years have now elapsed since doubts on the authorship of the Athanasian Creed were first raised, and after so long a lapse of time the question is still under discussion. During the past few months this subject has been frequently discussed in the Protestant Synod of Dublin, and also by Mr. Ffoulkes and others in England. It will be, therefore, interesting and useful to review the various opinions of the learned upon the subject ; to examine the arguments by which these opinions are supported, and the objections to which they are exposed ; to compare their respective merits, and to separate what is doubtful or false from what is certain and true ; to help the reader in these or others, we have resolved to devote a few pages to a brief exposition of this celebrated controversy. In doing so it is to be understood that we do not propose to enter into any discussion on the intrinsic authority and doctrinal merits of this document. For all true Catholics this matter has been decided by the Church, which has received the Athanasian Creed as an accurate exposition of the principal mysteries of revelation, and by the Roman

¹ It may be well to correct an obvious misprint in p. 374. Dr. Troy was proposed for Ossory in the Congregation of Nov. 26, 1776 (not 1777).

Pontiffs who have inserted it in the divine office, and ordered it to be publicly recited by the ministers of the altar. We only propose to lay before our readers a brief historical review of the different opinions held by critics in regard to the authorship of the Symbol.

We shall place first in order the opinion vindicating the Athanasian Creed to the great Archbishop of Alexandria. Baronius, Bellarmine, Bona, Gavantus, Possevinus, Annatus, and several other later writers hold this opinion. It is founded upon the following authorities :—

1. The Fourth Council of Toledo, celebrated in 633 under the presidency of Saint Isidore, inserts nearly the whole Athanasian Creed in its first chapter, but as it does not expressly attribute the authorship to Athanasius, its testimony might at first sight appear insufficient. This deficiency is, however, fully supplied by the following extract, which we make from a letter written by St. Isidore, the presiding Prelate, to Pope Eugene :—“*Qui igitur debitam ei (i.e., Romano Pontifici) non exhibet reverenter obedientiam, a capite se-junctus, Acephalorum schismati se reddit obnoxium, quod sicut illud Sancti Athanasii de fide sanctae Trinitatis sancta Ecclesia approbat et custodit quasi sit fidei Catholicae articulus : Quod nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.*”—(Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. 83, p. 908.)

2. The Council of Autun, under St. Léger, in 673, attributes it to St. Athanasius in the following Canon :—“*Si quis Presbyter, Diaconus, Subdiaconus vel Clericus Fidem Sancti Athanasii, Praesulis, irreprehensibiliter non recensuerit, ab Episcopo condemnetur.*”

3. A Vatican manuscript of about the same age bears the title—*Incipit Fides Catholica S. Athanasii.*—(Collectio MSS. Vat. Palat. 574.)

4. A great number of ecclesiastical writers of the ninth, tenth, and following centuries, ascribe it also to the same author. Among others may be mentioned Ratramn of Corbie (*contra Graecos, lib. xi.*), Hincmar Archbishop of Rheims, and Ahitto Bishop of Basle, in their *Capitularies*, Regino (*lib. i., de Ecclesiasticâ Disciplinâ*), Abbo of Fleury (*in Apologetico ad Reges Francorum Hugonem et Robertum*), Theodulph, Agobard, Æneas Bishop of Paris, Ratherius of Liege, &c. The familiar manner in which these authors speak of this work, leaves no room for doubt that it must have been from time immemorial in the hands of the clergy, and regarded by all as the composition of Athanasius.

5. Of still greater weight is the following testimony of St. Thomas (ii. ii. q. i. a. 10 ad 3) :—“*Athanasius non composuit*

manifestationem Fidei per modum Symboli; sed magis per modum cujusdam doctrinae. Sed quia integram Fidei veritatem ejus doctrina breviter continebat, *auctoritate Summi Pontificis* est recepta, ut quasi Fidei regula habeatur.”

6. The authority of the Sovereign Pontiffs, Gregory IX. and Eugene IV., may be alleged in support of the same view. The Legates sent by Gregory IX. to Constantinople in 1233, to reconcile the Greeks with the Latins, regard this fact as universally admitted, and found upon it an argument to prove against the Greeks the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.¹ “Wherefore,” say they, “whoever shall not believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, is in the way of perdition. Hence *St. Athanasius*, in the Exposition of Faith which he composed in the Latin language (*quam Latinis verbis reddidit*), during his exile in the West, thus speaks:—The Father is made by none.” In the same way Eugene IV. recommends to the Armenians² “that compendious Rule of Faith composed by the most *Blessed Athanasius*, namely: *Quicumque vult salvus esse,*” &c.

7. The Greek Schismatics themselves admit the genuinity of this Creed, though used in controversy against them.³

These testimonies are all strong. The first two especially tell powerfully for the authenticity of the Creed of Athanasius. Its authorship is spoken of, not as suspected or doubtful, but as an unquestionable fact, well-known to the Sovereign Pontiff, and unhesitatingly accepted, not by the Spanish and French Synods alone, but by the whole Western Church. This was in the seventh century. Is it not then a legitimate inference that this universal belief must have been supported by some ancient trustworthy tradition? Is it not also reasonable to suppose that the bishops and learned men of the two preceding centuries, made careful investigations to ascertain the truth of an historic statement upon which much depended, and against which obvious difficulties must have presented themselves? and must they not also have discovered some solid foundation for it before they could have been induced to receive it themselves, or have succeeded in forcing it upon the entire Latin Church?

So reason the writers who attribute this Symbol to *St. Athanasius*, and we think it must be allowed that, though the evidence produced is not complete, it is yet sufficient to give great weight to this opinion. The arguments of the opposite side we shall now place in all their strength before the reader,

¹ Apud Bzovium, Tom 13. Annal. Eccles.

² In Decreto Instructionis Armenorum.

³ Apud Gennadium Scholarium, in *Defensione Concilii Florentini*, cap. 1.

as they are proposed by Ceillier, Montfaucon, Nat. Alexander, and other Catholic writers.

1. This Creed, they say, is wanting in nearly all the ancient manuscripts of the works of St. Athanasius: Ecclesiastical writers and controversialists of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries—Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, Cassian, &c.—though they had frequent opportunities of speaking upon this subject, never make the slightest allusion to any such work. Therefore, say they, its existence was then unknown. Moreover, in the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, the writings of St. Athanasius are frequently cited, but no mention is ever made of this. Yet this contains a more formal condemnation of the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches than any of the others. Therefore, Popes St. Celestine and St. Leo, and all the Fathers of these Councils, had never heard anything of this work of St. Athanasius. Therefore it could not then have existed.

2. St. Athanasius uniformly opposed the introduction of new formularies as injurious to the Faith of Nice, and favourable to the doctrines of the heretics. Hence, one of his most constant subjects of reproach to the Arians is the number and variety of their formularies. Nor is that all. In the Council of Sardica, in 347, he approved and signed a decree—probably enough drawn up at his own suggestion—prohibiting the formation of new professions of Faith, lest such an act might be construed by the crafty Arians into an acknowledgment of the justice of their complaints regarding the imperfection and insufficiency of the Nicene Creed. How is this to be reconciled with the actual composition of this symbol at Treves between 336 and 338? What reason could he have had for adopting a course at once so suspicious and so much at variance with his professed principles?

3. The Creed itself bears the strongest internal marks of another age and author. And first, the omission of the word *consubstantial*—the touch-stone of orthodoxy in the Athanasian age—for the maintenance of which the venerable patriarch had fought so strenuously and suffered so much, ought in itself to be enough to show that he cannot be the author. Secondly, the word *proceeding*, which occurs in this formulary, points also to a different origin. It is not found in any cotemporary symbols, nor in the writings of Athanasius himself. The *doctrine*, indeed, he frequently inculcated in the clearest and most painstaking language; but the precise *theological term*, “proceeding,” had not yet been set apart by ecclesiastical usage to designate the relations of the Holy Spirit to the other two Divine Persons. This did not take place until a more recent period. Thirdly, the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies are

here condemned in terms the most formal and explicit, whereas neither of these errors had been broached during the lifetime of Athanasius. Fourthly, the elegance and perfection of the Latinity confirm this doctrine. Who but a consummate master of the Latin language could have expounded these sublime mysteries with such beauty, simplicity, strength, and precision? No doubt, St. Athanasius might have acquired some knowledge of Latin during his years of exile at Rome and Treves; but who can conceive him producing in a foreign language, learned only in his old age, the choice words, rounded periods, and harmonious measures that distinguish the famous Symbol bearing his name? Neither can it be supposed to be a translation from the Greek; if so, would it not have retained in its Latin form—like all translations of the same period—some of the peculiarities and idioms of the original? Besides, the conformity that exists between the different Latin manuscripts and the variations of the Greek, can only be explained by supposing different Greek versions to have been made by different authors from the same Latin original. Fifthly, the expression “three persons,” Τρεις ὑποστάσεις, supplies, perhaps, the strongest argument of all. It is plain the writer acknowledges no ambiguity in the word *person*, but that, on the contrary, he assumes its meaning to be most definite and fixed. Hence we are told “neither to confound the Persons, nor to divide the substance.” Now, the word *hypostasis*, which, as its etymology indicates, originally signified *substance*, in the time of Athanasius possessed no such fixity of meaning; it was as frequently used to signify *substance* as *person*, and to teach that there were “three hypostases” in God would then have been regarded as unsound language. In fact, the use of this very expression formed the subject of a very warm controversy even among orthodox writers, both in the East and the West: St. Jerome would not use it; St. Augustine translated it *three substances*; and St. Athanasius himself, in the Council of Alexandria, in 362, required an explanation from those who were beginning to employ it in the sense of *three persons*. Hence it follows that this symbol must have been written after the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, when the word *hypostasis* had acquired that invariable meaning of *person* which in Church language it has ever since retained.

These are the strongest arguments which, as far as we are aware, have been yet advanced against the authenticity of the Athanasian Creed. They apparently possess great weight, but we doubt not that the reader will have already observed many deficiencies in them. These deficiencies must now be pointed out.

1. The first argument is not satisfactory. This silence is indeed a fact, but it is not clearly shown to be incompatible with the Athanasian origin of the Symbol. For, in the first place, supposing the Saint to have composed this work at Treves, it would not be a matter of great surprise that it should remain unknown to the Eastern bishops during the course of one or two centuries, situated as they were in countries so remote, and that at a time when, owing to incessant wars and persecutions, but little communication could be kept up between the different churches. Besides, the importation of this work into the churches of the East would, under the circumstances of the times, have been neither necessary nor useful. The Fathers of Sardica prohibited the formation of new Symbols, and we shall just now have occasion to remark that the Creed of Athanasius—so precise in the Latin—would, on some important points, have proved ambiguous in a Greek translation. The great difficulty, however, is to explain the silence of the bishops and ecclesiastical writers of the West. Had its existence been known even at Treves, it would immediately have spread into the neighbouring churches, and taken a high place in the controversial treatises of the times. Hence we must admit it to have been unknown even at Treves itself. But is this after all impossible? Might it not have lain unknown in the archives of that city for a whole century, until the researches of some practised antiquarian drew forth the hidden treasure from its place of obscurity? Have not several works of the Fathers of no less importance met with a similar fate, though they are now universally acknowledged to be genuine? Many secret causes of this ignorance might also have existed, which, were we better acquainted with the monuments of ancient history, we should have no difficulty in assigning. Future investigations will perhaps succeed in revealing them; at all events, this reasoning is inconclusive, unless it be proved that the authors in question could not possibly have ignored its existence, and this point has not yet been established.

2. With regard to the second proof alleged in support of this view, it may be observed that the mere signature of the Decree of Sardica, in 347, though it may show well enough that Athanasius did not compose this symbol *after that date*, will not surely show that he could not have written it nine or ten years *before*, during his exile at Treves. It must, however, be confessed that his habitual aversion to new formularies, of which that signature was but the expression, forms a grave presumption against his claim to the authorship. Yet a change of circumstances might have brought

about a change of conduct, and if he found that the composition of this Creed in the Latin language would not only not damage, but greatly promote the Catholic interests in Belgic Gaul, who can doubt that he would hesitate to undertake it? Now, that such would really have been the case is not improbable. It contains a more simple and detailed exposition of the principal mysteries of faith than that set forth in the Nicene Creed, and would, consequently, have been of invaluable service to the clergy in their popular instructions, while, by its inimitable accuracy, it would have formed the greatest safeguard against the threatened encroachments of Arianism. This would seem to have been the design with which it was drawn up, but from the remarks already made, it is evident that, from one cause or another, it was not *actually applied* to these purposes for about two centuries after its composition.

3. The intrinsic arguments upon which many set the greatest importance, are not of a character to exclude all doubt. Why need Athanasius have used the word *consubstantial*, when he could find others more simple, equally exact, and better adapted to his purpose? If he clung with such tenacity to the corresponding Greek term *μοούσιος*—this was because that language afforded him no other capable of expressing the Catholic doctrine, without any fear of misinterpretation. The same reason would not, however, hold good in the Latin, where the formulas actually employed leave no room for ambiguity. Nor is the argument taken from the expression *proceeding* more convincing. It might naturally enough have been borrowed from the phraseology of Holy Writ, and is not exclusively proper to any age of Ecclesiastical History. The next objection, from the refutation of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, has been preoccupied by St. Thomas in the passage already cited, where he observed that the object of St. Athanasius was not precisely to condemn the special heresies of his times, but to expound the Catholic Faith in its integrity, irrespective of all heresies. In pursuance of this object, he sets forth the doctrines of the Church upon the Incarnation of the Son of God with the same masterly hand that had already explained the Mystery of the Trinity, and that explanation necessarily involved the condemnation of all religious tenets directly at variance with those of the Church. In fact, these same errors could be as efficaciously combated from the works of authors contemporary with Athanasius as they could from this Symbol. Why, then, reject it as spurious on this head? Neither does it seem impossible that Athanasius could have written Latin with the

ease and grace which are here apparent. He was one of the most brilliant and accomplished scholars of his age; his intercourse with the Western Prelates was continual, and his long years of banishment at Rome and Treves afforded him peculiar facilities of learning that language which, in the interests of Catholicity, he could not neglect. Besides all this, it is very probable he had already acquired an extensive knowledge of Latin, the language of the ruling powers, before he was driven into exile at all. What wonder, then, if such a man, under circumstances so favourable, were capable of writing Latin with the perfection of his vernacular? Lastly, the ambiguity of the word *hypostasis*, furnished no decisive argument in favour of this opinion. The Greek term *hypostasis* had doubtlessly a two-fold signification in the Athanasian age, but there is not a particle of evidence to show a like ambiguity in the Latin *persona*. Hence St. Jerome, who feared to use the expression *tres hypostases*, had no scruple in using the Latin phrase *tres personae*. Thus in the very same letter he writes: "Sufficiat nobis dicere unam substantiam, tres personas subsistentes. . . . Taceantur tres hypostases, si placet, et una teneatur."¹ The same may be observed of St. Augustine, who says: "Non audemus dicere; unam essentiam tres substantias (*tres hypostases*), sed unam essentiam vel substantiam, tres autem *Personas*."² Hence we infer that the Latin phrase *tres personae* could be as well employed by St. Athanasius as it could by St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and others of the same or nearly the same age.

The reader has now the arguments of both sides fairly stated, and we shall leave him to draw his own conclusions.

We cannot, however, terminate without noticing two questions of lesser moment connected with this matter. *Firstly*—if Athanasius composed this Symbol, where and on what occasion did he compose it; *secondly*—if he be not the author, to what age and author is it to be attributed?

Some writers of great authority³ have held that this Creed was drawn up at Rome in 341. St. Athanasius, being then arraigned by the Arians before the tribunal of the Sovereign Pontiff, was, according to these authors, obliged to make a public profession of Faith as a necessary condition to his admission into the communion of the Apostolic See. But this opinion may now be considered as given up, and deservedly so for many reasons. St. Athanasius, in the first place, was never deprived of the communion of the Apostolic

¹ *Epist.* 57 *ad Damasum*.

² *De Trinit.* lib. 5, cap. 8.

³ Baronius, Gavantus (*Comment. in Breviar. Roman.*); Bona (*lib. de Divin. Psalm.* cap. 16.)

See, nor did his enemies ever impeach the orthodoxy of his Faith—this being a matter of world-wide celebrity. The crimes they laid to his charge were of an entirely different character. They accused him, first, of violating the Canons by returning to his See after the sentence of deposition pronounced against him in what they called the Council of Tyre; secondly, of being the cause of all the violence, bloodshed, and loss of life that followed upon his arrival in Alexandria; thirdly, of appropriating the supply of grain set apart by the munificence of Constantine for the use of the virgins, widows, and ecclesiastics of Egypt and Lybia. It is plain, then, that as none of these charges were directed against his faith, it would have been unmeaning and unjust in Pope Julius to subject the innocent Athanasius to the humiliation of reciting a public profession of this character in presence of a Roman Council. In the next place, this supposition is, we think, utterly inconsistent with the silence of Popes Celestine and Leo in their letters to the Eastern bishops regarding the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies. Had so precious a document been publicly recited at Rome, it would have been carefully treasured up in the Pontifical archives, and could not have escaped the knowledge of these Pontiffs writing scarcely a century afterwards, and it would have furnished them with an argument, at once so overpowering and so singularly adapted to their purpose, that they cannot be conceived to have passed it over. Hence, it appears certain, that this work was not composed at Rome. The common opinion is that it was written in the Latin language during the years of his exile at Treves (336-338). This view is more in accordance with *facts* and with *authorities*. We have already observed that the uniformity of the Latin manuscripts, as well as the phraseology of the Creed itself, point clearly to the Latin as the original. Other circumstances also are not wanting to give a colouring to this opinion. A popular tradition of unknown antiquity existed at Treves, that this work had been there composed by Athanasius;¹ the manuscript of it was first discovered at Treves; and it was from Treves that it passed into the Churches of France and Spain.² Otho, writing upon this subject in the twelfth century, remarks (Chron. lib. 4, cap. 27) that “Athanasius, while remaining in the Church of Treves, under Maximin, bishop of that church, is said by some to have composed the *Quicumque vult salvus esse*,” &c. And Durandus, in the following century, speaking of the Symbols of Faith, says:—“The second Symbol *Quicumque vult salvus esse*, composed by the Patriarch Athanasius

¹ Bolland. *Acta Sanctorum*, die secunda Maji, cap. x., n. 110, p. 207.

² Vide Anthelmi, *Nova Disquisitio de Symbolo Athanasiano*, sect. 2.

in the city of Treves."—(*Rational. Divin. Offic. l. 4, c. 25*). Putting, then, these different items together, they conclude that Athanasius bequeathed this beautiful monument to his friend St. Maximin of Treves, in return for his long-continued hospitality, and to protect his clergy and people against the pestilential inroads of Arianism. This is the only method of explaining the Athanasian origin of the Symbol which has any foundation in antiquity, or will harmonize with other well-authenticated facts.

If the authenticity of the Creed of Athanasius be called into question, history supplies no data sufficient to determine the real author with any degree of certainty, and critics, indulging in bare conjectures, have fixed the authorship upon different writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, some attributing it to Vigil of Tapsa, others to Vincent of Lerins, others to Eusebius of Vercelli, others to Hilary of Poitiers, others to Anastasius Sinaita, and others, in fine, to an anonymous French theologian. As it would be tedious, uninteresting, and useless to enter into an examination of the merits of these different claims, we will content ourselves with pointing out, as briefly as possible, the principal reasons ordinarily alleged to establish the claim of Vigil of Tapsa, which to us appears to be the strongest.

This theory, which was first proposed by the unhappy Father Quesnel, has been adopted by Natalis Alexander, and other eminent critics. Their arguments may be thus abridged. There is still extant a manuscript¹ of the *Dialogue against the Arians, Sabellians, and Photinians*, published by Vigil under the name of St. Athanasius, which contains also this Symbol under the title—*Fides dicta a Sancto Athanasio Episcopo*. Therefore, this Symbol also was the real work of Vigil, but published by him under the name of St. Athanasius. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact, that it was a common practice with this writer, during the persecution of the Vandals in Africa, to put forth his controversial treatises in the form of Dialogues, in which the Catholic interlocutor is represented as one of the great Fathers of the African Church. In the Preface to the Dialogue just mentioned, he says:—"Sabellium ergo Photinum Arium atque ad nostros partes *Athanasium* introduxi: ut veritas summo confligentium certamine eliquata ad omnium notitiam perveniret." Again, Theodulph of Fleury, writing early in the ninth century, cites this Creed from works attributed by him to Athanasius, but which modern investigations have proved to belong to Vigil of Tapsa. Hence it would appear that this Creed was anciently incorporated with the works of the African writer, but as it bore the name of

¹ Codex Thuanæus.

Athanasius, not only the Creed itself, but all the other writings found in the same collection, were erroneously attributed to him. This hypothesis will also very well explain two facts of importance: the first, is the condemnation of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies; and the second, a remarkable resemblance, or rather identity, of certain formulas and expressions of this Creed with others found scattered here and there through the works of Vigil. Several of these works were directed against the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, and hence we can easily understand the pointed condemnation of them which is found in this Symbol also. The unhappy circumstances of the African Church at this period would seem likewise to render the composition of such a work extremely opportune, if not absolutely necessary. The bishops and clergy had been all driven into exile, and the simple faithful, thus deprived of the guidance and consolation of their pastors, were left a prey to the barbarous persecutions and innumerable frauds by which the Vandals sought to uproot Catholicism and implant Arianism in its stead. This was, according to the conjecture of Quesnel, the time chosen by Vigil for the formation of this beautiful formulary, wherein all the heresies of his times are proscribed in language so simple and accurate as to be readily understood by the humblest capacity. He was himself an exile at Constantinople, and this was the only efficacious protection which the good shepherd could extend to his suffering flock. Finally, the name of Athanasius, so precious to the Church of Africa, was most appropriately associated with this Symbol as well, because it embodies a brief summary of his teaching upon the great Mystery of the Trinity, as to prevent the suspicion of the authorship falling upon any of the African bishops, who would thereby be exposed to persecution and death.

Such is the most plausible conjecture which, as far as we can see, has yet been made, by those who reject the genuinity of this Creed, to determine its real author, and it must be confessed that even this is exposed to grave difficulties, and has been rejected by high authorities. But while a thick veil thus rests upon the origin of the Symbol of Athanasius, which no effort can remove, its age can be determined with greater certainty. It is the common, I might say, the unanimous verdict of sound critics, that it cannot be of more recent date than the close of the fifth century. We have already seen that early in the seventh century it was deemed old enough to have been written by St. Athanasius; therefore, at the very least, its existence must have been known for more than a century before men of learning and sanctity could

publicly, without any hesitation or fear of contradiction, have assigned it a duration of about three hundred years. Nor could it have taken a shorter period to spread throughout the whole western Church, and to acquire that sanction and approbation of which St. Isidore speaks in the passage we have already cited. Two facts may be here added to place this point beyond the reach of controversy. The first is, that the famous *Commonitorium*, written by Vincent of Lerins in the fifth century, contains so many passages from the Athanasian Creed, that Anthelmi was thereby led to conjecture Vincent himself to be the author; the second, that in a Latin Psalter observed by Usher of Armagh, and attributed by him to the time of Gregory the Great, this Symbol was found precisely as it exists at present.

DR. DÖLLINGER AND THE DOGMA OF INFALLIBILITY.¹

BY DR. HERGENRÖTHER, PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND CANON
LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WÜRZBURG.

(*Translated from the German.*)

II.—DR. DÖLLINGER'S PROPOSALS.

IN the opening sentence of his "Declaration," Dr. Döllinger mentions the two letters which he had received from the Archbishop, calling upon him to explain his position in reference to the Decrees of the Vatican Council. Then, after noticing the rumour that ecclesiastical censures were to be inflicted on him,² he refers to the reported intention of the German Bishops to hold another meeting at Fulda. In connection with this latter point, he remarks that when the Bishops met at Würzburg in 1848, he was honored with an invitation to take part in the proceedings of the Synod, and he then goes on to say:—

¹ Continued from our May Number.

² "It has transpired in the circle of your Cathedral Chapter that it is your intention to proceed against me with such penal measures as have hitherto been used only (?) against those who were guilty of grave moral faults, and but seldom even against these (?). This, it is said, will be the result, if within a certain period I do not submit to the new dogmas of the Omnipotence (!) and Infallibility of the Pope." Can it be that so learned an ecclesiastical historian is ignorant that, in the eyes not only of theologians and canonists, but also of the Fathers of the Church, heresy is one of the most grievous ecclesiastical offences?

“Although, of course, I cannot expect a similar honour on the occasion of the approaching Synod, your Excellency might, perhaps, arrange that I should be allowed a patient hearing at it for a few hours.” After setting forth the propositions which he is prepared to establish in the presence of the venerable assembly, and which we shall examine farther on, he explains that in reference to the procedure of the Conference which he proposes, or rather requests, he would insist upon only two conditions: (1) That his statements, with the replies which may be made to them, should be faithfully reported, with a view to their subsequent publication; and (2) That a person of scientific education, whom he may select, should be allowed to be present at the Conference.

He subjoins a second proposal, but only in case the former should prove impracticable:—“If arrangements cannot be made for affording me an opportunity to state my views at Fulda in presence of the German Bishops, I venture most respectfully to make another request—that it may please your Excellency to select from the members of your Cathedral Chapter a commission before which I may plead my cause in the way I have just indicated. Several of these venerated dignitaries are doctors, some of them were formerly professors of theology, and, at a still earlier date, pupils of mine.¹ I venture to hope that it would be more agreeable to them to meet me in a calm discussion, to refute me, if possible, by reasoning and by reference to the facts of history, than to treat me as a criminal, framing sentences of ecclesiastical censure against me, and submitting them to your Excellency for publication. If your Excellency will consent to preside at this Conference, and will condescend to correct any errors into which I may fall, either in my quotation of the texts and historical statements on which I rely, or in my interpretation of them, I shall deem it a great honour; besides, such a step could not fail to prove serviceable to the cause of truth. And when you set before me the prospect of the exercise of your pastoral authority, I may still entertain the hope that you will prefer to employ, in the first instance, that portion of it which is its grandest, its noblest, its most benevolent, and Christ-like attribute—your authority to teach.”²

Subsequently, he lays down as a condition that if the question is to be discussed at a Conference in Munich, “His

¹ Is this a qualification for the judicial task which Dr. Döllinger proposes to have assigned to them?

² The irony of this passage cannot be mistaken when we bear in mind the bitterness of the writer's criticism on the Archbishop's Pastoral of the 26th of last December, and the intellectual pride which characterises the whole of this “Declaration.”

Majesty's Government should be requested to allow an officer of State, conversant with canonical and ecclesiastical affairs, to be present as a witness. Since the question at issue is of the highest importance for all governments, we need have no difficulty in assuming that, on the part of the State, no objection will be made to this proposal."¹

Both these proposals, the first as well as the second, are undoubtedly expressed with greater modesty than those of the Nüremberg Protest, the authors of which, after expressing their gratitude for the opposition previously given by the Bishops to the definition of the obnoxious dogma, went on to request "that with a true appreciation of the necessities of the Church and of the sore distress of so many consciences," the Bishops, whom they regarded as sympathisers, "would employ every means at their disposal to bring about the speedy assembling of a truly Œcumenical [why not rather say, German National ?] Council, the deliberations of which would be conducted in perfect freedom, and which, consequently, should assemble, not in Italy, but [without the Pope ? after the model of Constance and Basle ?] at this side of the Alps."

The publication of the Fulda Pastoral, signed by the majority of the Bishops of Germany, had shown that the realisation of this project was hopeless: what, then, was to be done? Dr. Döllinger could not appeal to a "still more general Council," nor, of course, to the Pope, nor, at least directly, to the civil power. He appeals then, in form, from the German Bishops badly informed, to the German Bishops better informed, from the Archbishop *male informatus* to the same *melius informandus*; but, in reality, from the authorities of the Church to the sovereign power of the present day—the public opinion of the educated laity.

Public opinion had, indeed, been marked out by him more than a year ago as the judge of appeal to whose decisions the Decrees of the Council were to be submitted:² before its tribunal he has now hastened to place the letter which he has written to his ecclesiastical superior; for its information he designs the report which he wishes to have published of the proceedings at the Conference proposed in his letter.

¹ The drift of this proposal is revealed to some extent by the passage in which Dr. Dollinger protests against the Definition in his capacity of "citizen," but more plainly by his fifth Proposition, with which we shall deal in a future chapter. No doubt, there are "officers of State" to whom the words which Liberatus (*Brev. cap. 20*) used in reference to Justinian, are fully applicable:—"Annuit Imperator facillime, gaudens se de talibus causis iudicium ferre:" but the Government is too judicious to allow itself to be compromised by identifying itself with pronounced partisans.

² *Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 11th, 1870.

He may feel the fullest confidence that, on the publication of the report, whatever the result of the Conference might have been, the victory would be awarded to him by every voice that is now raised with such animation in his behalf, proclaiming, if not his infallibility, at least his invincibility in argument. Why; then, should he wish for a report at all? Already, before its publication, before it has even come into existence, he is hailed as the "Hero of German Scholarship," the "Coryphæus of educated Catholics," an authority to be enthroned above Pope and Bishops, an oracle whose decisions are to be followed with blind obedience, even when they are at variance with one another.

But let us see what result could be hoped for from the Conference which he proposes, whether at Fulda or at Munich. Neither an Archiepiscopal Commission nor the German Episcopacy is competent to abrogate the Decree of an Œcumenical Council. If Dr. Döllinger's "quotations" and "statements of historical facts" should fail to convince the dignitaries to whom he appeals, the position of affairs, so far from being improved, would be decidedly worse than it is at present; for greater bitterness would have been imported into the controversy, and ecclesiastical authority could not fail to be compromised by the sarcasm which the author of the "Declaration" might possibly introduce into the discussion.

And even if we make the supposition—plainly inadmissible since the publication of the Archbishop's Pastoral which followed so closely on the appearance of the "Declaration"—that Dr. Döllinger could succeed in bringing over to his views the dignitaries before whom he requests permission to state his case, the position of affairs would not, on the whole, be changed. Every Catholic would continue bound as before to obey the Decrees of the General Council.

The Conference in fact would of necessity be nothing else than a sort of academic disputation, the theses for which have been already put in circulation. If the discussion should turn upon the Holy Scriptures the result, pointed out centuries ago by the Fathers of the Church,¹ may be known beforehand.

With the texts of the Fathers the result would not be different. Even if the best editions were placed in the hands of the disputants, if the authenticity of the works and even of the passages quoted on both sides were fully admitted, if the

¹ "Omnes seductores non aliter populos fefellerunt, nisi praetextu sacramentorum et scripturarum, quae tenent ad speciem, non ad salutem."—S. AUGUSTINUS. *De Baptismo, contr. Donat.* iii. 19.

"Nihil tam perspicuum est in Scripturis et veluti solis scriptum radiis, quod non captiosa ingenia et ad perfidiam obdurata controversum faciant."—PETAVIUS. *De Trin. Praef. cap. 1. § 10.*

correct reading of every passage, and its connexion with the context were ascertained, there would still remain a thousand artifices of interpretation, by means of which a skilful disputant could argue plausibly in support of the opinion which he had undertaken to defend. In a word, the result would be exactly the same as in the case of the Bible.

Dr. Döllinger himself, in his speech at the Catholic Congress of 1863, displayed a just appreciation of the unsoundness of the course which he now advocates. "It is only on the authority of a living teacher," he said, "*and not upon texts or quotations interpreted by myself, or by individuals who, like myself, are liable to error*, that I can rest my faith. For such interpretations of mine would be nothing more than my own views unconsciously ingrafted upon the book in which I should be merely seeking for them whilst flattering myself with the delusion that I was seeking for the truth.¹ It is in order to escape this delusion, which can be escaped in no other way, in order to be free from the danger of setting up myself and my own thoughts as the idol of my worship, that I am a member of that Church to which the promise was given that her teaching should not be shaped upon the unrighteous wishes and the self-seeking thoughts of men. Thus I am subject to authority, and at the same time truly free. And remembering that, as a theologian, it is my duty to learn as well as to teach, I have ever yielded the most implicit obedience to authority, convinced that in no other way could I expect my teaching to bear fruit. I have done so from the beginning: *I shall continue to do so in the time to come; for in this life my school days shall never have an end.* Others may revile authority instead of submitting to it with confidence and thankfulness: it is indeed natural to man to make light of what he has lost, and it is not more difficult for him to shut the eyes of his mind than of his body."² And such must always be the result of theological investigations conducted solely in the light of reason: Catholic principles are, of necessity, impaired, Catholic faith is imperceptibly displaced, and pure Rationalism gradually introduced in its stead.

The fruitlessness of conferences and disputations with the opponents of Catholic doctrine has been proved by long experience. We know how the Arians invariably acted at such controversial meetings,³ the deceitful artifices to which the

¹ As St. Jerome says (*Comm. in Gal. cap. 1*):—"Grande periculum est, ne forte interpretatione perversa de Evangelio Christi fiat Evangelium hominis."

² *Verhandlungen der Versammlung Katholischer Gelehrten in München.*—Regensburg, 1863, p. 55.

³ S. ATHANASIUS, *De Decret. Nicæn. Syn. n. 1. De Sent. Dionys. n. 1*; S. GREG. NAZ. *Orat. 31, n. 13 et seq. Orat. 32, n. 3, et seq.*

Nestorians and Monophysites, were wont to have recourse,¹ the disingenuous evasions of Berengarius,² the artful sophisms of Huss.³ We know, too, how the frequent Conferences of the period of the Reformation began and ended. Cardinal Cajetan deemed it neither agreeable nor useful to engage in controversy with an opponent who rejected the authority of the Roman Church, and who entered upon the discussion, not as a subject prepared to submit to authority, but as a litigious adversary full of vain confidence in his own ability, and ever searching for fresh means of evasion.⁴ After the discussion at Leipzig, both parties claimed the victory.⁵ And there have been few Conferences on religion, the termination of which has not been equally unsatisfactory.⁶

At the Conference which Dr. Döllinger proposes, it is plain that no decisive result could be attained; the final settlement of the question would be deferred until after the publication of the report. And to whom would the matter be then referred for judgment? To the Pope? Dr. Döllinger, of course, is not prepared to submit to the decision of His Holiness. To the Bishops of Germany? With very few exceptions, they have already declared their acceptance of the Definition: and it is obvious that Dr. Döllinger's reliance is not placed on the few who have hitherto held aloof from the majority. To the Theological Faculties? He would, of course, refuse to recognise those outside Germany: he would also, undoubtedly, exclude many of those in Germany: and such differences of opinion would inevitably arise in the remainder that no satisfactory decision could be hoped for. To the Universities? Protestant Universities would have no right to interfere in an internal question regarding solely the doctrines of the Catholic Church: and for a purely Catholic University in Germany we should now seek in vain. Perhaps, then, the question might be referred to the learned men of every class? This, indeed, would be a tribunal of strangely diversified composition, open to countless objections on the score of competence: it would, in

¹ See LEONTIUS BYZANTINUS. *De Sectis*. Passim.

² See HEFELE. *Concil.* Vol. iv., pp. 703-61; vol. v., p. 115.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. vii., pp. 37-40.

⁴ PALLAVICINI. *Hist. Conc. Trid.* Lib. I., cap. 9, n. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.* Lib. I. cap. 17, n. 1.

⁶ Of the Conference at Poissy (1561), Pallavicini says:—"The result, as usually happens in such discussions, was that neither party would submit, and both eventually claimed the victory."—*History of the Council of Trent*, book xv. chap. xiv., n. 1.

And Raynald (an. 1561, n. 99) writes:—"Quamvis haeticorum argutiae confutatae sint validissimis argumentis, tamen quia illae ferunt imperitorum sensus, responsa vero sublimiora sunt quam ut a carnalibus hominibus, maxime a feminis, capi possint (non enim fides habet meritum, ubi humana ratio praebet experimentum): haesere haeticorum sophismata imbecillibus animis tanquam jacula."

fact, be nothing else than that "public opinion of men of education," which has played such a ludicrous part in this unhappy controversy. To obtain a recognition of the truth from such a tribunal, obstacles, almost insuperable, would have to be surmounted—the example of men held in high esteem, the force of deeply-rooted customs, the ideas and prejudices of a multitude without experience in the investigation of doctrinal matters; and, worst of all, the ignorance of many, concealed under the deceitful appearance of learning.¹

Besides, this category includes many who, as Æneas Sylvius said of his contemporaries, shape even their faith upon the religious views of their princes or patrons:—"If our rulers worshipped idols so should we: and we are prepared to deny not merely the Pope, but Christ himself, if they should require us to do so."²

It would scarcely be possible to conceive a more deplorable calamity. Learned men of undoubted scientific attainments, representatives of almost every department of science, would rush precipitately on this occasion, as they have done on so many others, to pass judgment on questions regarding which they have not the most elementary scientific knowledge, relying implicitly on the statements of some noisy agitator, and overlooking the shallowness of his logic, the inaccuracy or irrelevancy of his theological and historical quotations, the number of his contradictory statements—all of which they would indignantly reject if brought forward in the discussion of any question belonging to those departments of science in which they are at home.

Dr. Döllinger leaves altogether in the hands of the Archbishop the arrangement of such points as the right of admission to the discussion, the selection of the theologians to defend the Definition against the arguments which he is prepared to bring forward, in a word, every question regarding the form of the Conference which he proposes, and which, according to his statement, is anxiously desired by numberless Catholics throughout Germany. In reference to one of the points just mentioned he remarks that in the diocese of Munich there is no want of theologians of repute who would gladly

¹ "Quatuor sunt maxima comprehendendae veritatis offencicula quae omnem quemcumque sapientem impediunt et vix aliquem permittunt ad verum titulum sapientiae pervenire, videlicet: fragilis et indignae auctoritatis exemplum, consuetudinis diuturnitas, vulgi sensus imperiti, et propriae ignorantiae occultatio cum ostentatione sapientiae apparentis."—ROGER BACON. *Opus Majus*. Pars. i., cap. 1.

² "Omnes hanc fidem habemus quam principes nostri, qui si colerent idola, et nos coleremus etiam: et non solum Papam, sed Christum etiam negaremus saeculari potestate urgente."—ÆNEAS SYLVIUS. *Ad Cancell. Schlick*. Ep. 54.

undertake the task in compliance with an invitation from the Archbishop. He then continues:—

“That questions of faith concern the laity as much as the clergy, and that, consequently, laymen may take part in the investigation and verification of the ecclesiastical traditions regarding such questions, is proved by the practice of the Church, and has been recognised by theologians and by the Popes themselves.” It is, of course, unquestionable that laymen, who take an interest in those matters, may assist in investigations regarding questions of faith; but it is equally certain that they can have no part in the decision of such questions, this being the special prerogative of the pastors of the Church, whom it is their duty to obey. Besides, it must be borne in mind that, although the co-operation of the laity has been accepted on many occasions as admissible, it has never been recognised as in any way necessary.

Further on we meet with still plainer speaking:—“In this matter, where the business in hand is the investigation of historical facts [and of a revealed dogma as well], I am willing to abide by the decision of those who hold the first place among Catholic historians in Germany. Men like Ficker, Reumont, Höfler, Arneth, Kampschulte, Lorenz, Wegele, and Aschbach, are surely capable of deciding whether my demonstration is critically and historically sound.” It must not be overlooked here that there is a wide difference between material and formal correctness, and that, when dealing with questions which are, in great measure, doctrinal as well as historical, the most esteemed Catholic historians, to say nothing of those who are Catholics merely in name, have, not unfrequently, put forward exceedingly inaccurate statements, from a want of acquaintance with theological terminology, and with the mutual relation of the doctrines of the Church. Besides, there are at least three of the historians named by Dr. Döllinger who have in one way or another expressed their approval of the course taken by him in January, 1870, thus plainly indicating their ecclesiastical bias. As the Humanists were enlisted under the banners of the movement of 1517, so, it would seem, the historians are to be attracted in support of the movement of 1871: and the slightest aid, received even from an Erasmus, “incapable of fully appreciating the spirit of Luther,” is paraded as a triumph of the cause.

Moreover, in case the Archbishop is willing to undertake the defence of his pastoral of the 26th of last December, Dr. Döllinger is prepared to prove to demonstration “that it contains a long array of quotations misinterpreted, misquoted, mutilated, or forged, and that partly on this account, partly

from the suppression of many quotations and historical facts of great importance, the picture which it presents of the tradition of the Church bears little resemblance to the reality." On this point, also, the only result of the Conference proposed by Dr. Döllinger would undoubtedly be to add one more to the long list of fruitless disputations which have been held on religious questions; it is impossible to convince a disputant who has once made up his mind that a certain text shall be understood only in the sense which he ascribes to it.

Dr. Döllinger is perfectly safe in pledging himself as he does:—"In case I am refuted by the quotation of authentic testimonies and by references to the facts of history, I hereby pledge myself to make a public retraction, and not merely to withdraw but to refute everything I have written on this question." Is it necessary to point out the wide difference which exists between the actual refutation of a disputant, and the recognition of the fact by the person who has been refuted? The latter requires a voluntary act of submission, which is painful to most men, and an amount of humility and self-denial, which is rarely to be met with, especially among men of scientific attainments. It is no easy matter for anyone to admit that he has fallen into an error with which he is charged,¹ and, surely, there is little reason to hope that such a step, requiring, as it does, the powerful assistance of that grace which in the ordinary course of Providence is given to the humble alone, will be taken by one who, like the author of this "Declaration" presumes so confidently to set aside the united judgment of the Pope and Bishops of the Church. Huss and Luther professed their readiness to retract, if refuted by clear decisive arguments; but in their eyes no such arguments were ever produced and their production was an impossibility. Obstinacy is, in fact, the fundamental character of heresy: and anyone who assumes that he is free from it, in reality assumes his own orthodoxy. Such an assumption is, to say the least of it, unwarranted in the case of one who has rejected the faith of that Church which, according to the ancient teaching of the Fathers and Councils, is the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches, and to which every theologian in his Profession of Faith has promised obedience.

"In any case," continues Dr. Dollinger "the results of the Conference must be advantageous to the Church and the peace of souls. For this is not a mere personal question, con-

¹ "Hoc morbi fere innatum est hominum ingenii, ut cedere nesciant simul atque res in contentionem vocata est; quae postquam incaluit, hoc cuique videtur verissimum, quod temere etiam tuendum susceperit."—MELCH. CANUS. *De Locis Theologicis*. (Lib. iii. cap. 2).

cerning myself alone. Thousands of the clergy, hundreds of thousands of the laity think as I do, and find it impossible to accept the new articles of faith. Up to this day not a single one, even of those who have signed a declaration of submission,¹ has said to me that he is in reality convinced of the truth of these doctrines. I am assured *by all my friends and acquaintances* (!) that their experience agrees with mine: 'not a single person believes in it' (!) is what I hear, day by day, *in every mouth.*² A Conference, the proceedings at which, will, as I have proposed, be published, must in any case be of good service, and cannot fail to remove the obscurity which at present surrounds the question."

That Dr. Döllinger with his long experience of ecclesiastical affairs, and his vast knowledge of ecclesiastical history, really entertains this expectation I find it difficult to believe. Would it not seem more probable that he hopes by the proposed Conference to consolidate the schism which has been set on foot, to bind his followers in closer bonds of discipline, and to inspire them with fresh energy? But he rests his hope upon a broken reed; for the Catholic Church, confident in her possession of the truth, will never come to terms, or engage in disputations with schismatics and heretics.

(TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.)

Dr. Döllinger's protest, "as a theologian," against the doctrines defined by the Vatican Council makes it a matter of some importance to ascertain how far he is warranted in claiming a right to speak in that capacity. For there can be no doubt, that whatever evil influence his unhappy resistance to the authority of the Council has exercised may be ascribed chiefly to a belief, very generally entertained, that his claim is not altogether destitute of foundation.

No one, of course, who possesses even the slightest acquaintance with the literature of Catholic Theology is likely to subscribe to the extravagant eulogiums of which Dr. Döllinger's Protestant admirers have been so lavish since the publication of his work on *The Church and the Churches*,³—such, for

¹ Foremost in this category are the majority of the professors of the Theological Faculty of Munich. It is unnecessary to comment upon [the position in which they are placed by these words of their colleague.

² The addresses of the Cathedral Chapter and Clergy of Munich bear striking testimony to the contrary.

³ "To explain his real opinion on the important question of the temporal power of the Pope, Dr. Döllinger—the most distinguished of the divines and theologians of the modern Roman Catholic School of Germany—published, in 1861, an elaborate work entitled *The Church and the Churches* . . . the object of the writer being

instance, as those of a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, who considers Dr. Döllinger to be "far the most eminent Roman Catholic Theologian of Germany—indeed, unless Father Passaglia is to be considered an exception, the most eminent Catholic Theologian living."¹ But on the other hand, Dr. Hergenröther's emphatic repudiation of Dr. Döllinger's right to speak "as a theologian" at all, is not unlikely to be regarded, even by many well-informed Catholics, as an undue depreciation of the theological attainments of the eminent ecclesiastical historian.

Dr. Hergenröther, however, has not expressed his opinion without a reference to the evidence on which it is founded, and by an examination of which it is easy to test its accuracy. He refers especially to "the many theological blunders which Dr. Dollinger has lately made, especially in his criticisms on the Bishops, and the maxims which he has laid down (in his article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21st January, 1870), at variance with the first principles of theology."²

In the article thus referred to, Dr. Döllinger unwarily sets forth in detail the grounds on which his opposition, "as a theologian," to the definition of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility was based. It is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed examination of his reasoning. The mere statement of the argument on which he mainly relies, and which he puts in the foremost place, will suffice to demonstrate, beyond question, the justice of Dr. Hergenrother's criticism.

Starting from the maxim laid down by standard writers in the Treatise *De Fide*, that no new revelations have been made to the Church since the Apostolic age when the whole

to show that temporal sovereignty is by no means essential to the spiritual independence of the Papacy. The second part of the work enters into a criticism of the civil and economical administration of the Papal States. The publication of these strictures is understood to have given dissatisfaction to the authorities, as being, *although well meant*, inopportune. But Dr. Döllinger's orthodoxy and learning are unquestioned."—CHAMBERS' *Encyclopædia of Universal Knowledge for the People*, vol. x., (*Supplement*) pp. 503—4. art. Döllinger.

It is a significant fact that Dr. Döllinger, notwithstanding his "unquestioned learning," and great "distinction as a divine and theologian," was not considered worthy of a place in Messrs. Chambers' *Encyclopædia* in 1862, when the third volume of the work, in which his biography would naturally be inserted in alphabetical order, was published. This honour was, however, conferred upon him in 1868, in the supplement to the *Encyclopædia*. In the interval, his "well-meant strictures" had become known in England through the medium of a translation.

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, No 235, July, 1862, page 293. Commenting on this passage, soon after its publication, Dr. Murray (*Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi*. Tom. ii., p. 755,) justly remarked:—"D. Döllinger, derepublica Christiana tam bene meritum, in magno honore habent multi; ast ut historiarum scriptorem, nullomodo ut theologum. Eum in theologicis disciplinis eruditum esse, nullo, quod sciam, documento constat."

² IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. viii., No. 92, May, 1872, p. 363.

body of revealed truth was revealed to the Apostles,¹ this "most eminent of living theologians" thus undertakes to prove that the doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility cannot now be defined as an article of Catholic faith:—"The proposal," he says, "that his Holiness will cause his Infallibility to be declared a dogma by the ecclesiastical assembly now sitting, is in reality a demand that a hundred and eighty millions of people shall be forced, under threats of excommunication and eternal perdition, to believe and profess what no man from the first ages of the Church to this day has believed." Recognising the necessity of explaining the fact, which he was unable to conceal or to deny, that the doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility has been defended by the most eminent theologians, and accepted, at all events for many centuries, by the faithful almost universally throughout the Church, he proceeds to explain it as follows:—"The utmost that can be conceded is that many have assumed it to be probable, and in keeping with the laws of the human understanding (*fides humana*). But even those could not believe in it—that is to say, not in the sense properly belonging to this word in the Christian acceptance of the term. For there is an immense difference between belief (*fides divina*) and the mere adoption by the reasoning faculties of a probable hypothesis.

"The Catholic is only permitted to believe that which has been prescribed to him by the Church itself as divinely revealed, indispensable, and incontrovertible truth. He may believe only those truths the denial of which would exclude him from the Church, and the reverse of which is absolutely prohibited and rejected by the Church as heresy. Accordingly, no man from the first ages of the Church to this day has believed in the Infallibility of the Pope.

"The alteration, then, in the belief and doctrine of the Church which the Bishops joining in the address wish to see

¹ "Superest difficultas, an scilicet in Ecclesia Christi creverit fides quoad aliquas propositiones credendas de fide, in posteriore tempore, quae antea non credebantur tanquam de fide. . . . Dico simpliciter Ecclesiam non tradere novam fidem, sed antiquam semper stabilire et explicare; nam propterea semper recurrit ad scripturam et Apostolicas Traditiones."—SUAREZ. *De Fide*. Disp. 2, sect. vi., n. 16.

"Theologi communiter negant aliquid nunc ab Ecclesia definiri de fide, quod jam antea a Deo revelatum non fuisset . . . fides enim Catholica est simul apostolica, et ab apostolis haereditaria successione ad nos transmissa; nec Deus veritates aliquas novas Ecclesiae nunc revelat ad fidem pertinentes quas prius Apostolis ipsis non manifestaverit."—LUGO. *De Fide*. Disp. 3, sect. v., n. 70.

"Error est in fide asserere quod post Apostolorum tempora . . . Ecclesia plura credat de pertinentibus ad fidem . . . quam Apostoli et sacri scriptores Evangelicae doctrinae crediderint. Ecclesia non indiget novis revelationibus, neque eas habet ad definiendas res fidei, sed solum habet assistentiam Spiritus sancti, ut in tradenda et explicanda Evangelica doctrina quam ab Apostolis suscepit, errare non possit."—BANES. *De Fide*. Quaest. i., art. 7.

carried out, would be an event the like of which has not occurred in eighteen centuries."¹

Eighteen centuries! Can Dr. Döllinger have forgotten that eighteen years have not elapsed since the occurrence of an event similar in all respects to that which he describes? The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception had not previously been "prescribed by the Church as a divinely revealed, indispensable and incontrovertible truth," its denial had not been "absolutely prohibited and rejected by the Church as heresy," nor had those who denied it been "excluded from the Church," yet on the 8th of December, 1854, "a hundred and eighty millions of people" were bound "under threats of excommunication and eternal perdition" to believe that doctrine as an article of Catholic faith.

It is hardly necessary in these pages to call attention to the true meaning of the theological principle which Dr Döllinger has so strangely misunderstood. The truths of Divine faith (*fides divina*), that is to say, those truths which God has revealed to His Church are undoubtedly the same to-day as they were at the close of the Apostolic age. Not so the truths of Catholic, or as it is sometimes called, Divine Catholic faith (*fides Catholica : fides divino-Catholica*), that is to say, those revealed truths which have been proposed by the Church for the belief of the faithful, so that the denial of them would involve the guilt of heresy, and consequent exclusion from her communion. Theologians undoubtedly teach that the body of revealed truth (*fides divina*) has remained unchanged since the time of the Apostles.² But they also teach with equal distinctness that from time to time, as occasion may arise for such an exercise of her infallible authority, the Church may define new articles of Catholic faith (*de fide Catholica*)—in other words, that she may propose, as revealed truth, for the belief of the faithful, doctrines which, although they were from the beginning contained in the Christian revelation, might, previous to their definition, have been denied without incurring the guilt of heresy or the penalty of exclusion from the communion of the Church.³ And thus, to say nothing of doctrines

¹ *Allgemeine Zeitung* (21st Jan., 1870).—I have made use of the translation which appeared in the *Times* newspaper on the 26th of the same month.

² "Nec Deus veritates aliquas novas Ecclesie nunc revelat. . . . quas prius Apostolis ipsis non manifestaverit."—DE LUGO. *De Fide*. Disp. 3, sect. v., n. 70. See also the other authorities quoted at page 425, note 1.

³ "Potest autem aliquid esse revelatum a Deo . . . quod nondum sit propositum ab Ecclesia."—VERON. *Regula Fidei Catholice*. Cap. i., § 2.

"De aliquibus doctrinis quae a Conciliis vel a summis Pontificibus declaratae sunt haereses, quum tamen antea a multis Catholicis tenerentur salva fide . . . dicendum . . . illae doctrinae etiam ante definitionem repugnabant veritati contentae in Scriptura vel Traditione . . . tamen Scriptura vel Traditio non

defined by former Popes and Councils, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was defined in 1854,¹ and the doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility was defined in the General Council of the Vatican.²

The definition of a Catholic dogma, then, does not add to the number of the truths of Divine faith. A revealed doctrine cannot, indeed, be regarded as a portion of the Catholic faith, until it has been defined. But it is a truth of Divine faith by virtue of the original revelation made to the Apostles: and even though it has not been "prescribed by the Church itself as divinely revealed, indispensable and incontrovertible truth," "the reverse of which is absolutely prohibited and rejected by the Church as heresy," the act of believing it on the authority of God who has revealed it, is an act of Divine faith.³

Dr. Döllinger's assertion to the contrary must, it is obvious, be ascribed to his not being aware of the distinction between Divine and Catholic faith. Could we have a plainer proof that this "most eminent of living theologians" is deplorably ignorant of the first principles of Catholic Theology?

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ita clara erat ut ab omnibus perciperetur. Postea tamen Pontifices et Patres in legitimis conciliis congregati . . . accedente divino lumine quod summo Pontifici et legitimo Concilio non de est, ne errant in sinistro Scripturæ vel Traditionis sensu pro vero et legitimo proponendo . . . sensum inveniunt et fidelibus proponunt: quo proposito, doctrina contraria incipit esse hæretica quæ antea talis non erat."—DE LUGO. *De Fide*. Disp. 20, sect. ii., n. 67.

¹ "Hanc de Immaculata beatissimæ Virginis Conceptione doctrinam in ipsa Ecclesia semper extitisse veluti a majoribus acceptam ac revelatæ doctrinæ caractere insignitam, illustria venerandæ antiquitatis . . . monumenta validissime testantur . . . Quare . . . declaramus, pronuntiamus et definimus etc." BULLA DOGMATICA, *Ineffabilis Deus*. (8 Dec. 1854).

² "Traditioni a fidei Christiano exordio perceptæ fideliter inhærendo . . . docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum Pontificem, etc." CONCIL. VATICANUM. Sess. iv. cap. 4.

³ "Propositio facta ab Ecclesia est conditio supplebilis alia via: ergo independenter a propositione facta ab Ecclesia, ille cui constat revelari . . . posset illam fide divina credere." VIVA *De Fide*, Disp. 2, Quæst. i., n. 1.

"Dico Ecclesiæ propositionem non esse . . . requisitum ad credendum." DE LUGO. *De Fide*. Disp. 1., sect. xiii., n. 251.

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON, S.J.

(Continued from page 355.)

IT is a wonder that F. FitzSimon was not imprisoned much sooner. According to the Protestant writers, Wood and Ryan, "his unceasing exertions and convincing arguments gained many proselytes to the religion he professed. For two years before his imprisonment he continued this course; teaching publicly, and triumphing over the few who ventured to oppose him;"¹ giving abundant evidence of commanding talents as a speaker, and of a fearless spirit, and unbounded charity.²

I suppose he went about in disguise like other priests of that period, one of whom was seen in Waterford with a "ruffling suit of apparel, gilt rapier, and dagger hanging at his side."³ He was in every way a worthy specimen of the Irish priests portrayed by Spencer, that "most poetical of all poets,"⁴ to whom we are indebted for the "Faërie Queen," and for a plan of exterminating the Irish race and religion. About the time of FitzSimon's missionary labours the English bard wrote as follows:—"The most part of the parsons that go to Ireland are either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England. It is great wonder to see the oddes which is between the zeal of the Popish priests and the Ministers of the Gospell; for they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toyle and dangerous travelling hither, where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward or riches is to be found, only to draw the people unto the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the country offered unto them, without pains and without peril, will neither for the same nor any love of God, nor zeal of religion, nor for all the good they may do by winning souls to God, be drawn forth from their warm nests, to look out into God's harvest. Doubtless these good old Godly Fathers, St. Patrick and St. Columb, will rise up in the day of judgment to condemn them. Those priests should be effectually prevented from coming; for lurking secretly in the houses and corners of the country they do more hurt and hindrance to (the Protestant) religion with their private persuasions, than all the others can do good with their public instruction.

¹ Wood's "Athenæ;" Ryan's "Worthies." ² Oliver's "Collectanea."
³ Barnaby Rich. ⁴ So called by Mr. Craik in his "English Literature."

While ye may find in the parsons gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshy incontirency, careless and all disordered life."¹

That FitzSimon "knew that peril of death awaited him," as Spencer says, will appear from what he writes in his "Reply to Rider:"—"The Protestants search for priests in boxes and caskets, thus intimating that they believe we Catholics can do more than God Almighty, by seeming to imagine that we can convey a man's body into an unnatural straightness, whereas Christ, say they, cannot dispose his body in a small host: or else that they are now more faithful towards Christ's power than they were heretofore, and so infer that by his supernatural power and providence priests may be hid where natural reach could not conjecture. Which is by them not much misconceived, for some times, although at other times priests fall into their snares. And that always they do not misconceive but that supernaturally priests in our time may be, and have been preserved, this relation following assur-eth. I have been present when divers worshipful persons have corporally deposed the truth thereof: and the principal parties mentioned are yet living with that reputation, that impudence itself may not except against them for deserving any discredit.

"In Donamoore, seven miles from Dublin, Mr. Richard Bealing, Justice of Peace, dwelled, when Catholics were persecuted under the Lord Graye, about the year of Christ 1580. He being an eminent person, was accused (by Sir R. D., the blind knight and blood-sucker), that he harboured one Patrick Nigram, a priest, even then to be found in his house. Searchers were in all haste sent, for at that time James FitzMaurice, Doctor Sanders, and divers others coming into the countrie, had made the State jealous towards matters of religion. As the searchers envired the house, the Mother of God, our Blessed Ladie, appeared to Mistress Bealing, saying—Send instantly to Sir Patrick Nigram that he descend into such a cave or cellar, and that removing a stone in such a corner he further descend by stairs where they shall conduct him. Which she, although once or twice admonished, (supposing it to be a dream) neglected, till at length in visible manner with admirable beauty and brightness, the Immaculate Queen of Heaven objected herself, and renewed the commandment so strictly, that she promptly procured it to be fulfilled.

"Nigram was a Godly priest, of unspotted life and rare zeal, my quondam schoolfellow, whom of purpose I visited upon his death-bed, and from himself, beside all others, received

¹ Spencer's "View of Ireland," pp. 142, 254, and 139.

the assurance of this declaration. When he removed the stone, he found indeed the stairs of five or six steps, guiding him to a small neat chamber of some twenty foote long, and twelve foote broad, wherein a bed and chair were duly placed.

“He being bestowed in his cabinet, the searchers coming in with all diligent inquiry, sought every place in the house, every cellar and corner, but all in vain. After three days, frantic to be frustrated, and weary to inquire without hope of their purpose, they departed. Nigram, by Mistress Bealing being repealed out of his cell, wherein he had all that time abounded with spiritual delight, they, covering again the place, never after by any inquiry were able to find so much as any shew thereof remaining. Wherefore, at least sometimes, narrow and unnatural places may, by God’s divine providence, serve to conceal miraculously what He would not have discovered. Whereof innumerable like instances might be alleged if brevity permitted.”¹

Perhaps FitzSimon could have given us some instances in his own person, and it is a pity that “brevitie” and “modestie” did not permit him to do so. He had a great many enemies; in fact, all the ministers hated and feared him. He had also a large circle of kind friends, who warned and protected him in time of need and danger. His affectionate heart never forgot them. They were Thomas Fagan, George Blacknie of Rickenhout, William Nugent, Michael Taylor, a Baron and Baroness who are anonymous, and, no doubt, also the FitzSimons of Swords, of the Grange, and of Balmadrocht.

Although he gives us to understand that hospitality was on the decline in Dublin, since he compares Rider’s challenge to “the new requesting friends to meals—with many cups, but without hospitalitie.”² Yet it must have been very hearty in his day, or must have been stimulated by him. For he never dined without six or eight guests, and when he went to the country, he rode with three or four gentlemen, who acted as his companions and protectors.³ Here we get a glimpse of Irish hospitality in the days of long ago, of that hospitality to which the English writer, Holinshed, bears the following testimony:—

“The Lord Mayors of Dublin, and nominally Thomas FitzSimon, excel in hospitality, and the whole city is generally addicted to such ordinary and standing houses, as it would make a man muse how they are able to bear it out, but only for the goodness of God, the upholder of hospitalitie.

¹ FitzSimon’s Replie, pp. 92, 93, 94. ² Epistle to Rider, in *The Confutation.*

³ Father De la Field’s Letter of 1599.

What should I say also of their alms daily and hourly extended to the needy! so that the poor are so charitably succoured, as they make the whole citie in effect their hospital."

No doubt, F. FitzSimon had those six or eight guests about him every day, not merely to satisfy his expansive, and perhaps expensive nature, but to further the work of his mission. Doubtless, the guests were often Protestants, who were as hungry for truth as for a dinner; and many of them owed their conversion to the table talk of F. FitzSimon. Thus F. Faber, the holy companion of St. Ignatius, worked numbers of conversions by his conversations when travelling from one city to another. Thus Sir Everard Digby and many others were brought to the Church by F. Gerard, who gained souls to God, not only at a dinner table, but also on the hunting field.¹

F. FitzSimon was welcome everywhere, as he informs us himself; his temper was eminently Irish, his humour racy of the soil, his affections warm, his spirits lively, his character frank, his faith strong, his hopes high; he was attractive, winning, brilliant, amusing, and agreeable; he was a man of large mind, various sympathies, and good heart. By his talents and his boldness he took hold of the Irish mind, challenged universal attention, and his influence insinuated itself everywhere through the Pale which felt his energetic presence. He won many by a peculiar kind of fascination; he attracted and instructed the poor and the rich; he warned, arrested, recalled, and swayed the wayward and the wandering, and pursued his holy work, and flung himself fearlessly into this mission, despising alike the mailed hand and malicious tongue. He writes thus about himself:—"On my arrival in my native land, I heard of the boasted readiness of the sectaries to hold discussions on points of belief, and I asked a safe conduct to hold a discussion in presence of the Governors of the kingdom. This I asked through two illustrious Catholics. The Council were astonished at the boldness of the request, and after deliberating for some days, refused to grant it. Seeing them afraid lest their errors would be exposed to the public, I tried in many ways to stimulate and provoke the chief Protestants, Hanmer and Challoner, to hold a private discussion with me. For the space of two years I was burning to dispute with them, even for this alone, that where my error had given disedification, my condemnation of error might wipe away the stain.

¹F. Gerard's Narrative, edited by F. Morris, S. J.

“Being disappointed in my hopes, I desired to fall into their hands for the sake of the faith, provided it happened without any fault of mine, in order that the parsons might know where to find me, if they were anxious to enter into controversy. The Divine Goodness granted me this grace, and the Protestants know very well that I was glad at being taken, and that with my own arms I protected the pursuivants who were in danger of being killed by the people. In the year 1599, while I was performing a pious work of my ministry, I was seized and led to the Castle of Dublin. Thus, instead of conclusions to be impugned, I found irreluctable inclusion in the Castle; instead of specimens of condition, I was met with calumnious accusations of prodiction, instead of scholastic discussion; I experienced cruel crosses and the pillory.”¹ The word *catasta*, which is used here, and which I translate as *the pillory*, means a cage, where slaves were exposed, or a grate under which fire was lighted to torture the early martyrs. It is possible that FitzSimon was tortured by his cruel enemies, as Archbishop O’Hurley was tortured a few years before; however, I must give the Latin word its mildest meaning, as I have not any authority for stating that he was subjected to anything like the rack, the thumbscrew, the “scavenger’s daughter,” or the “jungfrau.”

III.—*His Life in Dublin Castle.*

I have two letters written by F. FitzSimon from his Castle cell, and I interrupt the course of my narrative to give them here together, as they are scented with the breezes of Dublin Bay, and the perfumes of the prison. The first was addressed to his General four years after his incarceration; it was dated the 10th of April, 1603, and was couched in the following terms:—

“Having at last found an opportunity of writing to your Paternity, I most joyfully avail myself of it. At the time the Spaniards landed in Ireland, before anything else was done, care was taken that I should be kept in the closest custody, and be deprived of books and of every comfort that might alleviate the monotonous misery of prison life—‘They were afraid where there was not fear.’

“The official, to whose tender care I was confided, was a second ‘Jonathas the Scribe,’ and would to God that he found in me another Jeremy. By employing the most savage keepers he can find, by flogging some for being over-indulgent to me, by dismissing eight of them on that ground alone,

¹ Letter to F. Aquaviva, in *Britannomachia*.

and by suborning false witnesses against me, he shows the excess of his hatred against the name which we bear, and the end which we have in view. But nothing is so galling to him as to find that his ferocity provokes neither resistance nor resentment on my part. I have left nothing undone to appease and soften him, but in vain.

“While he held me in the closest confinement, reports were everywhere spread that ‘I was about to become a Protestant, and to go to church in a few days, and that I had stated so with my own hand in a paper which they had in their possession.’

“As I enjoy the friendship or exceeding good-will of a great many, this report reached me very soon, and I at once went up to a high gallery, to which I have been sometimes able to go in order to take some fresh air. I saw a large number of persons assembled for various games or amusements in the garden or court below, and I cried out to them, that I was so far from wishing to turn a Protestant, that I would rather become a Jew or a Turk. Thus I silenced the calumny, and strengthened and comforted the faithful; but I so incensed my enemies, that from that hour I have never been able to obtain the slightest indulgence or favour.

“During the time of my incarceration one bishop, three Franciscans, and six secular priests recovered their liberty by solicitation, money, or exchange of prisoners. No supplication, no influence, no favour, no justice or iniquity, no fair means nor foul means, could get freedom for me; for I was a Jesuit, though the least son of the Society of Jesus.—Blessed be that Name, so terrible and hateful to the enemies of God! ‘he alone who receiveth that name written in a white counter,¹ knows and feels how sweet it is, and tastes and sees that its traffic is good.’—*Gustat videtque quia bona est negotiatio ejus!*

“A certain Protestant Dean has published a book against the Catholics, in which he mentions my name, and my name alone, as if to insult and challenge me. This was a thing unheard of before, for the ministers had never previously printed their absurdities. The will of the Superior, of our other Fathers, and of all the faithful, imposed on me the duty of showing the silliness and falsehood of that book, in which the author strives to make the ancient Fathers favour his own errors. Such is the inconstancy and genius of heresy—it pretends to be old when it is new, and new when it is old. At present it is ashamed of its own parents, and claims descent from the ancient Doctors of the Church.

¹ Apoc. ii. 17.

“Having implored the Divine assistance, I undertook to write a refutation of their rash and mad pretensions; and, with God’s help, in a month or two, by reading and writing, I succeeded so far that my antagonist is considered, even in the opinion of Protestants, as a fellow who should be hissed and stamped off the stage of controversy.

“Both the Dean and the Government fancied that, as I was in their power and at their mercy, I would not dare to speak out or even breathe a word; and they intended to attribute my silence, not to the unfairness with which they deprived me of the proper means of writing, but to the weakness of my cause. They were seriously mistaken; for ‘speech was given me from above, that I might open my mouth with confidence to make known the mystery of the Gospel, for which I am an ambassador in a chain.’—*Datus est mihi sermo in apertione oris.*

“When I had elaborated my reply, I found that my adversary spoke and looked as confident as ever, so I made up my mind to outdo him in audacity. I begged of the Viceroy to deign to assist at a discussion between us at least for a few hours, and to condemn the conquered party to be fined, or to be branded with a hot iron. The Lord-Deputy is said to have praised my courage, but gave me no answer.

“I thought it well to go ahead in the matter, and I invited the very Provost of the University to preside as umpire in the discussion. Relying on the most certain assistance of God and on the strength of my cause, I thought I could dare and do anything, as by God’s grace I am fearless in the cause of God. The Father Superior, the other Fathers, and all the Catholics felt great anxiety with regard to the result. However, everything turned out as I had with certainty anticipated, and all contributed to the greater glory of God and to the very great advantage of the Church.

“My antagonist was terrified, and he nearly went out of his mind, and roared with rage. He openly declines to meet me in debate, although all the conditions and circumstances are so much in his favour. However, he has attacked me in another way. As he is a leading man among the Protestants, he had it in his power to tempt me with a splendid position, and an income of one thousand five hundred florins a year, but he got from me the answer which Satan got from our Saviour, and which Simon Magus got from St. Peter.

“The Catholics are so anxious and urgent in their request that my book should be published, that our Father Superior has held frequent consultations on the question whether we should print it, presuming on the sanction of your Paternity.

It is still undecided whether, in so urgent a case, we should put a liberal interpretation on the strict letter of the law, and pass over the prohibition, or whether we ought to observe it in a spirit of perfect obedience. But we will not allow anything, be it ever so important and urgent, to be as near and dear to our hearts as blind and simple obedience; although to us, who are placed so far away at the uttermost ends of the earth, it seems of the greatest moment that we should obtain, as soon as possible, this permission which we ask, and also a general leave for the future, specially as we are so disposed, that there is no danger of anything appearing in print but what shall be worthy of the Society, well weighed, and the outcome of our united counsels and deliberations. I was enabled to have privately access to my books, and to use them with as much advantage as if I were free in a college.

“A sudden and violent storm burst upon the Catholics. The Superior ordered me to confirm and steady the senators of the city by letters, by messengers, and by every way in my power. The other Fathers did their duty also with unceasing care, and with ardent zeal and piety. Those citizens were imperfectly instructed in the Faith and Christian doctrine, and had hitherto been accustomed to shape and fashion their faith according to their temporal interests and convenience. It was the opinion of all, even of the Protestants, that all these men would bend before the storm.

“Six of the principal churches were prepared for the occasion, preachers were appointed, the parishioners were numbered and registered, members of the Privy Council, and very many spies were on the watch in each of the churches, in order to detect and report the absentees, and the time was fixed when all the inhabitants of every age should attend the churches. *Yet out of this so great and populous city there was not even one who could be got to obey the order.*

“The inhabitants were then brought before the magistrates, more than thirty of whom assembled in order to strike terror into the hearts of the people. To be brief, all, except one, stood firm, ‘and all, indeed, went from the presence of the council rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus.’ Wherefore, although our chief citizens are kept in prison, no day ever dawned that was more glorious to us, and more disastrous to our adversaries, who are now bewildered, and puzzled what to do, whether they should go on or go back.

“A certain illustrious Baron, whose lady is my principal benefactress, sent his son to Trinity College. Notwithstanding my obligations to them for affording me support, I, with

the utmost freedom, earnestness, and severity, informed and taught them, that it was a most impious thing, and a detestable scandal, to expose their child to such education. The boy was taken away at once, and so were others, after that good example. The college authorities are greatly enraged at this, as they had never before attracted any pupil of respectability, and do not now hope to get any for the future. Hence I must be prepared for all the persecution which their impiety and hatred can bring down upon me.

“I have very often laboured to prevent Catholic women from marrying sectaries, and from thus being used as spies against ourselves; and in my efforts I have been generally successful.

“A certain Englishman was allowed by my keepers, whom he bribed, to come to the door of my cell. He was not permitted to come farther, yet we could hear, though we could not see each other; we spoke on points of controversy, and he was brought to the fold of God. Precisely in the same manner, another was able to receive the blessing of absolution to his incredible happiness and advantage.

“Although I was usually very delicate, yet I enjoyed perfect and uninterrupted health while writing my reply, though I often worked half the week without sleeping a wink. But when I began to cease working, my former infirmity began to annoy me, and it disappeared again when I resumed my work. About a year and a-half ago I told you of other singular and unusual proofs of God’s protection, by which he seemed to approve and encourage my poor labours. For instance, I was supplied with three books, in three different languages, by three persons previously strangers to me, books exactly suited to my purpose, and at the same time exceedingly rare, in this country particularly; and I got these books at the very moment that I first wanted them to clear up some doubt. Moreover, I found both my understanding and my memory so quickened and enlightened, that very many things never before thought of, or quite forgotten, yet very necessary for me, came at once, and of themselves into my mind; so that I may truly say with Ecclesiasticus, ‘I have laboured a little and found much rest.’ I say this, chiefly in order that all the honour of my book may be rendered to the great Giver of all good gifts; and again, that your Paternity may draw from these things the consolation, which you are desirous and accustomed to derive from the labours of your children; and lastly, that every effort of mine, and even my life itself, may, through the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of the Society, be offered up as a pious holocaust to Almighty God, and may be spent and consumed for the greater glory of His name, and for the good

of His Church. My adversaries are every day in a thousand ways striving to destroy my life, and they hope they shall soon be able to put me to death.

“This late storm against the Catholics is said to have been raised without the consent or knowledge of the Lord-Deputy, who had set out on an expedition. On his return he remonstrated seriously with the members of the Council for having caused fresh troubles, at a time when things were beginning to settle down. It seemed as if we should have peace, but the insurgents are now cropping up again, and taking heart after their old fashion. The Deputy released all who were imprisoned for the sake of religion, all except myself alone; but he bound them over, under a penalty of a thousand florins, not to harbour or help in any way a Jesuit, or any other disturber of the country. The English officials laboured long to get the Catholic prisoners to swear, or at least to promise, that they would avoid such persons, and exclude them from their houses. The Catholics replied that they could not, in conscience, take such an oath, or make such a promise, lest their fate should be worse than that of Sodom and Gomorrha, if those priests ‘shook the dust of their feet against them.’ They said it would be quite enough to impose a fine without exacting a promise. So the matter was settled, the tempest was dispelled, and calm was restored. The judges being checked by the constancy of these Catholics, deemed it more prudent not to irritate or annoy the others, lest they should make themselves more unpopular in such doubtful and dangerous times.

“If these Catholics stood firm, and if by that constancy the other Catholics are free from persecution, others may say, though I will not, that, under God, the credit is due to the Society, since nothing like that was ever known before, and since no others contributed to that happy result.

“As the Protestants are so hostile to our name, that they wish our Fathers particularly to be excluded from the homes of all, it is clear that the efforts of the Society have already been crowned with a brilliant success, and that our Fathers will eventually produce most abundant fruit, since they have met with such resistance at the beginning—which God grant us in his infinite clemency!

“I entreat your Paternity to send us an answer as soon as possible by way either of England or of Portugal, and to grant us leave to publish the above-mentioned little book, lest our adversary may be tempted by our silence to ride roughshod over us.

“Most humbly begging, on bended knees, your Paternity’s

blessing, I am your Paternity's most obedient son and servant
 in Christ,

"Henry FitzSimon.

"From Dublin Castle, in Ireland,

"April 10th, 1603."¹

On the 5th of April, 1604, FitzSimon wrote from the Castle
 to F. Aquaviva :—

"Very Reverend Father—The peace of Christ be with you.
 God grant that we may at length be able to press to our lips
 the answer of your Paternity! To our great sorrow, we have
 not heard from you for some years, on account of the difficul-
 ties of communication. Therefore, lest our letters to your
 Paternity should have been intercepted, I shall go back and
 relate some matters briefly.

"I have been five years in prison, and I have been brought
 eight times before the Supreme Court, and I have always been,
 through God's goodness, superior to all circumstances, and
 proof against all attacks. The governor of the prison has
 been my deadly enemy, and has often plotted against my life.
 He is generally considered a bad enemy and a worse friend.
 For three years he watched most intently to catch me cele-
 brating Mass. At last, on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul,
 he rushed in on me just as I was ending the *Pater Noster* of
 the Mass. I saved the Sacred Host from the sacrilegious
 wretch; but he wrested the chalice from me, and the Divine
 Blood was sprinkled all about the cell. He took also the
 vestments. My conscience tells me that I had omitted nothing
 to prevent such a horrid sacrilege. But the cunning of the man
 who lies in wait is greater than all possible precaution.

"Through the malignity of this man, it is very difficult for
 any one to speak with me. He has surrounded me with the
 most cruel guards and spies that his malice could find out:
 nevertheless, by the Divine help, I have, in the space of one
 month, brought back to the bosom of the Church seven Pro-
 testants, one of whom is my head jailer.

"I have often explained to your Paternity how insolently I
 have been challenged by a certain pseudo Dean to defend the
 Catholic Truth, and how clearly he was confounded, according
 to the opinion of all persons, and even in his own opinion.
 We carried on the discussion with the pen; but as my answer
 had not your *imprimatur*, I would not allow it to be printed,
 though people have used prayers, and all but violence, to pre-
 vail on me to let it go to the press. Wherefore, I humbly beg
 of your Paternity to allow it to be published, after having been
 examined by our Fathers. I say this with all modesty and

¹ Vol. VI., MSS., Angliæ, Stonehurst College, p. 209. H. Foley, S. J., of
 the English Province, found the Latin original letter, copied it, and sent me the
 copy, for which I tender him my sincere thanks.

resignation. The answer contains things which have brought not a few to the fold of Christ, and it cannot in any way be weakened by our enemies. Nothing frightened my counter-sophister more than the confidence, with which I asked the Viceroy, and Privy Council, and the Fellows of Trinity College to be judges of our controversy, as Origen named a Pagan philosopher as arbiter in his dispute with Manes.

“All the Protestants felt anxious about their champion, and he feared for himself and his cause. At that time, and ever afterwards, I was attacked with flatteries and terrors, with promises of great wealth and threats of exile, with favours and furies.

“The man, who is now Lord Mayor, was at one time a strenuous Catholic ; but, as happens now and then, shaping his creed to his comfort, he has joined the Protestant conventicle. Lately a parson said in the pulpit that Papists called the Pope a God, and he proved it by quoting the gloss :—‘*Credere autem in Dominum nostrum Papam.*’ The Lord Mayor could not refrain from contradicting him publicly, and he cried out that the Latin words were either not to be found, or were badly translated. By common consent the dispute was referred to me. As was easy, I pointed out the wretched ignorance or double-dyed perfidy of the parson’s construction.¹

“At present they deliberate about driving me into exile. Let no public petition, let no industry or authority intercede for me ; and let God and his angels be my witnesses, this odium and exile are dearer to me than anything else in this world, except death for the faith.

“Since the Queen’s demise all things are uncertain—now full of hopes and again full of fears. As far as one can judge, matters are gloomy enough. Religion does not strike deep and firm roots here ; people, by a kind of general propensity, follow more the name than the reality of the Catholic Faith, and thus are borne to and fro by the winds of edicts and threats. However, the work of our Fathers, ever since their arrival, has been solid and brilliant. Those who before were mere *tabulae rasae* know the teaching of the faith, and piety flourishes where all had once been a waste, and where even the name of piety was not known. Others, who are in the midst of the work, can tell you more and better than this. It is said that a storm is about to burst over us soon, but the bark of Peter cannot be endangered.

“How many and how great miracles are worked by *Agnus Deis* can hardly be fully told. In the beginning of this Lent an elderly lady was for three days at death’s door, deprived of voice and memory. An *Agnus Dei* was hung round her neck, and that instant she recovered her voice and memory,

¹ See Extrav. Joa. 22, Lit 4, cap. 4. Cum inter. Glossa sub fine.

and the following day she was perfectly cured. It was refreshing to see the confusion of her heirs, who having prematurely taken away her goods, were forced to bring them back.

"Before her death, Queen Elizabeth had exhausted all her resources, so that she was not able to pay the army otherwise than by copper money which was useless. Those who refused to take it were fined. Hence all trade, fairs, and building were interrupted, and great poverty and troubles ensued. No one would work for hire or receive payment of debts. While all were groaning under penury, He, who fed Elias and Paul and others through the ministry of ravens, helped me in my great need by Meredith Hanmer, who was the opponent of F. Campion, and is named in the 'Decem Rationes.'

"This gentleman gave me a barrel¹ of beer and a barrel of flour. He gave me the use of all his books, and he has been so attached to me that he did not allow any of the sectaries to speak ill of me, and that he has breasted unpopularity for my sake. Since he has made my acquaintance he avoids the pulpit, and often attacks the Puritans, and thus is suspected of leaning towards Rome. However, the poor, droll, jolly soul is entirely given to eating and drinking, jesting and scoffing, so that I am afraid he will never find the wisdom of those who seek.

"As our reformers, God bless the mark, have deformed all things divine and human, they intend now to go over all again. It is uncertain how far they will go, as they are never consistent. They find themselves surrounded with thorns, whether they forge a new faith or not. The light which they once declared to be as clear as noonday is now scarcely recognised, and what was once sanctioned is now to be repealed as not having been sufficiently looked into at the dawn of 'the Gospel.'

"Thus they defend themselves! The mountain, no doubt, will bring forth a mouse. These heroes are clouds without water, wafted by the winds; they are autumn trees, barren and doubly dead.

"It now remains for me to most humbly beg of your Paternity, and of the whole Society, to pray for us, that the word of God may be glorified with us as with you, and that we may be freed from cruel and wicked men. I also humbly urge your Paternity to honour us with a few words of advice and encouragement through the bearer of this letter. He usually remains a long time in Holland, whither he is now sailing, and your letter might be transmitted to him through the Belgian Fathers.

"From Dublin Castle, this 5th of April, 1604.

"Of your Paternity the most obedient son and servant,
"Henry FitzSimon."

¹ Amphora, six gallons.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1872.

ST. PATRICK.¹

“ Arise, arise, put on thy strength, O Sion, put on the garments of thy glory, O Jerusalem. . . . Shake thyself from the dust, arise, sit up, O Jerusalem: loose the bonds from off thy neck, O captive daughter of Sion. . . . How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, and that preacheth peace: of him that sheweth forth good, that preacheth salvation, that saith to Sion: Thy God shall reign! Rejoice, and give praise together, O ye deserts of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted His people.”

ISAIAH, lii., 1—9.

SELDOM has the sternness of the prophets unbent to joyous exhortations more thrilling than those here addressed to the afflicted people of Israel. And since our human heart is so fashioned that it will not pass from sorrow to joy merely at the bidding of another, and without its proper motive, Isaias is careful to set before his hearers a reason powerful enough to lift them from their depth of woe to that rejoicing to which he invites them. He knew well how bitter the sorrow that had fallen on the prostrate daughter of Sion; he knew that for very grief her songs were hushed in the strange land; but he knew, also, that captive, sorrow-stricken, and mute as she was, she could not but find a beginning of joy in the clear and distinct vision of him who was to come to conduct her, rescued from her woes, to the full light of God's best blessings. Therefore, he bids her contemplate how beautiful upon the mountains are the

¹ A Sermon preached by the Most Rev. Dr. CONROY, Bishop of Ardagh, at the Dedication of St. Patrick's Memorial Church, Downpatrick.

feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that preacheth peace—of him that sheweth forth good, that preacheth salvation—that in this contemplation the deserts of Jerusalem might rejoice and give praise together.

These same words of the Prophet are applied by the Apostle St. Paul to the preachers of the Gospel of Christ, and especially to those who, like St. Patrick in Ireland, were the first to preach the faith to nations sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. They have, therefore, a special fitness on this occasion of the dedication of a Church which has been raised almost over St. Patrick's tomb, to be a memorial of his apostolate in this land. The more so, because Catholic Ireland, like the daughter of Sion, to whom they were first addressed, has had and still has so much cause to mourn. Her lot, like that of Jerusalem, has been the sad lot of the oppressed; her strength has gone out from her; for ages her robe has been moist with the tears, and too often, alas! with the blood of the children of her love. But some rays of purest joy shall ever come to brighten the gloom of her sorrows, as long the memories of which this church is the visible shrine, shall survive throughout the land. In the hour of her anguish she has but to fix her eyes on the noble and majestic figure of her Apostle, and, as in the dawn of her history he was the first to bring her good tidings, so to the last will he be to her a source of peace and of rejoicing, because through him the Lord hath comforted His people.

St. Paul compares the preachers of the Gospel to the starry orbs that announce God's glory to the ends of the earth; and as star differs from star in brightness, so apostle differs from apostle in the characteristic glories of his mission. Some there are to whom, as the scene of their labours, vast regions are assigned, teeming with a busy population, and rich in cities, conspicuous as seats of empire or marts of commerce; and by the labours of such as these is garnered a harvest as vast as the field on which it is reaped. Others there are to whom a scanty corner of earth is made over, where, unknown and obscure, they may earn for themselves an apostle's crown, not the less brilliant because the triumphs it rewards are unseen by human eye. Either of these apostolates is glorious; but the apostolate of St. Patrick has this of peculiar—that it combines in itself the united excellencies of both. Of himself, as compared with the other apostles of modern nations, St. Patrick might well say, although in a sense different from St. Paul's: "I am the least of the apostles, and I have laboured

more abundantly than all;" for it is the special characteristic of his work, that although confined within scantiest limits, it has produced colossal results, compassing within a narrow sphere, and with slenderest materials, as much as others have hardly achieved in the widest field and under the most favourable circumstances. It is this union of lowly resources with splendid success which distinguishes beyond that of others the apostolate of St. Patrick, imparting to it a characteristic glory which for ages has shone with unimpaired, and to-day shines with renewed lustre, around his tomb.

To the mind of the youthful Patrick, the mission to which he was called must needs have presented itself under the most uninviting aspect. To a man of his time and nation, Ireland was but a far-off island, lying beneath the wintry cold, and inhabited by a race of men removed from all peaceful intercourse with the civilized world. It formed no portion of the Roman Empire, for it possessed nothing to tempt the greed, or to attract the political sagacity of the Imperial statesmen. It was not a seat of learning like Gaul, whose schools were famous even in the Eternal City. There were other peoples in Europe, cultivated and influential, among whom an apostle might hope to win by his labours brilliant victories for God; but between Ireland and the other nations around there appeared no community of feeling which, after the conversion of the country, could become the vehicle of Christian influences. Nay, more, he knew well that the Irish had already refused to hear the preaching of Palladius, and that this holy man had abandoned their land as an unfruitful field of labour. Besides, he himself had had to suffer at the hands of the Irish people the greatest outrage that man can suffer from his fellow men—the loss of his personal liberty by being made a slave. In his fifteenth year he was taken captive and brought to Ireland, where he was employed in tending sheep, and exposed to the storms of snow, and rain, and wind, that break with such violence on the hills of the north. And yet it was to these men that his thoughts and heart ever turned in love, when, after escaping from captivity, he found himself once more in the midst of his friends in his own France. For such as these he gave up his free birth; for the sake of such as these he left his home and kindred; for the sake of such as these he steeled his heart as well against the tears of those he loved, as against the brilliant prospects that were displayed invitingly before his eyes; and, what was harder still for him to bear, for the sake of these he incurred even the

displeasure of his elders. But he feared none of these things, neither did he count his life more precious than himself, so that he might consummate his course and the ministry of the Word which he received from the Lord Jesus, to testify to the Gospel of the grace of God.—(*Acts* xx. 24.) With what deliberate fullness of purpose, and with what conscious self-sacrifice he did so, we may learn from his own words in his Confessions:—From Heaven, he tells us, it was given him “to know and love God, and also that I should give up my home and parents. And many offers were made to me with weeping and tears, and I incurred displeasure there from some of my elders, contrary to my wish; but, under the guidance of God, I in no way consented nor gave in to them; yet not I, but the grace of God which prevailed in me, and resisted them all, that I might come to preach the Gospel to the people of Ireland, and bear with the ill-treatment of the unbelieving, and that I should be reproached as a foreigner, and have to endure many persecutions, even to bonds, and that I should give up my free birth for the good of others.”

And what manner of man was he who thus sacrificed the familiar usages of country, home, kindred, liberty, to take instead the ill-treatment of the unbelieving, insults, persecutions, bonds, and life-long servitude? He speaks of his own attainments in language of the deepest humility, but a single glance at his personal history will show how well fitted he was by the gifts of nature and grace for the apostleship of the most illustrious nations. His youth was spent in closest intimacy with St. Martin of Tours—a man of incomparable merit, whether we view him in the camp and court, or in perils of exile borne for the faith, or on the desert rocks of the Mediterranean coast, or on the episcopal throne. In his riper years he lived in Lerins—that island sanctuary which was made a paradise not only by the gushing streams, the luxuriant wealth of vines, the fair valleys, and the fragrant scents so lovingly described by St. Eucherius, but still more by reason of the angelic life of its inhabitants. There he found the seat of all the knowledge of the age; for thither had flocked all that was learned, and noble, and saintly in France, and from this glorious band the most illustrious Sees of Europe received their Bishops. But to St. German of Auxerre, perhaps more than to all the rest, was St. Patrick indebted for the qualities that best adorn the man of God. At his feet, as Gamaliel at the feet of the Apostle Paul, he grew into the perfect ecclesiastic, rich in all learning, and richest of all

in the best learning of the Saints. The best spur to learning is, we are told, the excellence of the master; what treasures, then, did not St. Patrick store up in mind and heart under the instruction of this great Bishop, who, after having been distinguished for his skill in the conduct of the most important affairs of the empire, continued, as Bishop, to enjoy in a singular degree the respect and admiration of the Emperor himself. When St. German visited Britain as a delegate of the Holy See to crush the Pelagian heresy, St. Patrick went with him; by him our Saint was guided through Italy to the court of the Emperor, and, better than all, to the steps of St. Peter's Chair in the apostolic city. St. Patrick's, therefore, was a mind which, first fed in solitude with all the learnings of the age, had afterwards been strengthened and polished by continual intercourse with men of affairs and by all the advantages of travel; and though these are but human gifts, a virtue less solid than his might easily have been led astray by the thought that, after so elaborate a training, it would be better to choose as his sphere of labour some country less remote and wild than Ireland, and less unworthy of such masters. But hardest of all was it to him to feel that, if he should go to Ireland, he should be cut off for ever from those saints whom he loved as the fathers of his soul, and revered as models of sanctity, and organs of the Holy Spirit. In his Confessions he testifies how gladly he would return to Gaul, "that I might visit my brethren, and look once again upon the face of the saints of my Lord, and it is known to that Lord how earnestly I long to do so." But between him and all this happiness there stood the souls of his Irish children, among whom he was to labour, lowliest of apostles.

And yet, how magnificent in their vastness were the results which he achieved! What wonders did he not work, first in his own soul, and next in that Irish Church, towards which, as towards our mother, our hearts turn in love! A long life, with unabated diligence, he toiled to make his soul a sanctuary of the highest virtues. What are the qualities that make men saints? The fear of the Lord is the beginning of their wisdom; the condition of their prayers is faith, for the just man liveth by faith; and the crown of their sanctity is the love of God. Now, that these three virtues were the characteristic virtues of the soul of Saint Patrick, his own confession affords the clearest proof. Again and again does he speak therein of the love and faith with which he regarded Him:—"I confess to my Lord, and do not

blush before Him, because I tell the truth, that from the time I knew Him in my youth, the love of God and His fear increased within me, and until now, by the favour of the Lord, I have kept the faith." And again:—"I cannot and ought not to be silent concerning the benefits and graces which the Lord has bestowed upon me in the land of my captivity. . . . After I had come to Ireland I was daily tending sheep, and I prayed fervently during the day, and the love of God, and his faith and fear, increased in me more and more, and the spirit was stirred, so that in a single day I have said as many as a hundred prayers, and in the night nearly the same, so that I remained in the woods; and on the mountain, even before dawn, I was roused to prayer in snow, and ice, and rain. . . . I pray God, therefore, that He may give me perseverance, and that He may vouchsafe to permit me to give Him faithful testimony for my God, even until my death; and if I have done anything good for my God, whom I love, I beseech Him to grant to me that I may pour out my blood for His name." And these three virtues found their fitting expression in the wonderful austerities, in the ardent love for the souls of the Irish, and in the complete sacrifice of self that pre-eminently distinguished his life. His austerities renewed on our island the wonders of Thebail, where, under the training of St. Anthony, men had learned to die to this earth by the practice of the most rigid penances. Kneeling at the feet of the Vicar of Christ at Rome, his heart was filled towards Ireland with that almost passionate love for souls of which the Apostolic See has at all times been the furnace; "so that," as he tells us in his Confessions, "with fear and reverence, and without murmuring, I should faithfully serve the nation to whom the charity of Christ hath transferred me, and given me for my life, as long as I shall survive, and that with humility and truth I should serve them. I am bound in the spirit, and He who witnesseth will account me guilty if I leave them, and I fear to lose the labour which I have commenced, and not I, but the Lord Christ who commanded me to come and be with them for the rest of my life." . . . And, again, in his letter to Coroticus:—"Did I come to Ireland according to God or according to the flesh? Who compelled me? I was led by the spirit that I should see my relatives no more. Have I not a pious mercy towards that nation which formerly took me captive? According to the flesh I am of noble birth; but I do not regret or blush for having bartered my

nobility for the good of others. I am a servant in Christ unto a foreign people for the ineffable glory of eternal life, which is in Christ Jesus my Lord. Christ it was who has raised me up for my neighbours and sons, for whom I have forsaken my country and parents, and would give up even life itself if I were worthy."

Finally, his entire life of sublime sacrifice was but the faithful fulfilment of the vow he had made, that of his soul and all his aspirations he would make a living victim to his God. All this he did accomplish in his own soul, the grace of God aiding him in his constant labour, and how marvellous were the successes which crowned his apostolate in this land! The conversion of Ireland to the Catholic faith stands alone in the history of the Church on account of the exceptional circumstances that attended it. The day-star of faith rose upon her, not in storm, but mildly springing. Unlike Jerusalem, Ireland killed not the prophets who came to bring her to God's admirable light, nor did she stone those who were sent to her. Along the roads, painfully traversed by other nations in their progress to the Church, you may trace the frequent stains of martyr-blood shed by the first heralds of the Gospel, and by their earliest converts. Ireland's path to Christ is strewn only with the garlands of the peaceful triumphs of grace. In the glorious company of saints who, at St. Patrick's bidding, went through the land to evangelize our pagan fathers, there is not one who carried off, save in his heart's desire, the martyr's palm. They preached the word on a good ground, to a people who, in a good and very good heart, heard it and kept it, and brought forth fruit in patience.—*Luke* viii. 15. There is an Irish legend embalmed by one of our poets in his exquisite verse, which tells how the daughter of Lir, whom some evil power had constrained to wander, imprisoned within the snow-white plumage of a swan, over the lonely waters of Moyle, was freed from the dread spell by the first sound of the Mass-bell that ever broke upon the silent solitudes wherein she had languished for ages. Hardly had the first solemn peal floated past her, like a wave of heavenly melody, when her duration ended; the royal lady arose not only in the full grace and bloom of her earthly beauty, but with her soul purified and brightened by heavenly influences of faith and love. This is but the history of the conversion of Ireland to Christianity. No tedious and painful process of transformation was required; and long as she had lain fascinated by a strangely masterful

superstition, at the first sound of St. Patrick's voice proclaiming One God, the living and the true, she turned quickly away from her idols, and submitted to the law of Christ the strength of her arm, the fire of her intellect, and the love of her heart. And not only did she submit to what Christ commanded, but she rose at a bound to the height of the evangelical counsels. St. Patrick's converts became not only Christians but saints, passing, without resting in any intermediate stage, from the vileness of paganism to the sanctity of the religious profession. St. Patrick himself was forcibly struck by this special feature:—"Wherefore, behold!" he cries, "behold how in Ireland they who never had the knowledge of God, and hitherto only worshipped unclean idols, have lately become the people of the Lord, and are called the sons of God. The sons of the Scoti and the daughters of princes are seen to be monks and virgins of Christ and of those born again in this way we know not even the number." Now, if the measure of honour paid to the monastic profession by any nation be, as it undoubtedly is, a safe standard by which to estimate the degree of religious life that prevails therein, how glorious must have been the spiritual fecundity of the early Irish Church thus beauteously flowering forth in this vigorous bloom of virginal youths and maidens!

Among them all there are two, St. Brigid and St. Columba, whose names, even in death, have not been disassociated from that of St. Patrick, and of whose precious relics, as of his, the very earth on which we stand has been the shrine. From the spotless soul of St. Brigid—the Mary of Ireland, as our fathers loved to style her—there has ever since streamed out on Ireland such a radiance of chastity as alone would be sufficient argument of the glory of him whom she revered as the father of her soul. And in St. Columba we have the type of those scholar-apostles peculiar to the Irish Church, representing, on the one hand, sacred learning of which its schools were the chief sanctuary in the west, and on the other, the devouring zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, which St. Patrick had bequeathed to his children. So abundant was the fruit brought forth to God in these monastic schools, that St. Bernard, speaking of our own Bangor, applies to the period in which it flourished the words of David:—"Thou visitest the earth and waterest it. Thou greatly enrichest it; the river of God is filled with water. Thou preparest their corn; Thou makest it soft with showers; Thou blessest the springing thereof." From these schools issued forth, year after year, bands

of holy men, who, to use the expression of the same St. Bernard, passed over Europe like the following waves of the sea. This is not the place to dwell upon what Scotland owes to St. Columba; and England to St. Aidan; and Burgundy, Germany, and Italy, to Columbanus; and Switzerland to Gallus and Fridolin; and Thuringia to Kilian. Let it be enough to say that England in a great part, Scotland, Belgium, Switzerland, the chief parts of France and Germany, and many places of Italy—in a word, almost all the countries that go to make up Western Europe—owe to Irish missionaries their conversion to the Catholic faith: and is not the glory of all this reflected back again upon the man whose labours had made of Ireland not only a nation of saints, but also a nation of doctors! But soon, too soon, there came a change—that dreadful settling down of darkness upon Ireland, foreseen by our Saint in vision; and even the horrors of that change could not dim the glory of the Apostle of Ireland. Even in his own lifetime a foreign foe had visited with persecution the Catholics of Ireland. His fatherly heart was torn at the sight of his suffering flock; and, in his letter to the ferocious Coroticus, he thus cries out in grief and sorrow: “O beautiful and well-beloved brethren and children, whom I have brought forth in Christ in such multitudes, what shall I do for you? The wicked have prevailed over us. We have become outcasts. It would seem that they do not think we have one baptism, and one Father, God. They think it an indignity that we have been born in Ireland. . . . Therefore, I grieve for you, O my beloved ones! But, on the other hand, I congratulate myself I have not laboured for nothing—my journey has not been in vain. This horrible and amazing crime has been permitted to take place. Thanks be to God, ye who have believed and have been baptized, have gone from earth to paradise. Certainly, ye have begun to migrate where there is no night, nor death, nor sorrow; but ye shall exult, you shall reign with the apostles, and prophets, and martyrs, and obtain the eternal kingdom.” These words sound like a prophetic anticipation of the condition of Irish Catholics under the penal laws. The brutal prevalence of force over right, with the fire and bloodshed it brings in its train; the outlawry which removed the Catholic from the protection of law; the refusal to consider the Catholic as a Christian, or even as a member of the human family, with the natural rights and duties wherewith God has bound man to man; the insults heaped upon Irishmen in their own Catholic land—are not all these things painted in the

glowing words of the afflicted Saint? But, thanks be to God, these efforts were utterly useless; neither craft nor cruelty could move Ireland from the solidity of her faith; and in the white-robed army that he beheld ascending from earth to heaven, to take their places with the apostles, and prophets, and martyrs, St. Patrick saw yet another of the glorious results of his own labours, through which his own Ireland, that had been the nation of Saints and of Doctors, had now become the nation of Martyrs and of Confessors.

Once again there has come a change over the face of the land. The patient endurance of the faithful people has worn out the malignity of their persecutors, and the fair form of the Catholic Church once more moves among us in her heavenly majesty. And this very change is in itself another striking proof of the success of St. Patrick's apostolate. For, be it remembered, the so-called Reformation was much more a political than a religious movement. Its successes were not due to the uprising of men's consciences to attest their conviction of the truth of the new doctrines; but, on the contrary, the movement was the result of plots laid by politicians against the religion of the masses, and executed by help of brute force. But, as a political instrument, Protestantism was equipped with terrible power, and Ireland, bleeding, bruised, and chained for three hundred years, is a proof of the intolerant ferocity with which that power was employed. And yet, in the blessed providence of God, it has come to pass that the first blow dealt since the Reformation against the social and political fabric of established Protestantism in Europe, has been inflicted by the living faith of Catholic Ireland. The tide of success that had carried Protestantism in triumph for three hundred years has at length commenced to ebb, and the first shore to beat back its waters has been the shore of St. Patrick's Ireland!

But there is still more: there are other fruits of the faith of Ireland deserving of our consideration. To the Catholic faith do we owe it, that the domestic virtues—the true vigour of a nation—bloom so luxuriantly beneath the humble roof-tree of the Irish peasant's cottage. In all the weary days of his ceaseless, and often thankless, toil, his faith still puts before him that Holy Family at Nazareth, in which One whom he adores as his God took upon Himself and upon those He loved the poor man's lot of poverty and hardship, that he might teach the lowliest how to sanctify their lives. Hence come the spirit of unceasing prayer and of resig-

nation, the purity of morals, the tender charity, and the other Christian virtues of highest order which, in a society perishing from the dissolution of the bonds of the family, undoubtedly adorn the Irish household. And those who carp at the faults into which at times the Irish peasant is betrayed, should bear in mind that in the conditions which have hitherto surrounded his life, no virtue could have survived unless in hearts subdued by the strongest power of religion.

It almost passes belief that a people who, a few generations ago, were shut out from all secure and valuable property, should, out of their very poverty, have covered the face of the land with the thousand noble edifices their faith has raised to the honour of God, for the relief of the suffering, and for the spread of knowledge! And while this was doing at home, the Irish race was pouring itself out all over the globe, bearing, whithersoever it went, the faith of St. Patrick, to become the foundation-stone of new churches in lands beyond the seas. In Australia, in North and South America, in India, in Africa, in the islands of the great oceans, from where the sun rises to where he sets, the poor exiles of Erin have built up the Catholic Church, giving to the embrace of the mother of souls more children by millions than all the guilt of the Reformers had torn from her arms. Going out from their native land, they took their journey along the highways opened by commerce or war, *euntes ibant*. It was hard to leave the loved ones that were sleeping in the quiet graveyard. It was hard to leave the mother who bore them—and so they went in sorrow, sorrow so deep, that God's pitying angels could trace their course by their tears. *Euntes ibant et flebant*. They lived among those hard taskmasters, who used them and then scorned them; but in the heart of the great cities, and in the forest clearing; in the gloom of the mine, and in the furnace's fierce glare; in the name of Mary, the Mother of God, and of the successor of St. Peter, Christ's vicar on earth, they were ever casting the seed of the Catholic Faith: *euntes ibant et flebant, mittentes semina sua*. Already that seed has multiplied a hundred fold, but no tongue can tell how vast the harvest to be reaped from it in no distant future, when in that upheaval of society, which everything presages, the empire of the world shall have passed to nations deriving from Ireland the pure freshness of their faith, as well as the generous strength of their youth. And as each fresh sheaf of the mighty harvest gathered by this nation of apostles is carried before God and presented as the fruits of our Saint's labours on earth,

St. Patrick's lips will repeat the prayer he had so often uttered when on earth, that through the mercy of the Lord he may never at any time lose that people whom God had given into his hands.

That prayer shall be heard, and Ireland's perseverance in the faith delivered to her by St. Patrick shall be the crowning glory of the marvellous work achieved by this lowliest among the Apostles! If any man doubt it, let this Church rebuke him by the memories with which it is peopled. It is in very truth a Memorial Church. Placed here by Catholic Ireland, near the tomb of her Patron, its stones will ever cry to God: Be mindful, O Lord, of our David, and of all his meekness.

. . . . How he swore to the Lord, that he would give no sleep to his eyes, and no rest to his temples, until he should build up among us a tabernacle to the God of Jacob. For the sake, then, of David thy servant, let not the face of thy Christ be ever turned away from us. . . . But here, in this Ireland, let thy rest be for ever and ever: here mayest thou dwell, for it is the place of thy choice. Blessing, thou shalt bless her widows, and her poor ones—for they are many—thou shalt fill with bread; thou shalt clothe her priests, with salvation, and her enemies with confusion, and may thy sanctification shine forth for ever upon this people of whom he has made a nation of saints, of doctors, of martyrs, and of apostles!

DR. DÖLLINGER AND THE DOGMA OF INFALLIBILITY.¹

BY DR. HERGENRÖTHER, PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND CANON LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WÜRZBURG.

(Translated from the German.)

III.—HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS.²

TO show that his proposals "are in perfect harmony both with the principles and with the practice of the Church," Dr. Döllinger proceeds as follows to "mention three facts recorded in ecclesiastical history.

(1). "In the year 411, a Conference, consisting of 286 Catholic and 279 Donatist Bishops, assembled under the presidency of the imperial officer Marcellinus. Three sessions were held, at which the various points of doctrine which were at issue between the Catholics and Donatists,³ were fully discussed, and the decision was in favour of the Catholics.

(2). "Representatives of the Bohemian Calixtines⁴ were allowed to appear at the Council of Basle in 1433. A Decree, which had been issued by the Council of Constance eighteen years previously, concerning Communion under both species, was then submitted anew to discussion and examination. The result was that a compact, dictated by a wise and far-seeing policy, was entered into, by virtue of which important concessions were made to the Bohemians, derogating from the prohibition which had been laid down by the Council of Con-

¹ Continued from our June number.

² Several of Dr. Hergenröther's references to historical events and to doctrinal subjects, require for their full appreciation a knowledge of details not very familiar to persons who have not specially devoted themselves to the study of Ecclesiastical History, and of Dogmatic Theology. Some notes, therefore, are added, in which those references are more fully explained wherever any explanation seemed necessary. They are enclosed [thus] in brackets.

³ ["Donatistae . . . ecclesiam catholicam arguebant praevaricationis eo quod traditorum communione . . . contaminatam esse autumarent, quia Caecilianus juxta ipsos consecrationem episcopalem acceperat a Felice Aptungitano, sacrorum librorum traditore, et cum Caeciliano Ecclesia Romana adeoque Catholica communicabat.

"Ecclesiam ex solis justis et sanctis constitui, Donatistae autumarunt." PERRONE—*Praelectiones. Tractatus De Locis Theologicis*, pars. i., sect. 1, cap. ii. n. 66.]

⁴ [The Calixtines, so named from the Latin word *calix* (a chalice, a cup) were Bohemian sectaries, who claimed for the laity the right of receiving Communion under both species. Their views were not so extreme as those adopted by the members of another Bohemian sect, the Taborites, who urged the same claim, and of whom Dr. Hergenröther speaks in discussing this reference of Dr. Döllinger's.]

stance. This compact was afterwards ratified by the Holy See.

(3). "A still more pertinent precedent for the Conference which I propose, is to be found in the discussion, so celebrated in French ecclesiastical history, between Du Perron, the Bishop of Evreux, and the Protestant statesman and scholar, Du Plessis-Mornay, which took place at Fontainebleau, in the year 1600, at the suggestion and under the patronage of Henry IV. The point at issue was the charge preferred against Mornay, that he had falsified or quoted incorrectly a large number of the passages cited in his work on the Eucharist. The king himself presided: the most notable men of both churches were present as witnesses. After the lapse of a few days, and after a number of texts quoted by Mornay had been explained, the Conference was interrupted by his illness. Nevertheless, it produced on the public mind, which was then greatly agitated, an effect extremely favourable to the Catholic cause."

Let us examine these three events:—

(1). The Conference of Carthage, at which Saint Augustine gave such signal proof of his eminent oratorical and theological powers, was held at the desire of that great Saint and Doctor, with a view of restoring to Catholic unity the Donatists who had been separated from the Church for nearly a hundred years: it was held in spite of the opposition which the schismatics offered to the project, and under an imperial edict, the only authority to which they would submit. The questions with which it had to deal were two, the personal question whether Felix of Aptungis and Cecilian who had been ordained by him, were really *Traditores*; and a dogmatic question as to the essential constitution of the Catholic Church, namely, whether her sanctity was compromised by her toleration of heretics within her communion. On both points the Catholics were able to prove to demonstration that the Donatists were in the wrong: on the first point by a strictly legal argument, and on the second by distinguishing between the Church militant on earth, and the Church triumphant in heaven, thus setting aside the erroneous interpretation of the Scriptural texts on which the Donatists relied.¹

But, although the Catholic Bishops of Africa were willing to make every sacrifice, and although from their confidence in

¹["Quaeritur . . . quando Christus ecclesiam sibi exhibeat, qualis hic (*Ephes.* v. 27), describitur, scilicet gloriosam, non habentem maculam aut rugam . . . ut sanctam et immaculatam? Augustinus ita respondet ut doceat Apostoli verba non ad Ecclesiam qualis nunc est, sed qualis in consummatione saeculi ac beata resurrectione futura est, pertinere." ESTIUS in loc.]

the justice of their cause, and in the strength of the arguments by which it could be sustained, they were able, without iniquitude, to submit the whole controversy to an examination which afforded a hope of restoring to the Church a numerous body of schismatics long separated from her communion, the result was only a partial success. Many of the Donatist clergy and laity returned to the Church; but others, as Gaudentius of Thaumagade, became more obstinate in their error.

Above all, it must be borne in mind that the questions in dispute had not been decided by an Œcumenical Council; for the Council of Nice had not dealt directly with the affair of the Donatists. Obviously, then, this case cannot be regarded as a precedent for the Conference which Dr. Döllinger proposes to have assembled for the sole purpose of again subjecting to discussion a question which has been already decided by the definition of the Œcumenical Council.

(2). The examination at the Council of Basle, in 1433, of the Decree which had been enacted on the 15th of June, 1415, in the 13th session of the Council of Florence, was appealed to also by Leibnitz, when in his correspondence with Bossuet on the Union of the Churches he proposed a revision of the Decrees of the Council of Trent. Bossuet, who showed plainly that the proposal was inadmissible, pointed out that the examination which was made at the Council of Basle, had been undertaken for the sole purpose of throwing a clearer light upon the Decree of Constance, and not on account of any doubt which existed regarding its authority.¹

Besides, the question regarded a point of discipline, and not a dogma of faith. The Council of Constance had defined that the practice of administering Communion under one species only, had been lawfully introduced into the Church; that it could not be abrogated arbitrarily or without the sanction of the supreme ecclesiastical authority; and that all the faithful are bound, under pain of heresy, to accept this doctrine, as all are bound to believe that Christ is present, whole and entire, under each species. And, maintaining the existing discipline, the Council refused to allow the chalice to the laity. In the Decree of the Council of Basle it is set forth that the practice of administering Communion under one species only, has not been introduced by the Church without good and sufficient cause; that without the sanction of the Church no one is justified in deviating from the lawfully-established usage in this matter;

¹ "L'examen et la nouvelle discussion que le Concile de Basle vouloit faire du décret de Constance. étaient un examen, une discussion, non de doute mais de plus grand éclaircissement." Lettre à M. Leibnitz, 27 Dec., 1692. (Foucher de Careil. Œuvres de Leibnitz, tom. i. p. 349. Cf. Œuvres de Bossuet. Tom. xiv. Ed. Liege, 1767.)

that the Church possesses authority to allow Communion under both species ; and that the Council, exercising this authority, grants this concession to the faithful in Bohemia and Moravia, on condition of the clergy in those countries duly instructing their flocks on the necessity of believing the doctrine that Christ is present, whole and entire, under each species. This compact was agreed to by the Calixtines, but rejected by the Taborites.

The Council of Trent, having been urged by the Emperor Ferdinand and by several other princes to grant a similar concession, laid down the same dogmatic propositions, and reserved for future discussion the disciplinary question which, as considerable diversity of opinion upon the subject prevailed among the Fathers, was eventually referred to the Pope. On the 14th of July, 1564, the concession was granted, with several restrictions, by Pius IV. It failed, however, to produce the favourable results which had been anticipated from it, and was never subsequently renewed.¹

The question which was submitted to a new examination at Basle and at Trent was simply this : Whether, and under what conditions, the prevailing *discipline* regarding the administration of Communion might be modified : the doctrinal question was not raised at all. The point, however, which Dr. Döllinger proposes to have submitted to a new examination—an *examen revisionis*, too, and not a mere *examen elucidationis*—is not a matter of discipline but a dogma of faith, which has already been solemnly defined by an Œcumenical Council.

(3). No analogy can be traced between the Conference held at Fontainebleau in 1600, and that which Dr. Döllinger proposes, except in so far as he contemplates proving that Mgr. Cardoni, in his work on Papal Infallibility, and the Archbishop of Munich, in the pastoral letter which Dr. Döllinger has already criticised so severely, have “misquoted, mutilated, and falsified” the texts on which they rely. But even if the truth of these allegations were proved it would not in the slightest degree affect the authority of the definition, which is sustained also by other texts and arguments, to which neither Mgr. Cardoni nor the Archbishop has made any reference. And

¹ [The hopelessness of conciliating the Lutheran party by any such concession is obvious from the candid and characteristic avowal of Luther himself :—“If any Council commanded or even allowed us to receive under both species, we would no longer receive under both: but just to spite their Council and its Decree, we would then receive under one species, or not receive under any species at all.” “Si quod Concilium statueret aut permetteret utramque speciem, nos nequaquam utraque uti vellemus ; sed in despectum Concilii ejusque statuti, aut una aut neutra . . . uti vellemus.” LUTHER—*In Formula Missæ*, tom. ii., pp. 384-6.]

here it may not be out of place to remark that even if the Protestant Mornay had been enabled to establish the accuracy of many other quotations in addition to those that had been examined when the Conference was interrupted by his illness, his successful criticism would not have furnished a conclusive argument against the Catholic Dogma of the Eucharist as defined by the Council of Trent; for it not unfrequently happens that previous to the definition of a doctrine, ecclesiastical writers fail to express themselves with rigorous accuracy, as in the well-known instance of the ante-Nicene Fathers in reference to the doctrine of the Trinity.

Dr. Döllinger's proposal, then, that the dogmatic decrees of an Œcumenical Council which have been confirmed by the Pope, should be again submitted to examination in a Conference with a view of deciding whether they are to be accepted or rejected by the faithful, is not sustained by any of the instances which he has brought forward.

But there are, on the contrary, other historical precedents pointing to a conclusion very different from that which Dr. Döllinger has endeavoured to establish.

(I.) The Arians, after their condemnation at Nice, in 325, spared no effort to bring the authority of the Council into disrepute. Scandalous libels were published; disputations were held; the jealousy of princes was worked upon; those who had distinguished themselves as steadfast supporters of the Homoousion¹ were persecuted and banished. Numerous synods, too, were held by the Arian party, at some of which the decrees of the Œcumenical Council were ignored, at others they were formally condemned.

Of the opposition to the authority of the Council, St. Athanasius writes:—"To reject the truth which has been defined, and to set up another doctrine at variance with it, what is this but to impeach the authority of the Fathers and to defend the heresy which they have proscribed by their decree? And the opposition which is offered to the Council does not proceed from love of truth, but from artifice and intrigue; the policy of its authors is to deceive the faithful, and by the circulation of their writings, to gain time for the propagation of their heresy, which, working in secret, is cor-

¹[*Homoousion* was the word employed by the Council of Nice to express the Catholic faith regarding the divinity of our Lord. It signifies, as is indicated by its etymology ὁμος *the same*, and οὐσία *nature*), the identity of nature of the Father and the Son. The Arians who, of course, rejected the term employed the word *Homoiousion* (ὁμοιος *like*, and οὐσία *nature*) to express their doctrine, that the nature of the Father and Son are similar but not identical. The term *Homoousion* thus became the touchstone of orthodoxy.]

rupting, like a gangrene, everything within its reach.¹ Although," he adds, "they form only a small minority, they wish their views to prevail over those of all the faithful, and they claim respect for the decrees of their clandestine meetings, while they ignore or set aside the authority of the Council and its definitions."² And elsewhere he asks:—"How is it possible to vindicate the conduct of those who venture, even in thought, to refuse obedience to the authority of this great and Œcumenical Council?"³

But the Nicene faith triumphed over all the artifices of the heretics. Neither sophistry nor persecution could avail in opposition to the authority of the Council. The Fathers of the Church declared that its definition should be upheld without the alteration of a single letter; for they knew that it had been compiled under the guidance of the Holy Ghost.⁴

(2). The Nestorians,⁵ condemned by the Third General Council, employed, like the Arians, every available means to procure the abrogation of the sentence which had been pronounced against them. John, the Patriarch of Antioch, held a counter-synod: he and his adherents misrepresented and cast doubts upon the orthodoxy of the letter of St. Cyril, to which the Council had given its sanction; but, eventually, on their submitting to the dogmatic decrees of the Council, they were again received into communion by the Saint. The Bishops of some eastern provinces petitioned Pope Sixtus III. for a revision of the decree of condemnation, a request which, it is unnecessary to add, the Pope refused to grant.

For a time, severe measures were not employed against the opponents of the Council; for many of them had been led into error by a mistaken view on some personal controversies which they confounded with the main question at issue: some, for instance, believed that Nestorius had fallen a victim to the personal hostility of St. Cyril of Alexandria, whose orthodoxy was not, at that time, universally recognised. However, the necessity of submitting to the authority of the Council was insisted upon; and it was on this basis alone that the reconciliation between St. Cyril and the Patriarch John was effected. This reconciliation, it may not be out of place to remark, was not brought about by disputations, but by a

¹ *Epist. ad Episc. Aeg. et Libyae*, n. 5. ² *Ibid.*, n. 7. ³ *De Decret. Nic. Syn.* n. 4.

⁴ *Epist. S. Athan. et Episc. Aeg. ad African.*, n. 1, et seq.

⁵ [The Nestorian heresy assailed the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. In opposition to the Catholic doctrine that there are two natures and only one person in Christ, that is to say, the divine and human natures united in one divine person, Nestorius taught that there are two persons as well as two natures. This doctrine was condemned by the Third General Council held at Ephesus in 431.]

private exchange of views through the medium of letters and confidential messengers.

But the opposition to the Council did not terminate with the submission of the Patriarch. Some of his adherents continued to publish attacks upon its authority; and even went so far as to establish a Nestorian church, which has dragged on a miserable existence to the present day.

(3). Still more troublesome intrigues were set on foot against the authority of the Fourth General Council. The Archimandrite Eutyches, after being condemned in 448 by his Bishop, Flavian, the Patriarch of Constantinople, had been sustained, in opposition to the episcopal sentence, by the power of the imperial court. He asserted, without however being able to make good his allegation, that the acts of the Synod at which Flavian had condemned him had been falsified: but after a fruitless appeal to the Holy See, he was condemned by the Pope, and the condemnation was renewed in 451 at the Fourth General Council.

Throughout the entire East, for more than a hundred years, the most violent opposition was offered by the Eutychians,¹ or, as they were also called, the Monophysites, to the authority of this Council. In Alexandria, Timothy Eleurus, after seizing on the Patriarchate, petitioned the Emperor Leo I. to procure the assembling of another Œcumenical Council. The proposal was steadfastly resisted by Pope Leo the Great, on the ground that the doctrines of Eutyches had been condemned at Chalcedon by an Œcumenical Council, acting under the infallible guidance of the Holy Ghost, and that the question could not therefore be re-opened.² He also pointed out that if decrees enacted by an authority which is recognised by all, were liable to be set aside at the request of those whose errors they proscribe, the bonds of ecclesiastical authority would be loosened, and religious strife, so far from being extinguished, would be sustained and fostered by the licence thus given to heretical teaching.³ "Has not the Church of Christ been built upon a rock, and were not those words addressed to Blessed

¹ [The Eutychian heresy was, like the error of the Nestorians, at variance with the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, Eutyches, in refuting Nestorius, having been led into the opposite extreme. He denied the distinction of natures, teaching that there is only one nature, as there is only one person in Christ. This doctrine was condemned at Chalcedon in 451, by the Fourth General Council.]

² S. LEO MAGNUS. *Ep. 145 ad Leon. Aug.*, p. 1301, Ed. Ballerini.

³ *Id. Ep. 156 ad eund.* c. i. p. 1321 et seq.—"Nam cum sancto et spirituali studio in universam pacem Ecclesie munitis, nihilque sit convenientius fidei defendendae, quam his quae per omnia spiritu sancto instruente irreprehensibiliter definita sunt, inhaerere: ipsi videbimur bene statuta convellere et auctoritates quas Ecclesia universalis amplexa est, ad arbitrium haereticæ petitionis infringere, atque ita nullum collidendis ecclesiis modum ponere sed data licentia rebellandi dilatare magis quam sopire certamina."

Peter, the Prince of the Apostles:—‘*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.*’ Who, then, but Antichrist or the devil would venture to assail this impregnable fortress? Who can doubt that the strife by which it is now assailed proceeds from the machinations of the evil one—unchangeable in evil, working through fitting instruments of his deceit, and propagating lies, under the mask of an earnest desire for investigating the truth.”¹ And in the same letter he exhorts the Emperor steadfastly to discountenance those who have forfeited their title to the name of Christians, and not to allow questions concerning the Christian faith to be treated by impious parricides who obviously aim at the destruction of that faith, the dogmas of which they undertake, with sacrilegious hypocrisy, to explain.²

The same line was taken by the Pope in writing to Anatolius of Constantinople, to the Egyptian Bishops who were still remaining there, and to the clergy of the church of that city.³

The Monophysites petitioned the Emperor to allow at least a religious Conference, a request which he regarded as equitable, and consequently granted. In accordance with the Emperor’s wishes, legates were sent to this Conference by Pope Leo; but it must not be supposed that the Pope in any way abandoned the principles which he had previously laid down as fundamental;⁴ the legates, as he took care to point out, were sent only to instruct the ignorant and not to engage in controversy with the enemies of the faith:⁵ the authority of the definition of the Council of Chalcedon should not be

¹ “Qui falso diligentiae nomine, dum veritatem se mentitur inquirere, mendacia desiderat seminaræ.” *Ibid.* cap. ii., p. 1323.

² “Ut constanter despicias et repellas eos qui ipsi se christiano nomine privavere; nec patiaris impios parridas sacrilega simulatione de fide agere, quos constat velle fidem evacuare.” *Ibid.* cap. 3.

³ *Epist.* 157, p. 1326 et seq.; *epist.* 158, p. 1328; *epist.* 160, cap. ii., p. 1337; *epist.* 161, p. 1337, et seq.

⁴ “Non sinantur contra dexteræ omnipotentis triumphos redivivis assurgere motibus extincta certamina, praesertim cum id damnatis jam dudum haereticorum ausibus non liceat et hic fructus piis laboribus debeatur ut omnis Ecclesiae plenitudo in suae unitatis soliditate secunda permaneat nihilque prorsus de bene compositis retractetur; quia post legitimas et divinitus inspiratas constitutiones velle configere non pacifici est animi sed rebellis, dicente Apostolo:—Verbis enim contendere ad nihil est utile, nisi ad subversionem audientium (2 Tim. ii. 24).”—*Ibid.* *Epist.* 162, cap. 1-2, p. 1339; *Epist.* 164, cap. 1., p. 1345.

⁵ “Praenoscat igitur pietas tua . . . hos quos spondeo dirigendos, non ad configendum cum hostibus fidei nec ad certandum contra illos a sede apostolica profecturos; quia de rebus . . . definitis nullum audemus inire tractatum tanquam dubia vel infirma sint quae tanta per Spiritum Sanctum fixit auctoritas.”—*Id.* *Epist.* 162, cap. 3.

“Instructioni autem parvulorum nostrorum, qui post lactis alimoniam cibo desiderant solidiore satari, ministerii nostri praesidium non negamus, et sicut simpliciores non spernimus ita a rebellibus haereticis abstinemus, memores praecepti Domini dicentis, ‘Nolite dare sanctum canibus’” (Matt. vii. 6).—*Ibid.*, cap. 4.

called in question :¹ the Monophysites should not be admitted to the communion of the Church until they had made full satisfaction for their obstinate resistance to authority:² the vain sophistry of crafty disputants should not be allowed to obscure the faith of Christ.³ According, then, to this great Pontiff, such conferences are not allowable when the object proposed is to enable obstinate opponents of Catholic doctrine and of ecclesiastical authority to parade the arguments by which they endeavour to justify their disobedience: the authority of an Œcumenical Council must not be called in question: the faithful cannot be allowed to select at pleasure the doctrines which they will believe: the only point which they have to examine in reference to a dogma is, whether it has been proposed for their belief by the authority of the Church.⁴ Surely it is unnecessary to point out the intimate bearing which these letters of the great Saint Leo have upon the issue raised by the author of the "Declaration."

In the meantime, as the Monophysites displayed great activity even in the imperial city itself, the Emperor issued a circular letter calling on the various metropolitans to assemble their Provincial Synods for an expression of opinion upon the personal affair of Eleurus, as well as upon the authority of the Decrees of Chalcedon. With the sole exception of the Synod of Perga in Pamphilia, all the Synods declared that the Decrees of the Council were sacred and inviolable; they also condemned Eleurus, against whom the Emperor now, at length, began to act with considerable energy.⁵

¹ S. LEO MAGNUS, *Epist.* 162, cap. 12; *epist.* 163; *epist.* 164, cap. 3.

² "Cum S. Synodus Chalcedonensis . . omnem Eutychniani dogmatis impietatem a corpore catholice communionis absciderit. quomodo erit cuiquam ipsorum ad ecclesiasticam pacem recursus, nisi perfecta fuerit satisfactio purgatus? Nam quae istis tribui potest licentia disserendi qui justo sanctoque iudicio meruere damnari?"—*Id. Epist.* 164, cap. 3.

³ "Jactent se in sui eloquii vanitate et de argumentationum versutia, quae inimica est fidei, gloriantur: nobis placet Apostoli obedire praeceptis dicentis:—'Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem seductionem hominum' (Coloss. ii. 8.)"—*Id. Epist.* 162, cap. 2.

"Nam si humanis persuasionibus semper disceptare sit liberum, nunquam deesse poterunt qui veritati audeant resultare et de mundanae sapientiae loquacitate confidere, cum hanc nocentissimam vanitatem quantum debeat fides et sapientia christiana vitare ex ipsa D. N. Jesu Christi institutione cognoscat (1 Cor. i. 17-20). Argumenta enim rhetorica et institutae ab hominibus versutiae disputandi in eo praecipue gloriantur, si in rebus incertis et opinionum varietate confusis ad hoc audientium trahant sensum quod asserendum ingenio et eloquio suo quisque delegerit, et ita fit ut quod majore facundia defenditur, verius aestimetur. Sed Christi Evangelium hac arte non indiget."—*Id. Epist.* 164, cap. 2.

⁴ "Nec quaeritur quid auribus placeat, ubi verae fidei sufficit scire quis doceat." *Id. Epist.*, 164, cap. 2.

⁵ See DÖLLINGER. *Lehrbuch der Kirch. Geschichte*, p. 134. NEANDER. *Kirch. Geschichte*, vol. i., p. 710, third ed.; and on the Circular Letter, HEFELE. *Concil.*, vol. ii., p. 401.

Later on, many other religious Conferences were held in various portions of the East, with a view to bringing about a reconciliation between the Monophysites and the Church, as for instance, the conference held at Constantinople, in 533, under the emperor Justinian,¹ and several others at Alexandria, some of which are mentioned by Anastasius the Sinaite;² the majority of these were of a merely private character. The discussion between Saint Maximus and the Monothelite Pyrrhus³ was held before the condemnation of the Monothelites by the sixth Œcumenical Council.

(4.) Occasionally the Popes, influenced by the wisest motives, have considered it expedient not to insist immediately upon the formal recognition of the œcumenicity of a General Council, allowing the question to remain for a while in abeyance;⁴ but they have never tolerated any attempt made by the opponents of a General Council, to resist its authority; on the contrary, they have at all times resolutely withstood the efforts of those who would reject or abrogate any such Council after its confirmation by the Holy See, as for instance, the eighth Œcumenical Council, rejected by the Greek Schismatics, but always upheld by the Western Church.

The tradition of the Church regarding the authority of General Councils, is splendidly illustrated by the letters of the holy abbot Theodore, the Studite, in reference to the proposal of the Emperors Leo III. and Michael II., that a conference between the Catholics and Iconoclasts should be held, at which Leo wished to act in person as umpire, whilst Michael favored the appointment of an umpire of Catholic sympathies. The imperial project, equivalent in effect to a rejection of the authority of the seventh General Council, at which the heresy of the Iconoclasts had been condemned, was opposed on this ground, as Theodore tells us, by the Patriarch Nicephorus and by the Bishops and Abbots of the East. To assemble such a conference was, in their view, unlawful: it was unprecedented in the history of the Church: the question in dispute was not of merely human interest: it regarded the truths of faith which are revealed by God, and on which none have a right to pronounce a decision, save those to whom Christ has addressed these words:—“*Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be*

¹ DÖLLINGER. *Ibid.* p. 139.

² Hodeg. c. 10 et seq. (Migne, Pp. gr. lxxxix. p. col. 149 et seq.)

³ See Migne, *Ibid.* xci., fol. 287, et seq.

⁴ Thomassinus (Diss. 19 in Syn. v. nn. 14-26. pp. 630-41) says:—“*Quintæ Synodi memoriam alicubi aliquamdiu sileri, indultum a Romanis Pontificibus ex necessaria tunc saltem dispensatione ubi regnorum et populorum strages antevertendæ erant.*” And an instance of a somewhat similar line of action is furnished by the history of the Seventh Œcumenical Council.

bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven"—(Matt. xviii. 19.)—that is to say, the Apostles and their successors, the occupants of the Roman See, and the other Patriarchs, lawfully constituted judges, by whom the orthodox doctrine had been defined, and the Iconoclast Council of 754 condemned, at the Œcumenical Council of 787, in the reign of the Empress Irene. The Catholics, he goes on to say, demand the restoration of the Patriarch Nicephorus, who might effect the re-establishment of religious unity, either by sending an embassy to Rome, or by holding a Council in conjunction with the bishops that had remained faithful to the Church, and with the other Patriarchs, or, at least, with the Pope of Rome, from whom the authority of the Œcumenical Councils is derived. But, he adds, if the Emperor should not accede to this request, and should continue to regard Nicephorus as having wandered from the truth, then they propose that both parties shall send deputies to Rome, and thus ascertain the orthodox faith.¹

And on another occasion, writing to the Emperor Michael, in the name of the Catholic Bishops and Archimandrites, he tells the Emperor that in worldly matters, and in those things which fall within the sphere of the imperial authority, they would willingly submit to the imperial wishes; but in those things which belong to God, as in questions of faith, they were not competent to relinquish one iota of their independence. Without violating the apostle's warning—"a man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, avoid," (Titus iii., 10.), they could hold no conference with heretics, except for the purpose of correcting their heretical errors.² Nor ought the Emperor to rely upon the authority of the Patriarchs for a solution of the difficulty: in conformity with the ancient usage, a decision should be obtained from the Roman See, to the first Bishop of which, blessed Peter, those words were addressed by Christ:—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."³—(Matt. xvi. 18).

To the Abbot Auxentius he wrote:—"Let the enemies of Christ quarrel amongst themselves as they will. It is not our duty nor would it be seemly that we should hold converse with men who have rejected the teaching of Christ, our true God, who have spurned the warnings of the apostle, and who hold the teaching of the Holy Fathers in abhorrence. 'Let them alone,' said the Lord, 'they are blind.'—(Matt. xv. 14). And our intercourse with them would not be merely unprofit-

¹ THEODOR. STUD., Lib. ii., epist. 129. (Migne, PP. gr. xcix. p. 1417-20).

² *Ibid.*, Lib. ii., Epist. 86, p. 1329, et seq. ³ *Ibid.* p. 1332.

able: we could not hope to preserve our faith unimpaired, if we exposed ourselves to the poison of their discourse."¹

In a letter to the Emperor Michael II. and his son Theophilus, Theodore whilst commending their exertions for the restoration of peace, urges the following objections to the course which they proposed—(1) That Catholics are forbidden by the Apostles and by the Fathers of the Church to parley on questions of faith with obstinate heretics. (2) That the right of deciding such questions belongs to those alone who have received authority from God, through the communication of the Holy Ghost. (3) That the Seventh Œcumenical Council had already decided the question in dispute between the Catholics and the Iconoclasts, and had moreover established the truth of the Catholic doctrine by arguments drawn from four distinct sources—the light of reason, the teaching of the Fathers, the canons and decrees of Councils, and the ancient usages of the Church.²

The universal rule, now inserted in the body of the Canon Law, was expressed in the following terms by Pope Gelasius: "The authority of lawfully assembled Councils has at all times been upheld with the utmost watchfulness by our predecessors. Acting under the inspiration of God, they have never consented that after a question had been decided by the decree of a Council defining the Catholic and Apostolic faith, the authority of the Council should be compromised by a discussion upon the truth of the defined doctrine, lest an opportunity should thus be presented to the evil-minded to subvert what has been established in so salutary a way. On the contrary, they have at all times proclaimed that when an unorthodox doctrine and its author have once been condemned, all who at any time embrace the errors thus proscribed are, by virtue of the original decree, involved in the condemnation."

I shall conclude this portion of my subject in the words of Bossuet, a writer who although a determined opponent of the dogma of the Pope's Infallibility, would, beyond question, have accepted it in obedience to the definition of the Œcumenical Council. On the 28th of August, 1692, he wrote to Leibnitz as follows:—"Before concluding this letter I shall lay before you two unquestionable statements of historical fact:—that, in the first place, the history of the Catholic Church supplies no instance in which a doctrinal question has been decided in a sense adverse to previous dogmatic definitions; and, secondly, that neither is it possible to find an instance in which a dogmatic definition, once pronounced, has been in after ages deprived of its dogmatic authority."

¹ THEODOR. STUD., Epist. 184, p. 1568, Cf. Vita S. Theodori, c. 72, p. 181.

² *Ibid.* Epist. 199, pp. 1600, et seq.

II.—IRISH COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

(See RECORD, page 313).

Salamanca, April 27th, 1872.

GENTLEMEN,—The writer who gave the short but interesting notice of the Colleges of Seville, Alcala, and Lisbon in your issue of this month, says he does so with the hope that others, with more means of information, may treat of them more at large. In compliance with that invitation I send you an account of the foundation of the Irish College of Seville for your issue of the month of July.

Your obedient servant,

To the Editor of the RECORD.

WM. M'D.

SEVILLE.

The College of Seville was founded in 1612, which is the first date we meet with in its records, although we are given to understand that a number of Irish students had died in a plague which visited the city some time previously; and from the licence granted by Don Antonio Caetano, Archbishop of Capua, Nuncio in Spain in the year 1612, to collect alms for the *Junta, or body of Irish Students of Seville*, we are led to believe there was a college or seminary there of some kind; but it had no distinct form before the year 1612. Its object was to educate and train young men for the then arduous and dangerous Irish mission. Young Irishmen who had already studied the preliminary branches were admitted free, and were taught philosophy for three years and theology for four; so that the course was of seven years. They made these studies in the house and went to the Jesuit College of St. Hermenigild to class. After the Jesuits took possession of the Irish College in 1619, as shall be stated hereafter, the students, besides their ordinary class, had frequent literary exercises at home in lectures, conferences, and controversy. The masters from St. Hermenigild and the superiors of the house always attended these exercises, which were calculated to make practical the theoretical knowledge they acquired in class.

Thus instructed and prepared, these worthy ministers of the Gospel, and future glorious workers in the vineyard of the Lord in Ireland, returned disguised to their native country to preach and teach, and administer the sacraments, and, as an old document tells us—"to encourage and sustain their fellow-countrymen in the Catholic faith, to repel and combat heretics, the sworn enemies of our young pupils, and to declare and sustain a bloody warfare against the false dogmas and heresies of the North, from which combat they came out the greater conquerors when apparently most vanquished, for some suffered exile, others the loss of liberty in chains and dungeons, and not a few laid down their lives on the public

scaffold, or were beheaded by the cruel steel of the pitiless executioner." And I may here remark that all the information I give about this College is taken from documents in the archives of the Irish College in Salamanca.

Lest the horrors of the persecution to which they would be exposed in their own land, or the longing after the fleshpots of the rich and fertile Andalusia, should prevent them from either embracing the ecclesiastical state or returning to Ireland on the completion of their studies, these young Levites had to take the following oath on their entrance into the College:—Ego N. Collegii Hybernorum Hispalensis Alumnus, considerans Omnipotentis Dei erga me singularia beneficia, et illud in primis quod à Patria ab hereticis infestata me dignatus est educere Catholicae suae Ecclesiae numero associando, cupiensque tantae misericordiae pro modulo meo satisfacere: Propono me totum ejus obsequio mancipare, hujus Collegii finem, quam proxime potero, exequando, ejusdem Collegii instituta Ritus et Regulas servando, sed et bonum ejus, quantum in me fuerit, promovendo. Juroque Omnipotenti Deo, coram sacratissima Virgine Deipara Maria, nostro patrono titulari Sancto Patritio, et Curia celesti universa, me animo dehinc paratum fore ad Sacros Ordines Sacerdotii suscipiendos, et in Hyberniam (Divino me spiritu ducente) ad proximorum animas lucrandas reversurum, quando Superiori hujus Collegii pro nostri instituti ratione utrumque praecipere mihi visum fuerit in Domino. Juroque me fideliter celebraturum pro intentione Reverendi Patris Superioris hujus Collegii omnes missas quas celebravero, quamdiu fuero praefati Collegii alumnus, dicto Patre Superiore concedente mihi vel facultatem celebrandi pro mea intentione, vel ordinarium unius missae stipendium pro singulis septimanis; voveoque Sanctissimum Immaculatae Conceptionis Deiparæ semper Virginis Mysterium¹ toto conatu usque ad sanguinis effusionem (si necesse fuerit) me defensurum. Datum Hispali, anno, &c. Si est sacerdos omittatur:—Ad sacros ordines suscipiendos.

This oath was common to all the Irish Colleges in Spain, and the ceremonies attending its administration were curious. After Mass the collegians were all summoned by the bell to attend in the church, on the high altar of which the Blessed Sacrament was exposed. The freshman came forward with his college costume on, but with the *beca*, or band of cloth that doubles on the breast, and falls over the shoulders, folded up,

¹ On the 2nd May, 1618, the University of Salamanca passed a statute compelling all its Doctors, Masters, Licentiates, and Bachelors to swear to defend the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin in the first instant of her being. This oath is still observed at the reception of degrees.—*Vidal, Memoria Historica de la Universidad de Salamanca, cap. v.*

and before all read the oath in a clear voice, so as to be heard by all in the church, the doors of which were open. After he read it, he signed and handed it to the Rector, who then unfolded the *beca* on his shoulders, and gave him Holy Communion. After this, all retired to the vestry, where, with his hand on the Gospels, before a cross, the new student made a profession of faith according to the formula of Gregory XIII., abjuring all heresies, and particularly the new ones of the North.

Besides the Irish students who were kept free, pensionists were admitted, both Irish and Spanish, who paid for their maintenance, and lived under distinct rules. We shall now go to the foundation.

Father Richard Pichardo, who was rector twice, and a great benefactor of this College, in a little work he published, called *Notes*, says, at No. 3:—"This seminary commenced to take the form of a College and community (and it would be, undoubtedly, with the approbation of the ordinary, as it could not otherwise subsist either *de facto* or *de jure*), from the year 1612, as we find from some papers and memoranda," &c. He cites and follows Don Diego Ortiz de Zuñiga, who, in his *Annales de Sevilla, Libro 16*, at the year 1618, No. 3, says:—"About this time some pious people of Seville, and particularly a devout and zealous priest, who afterwards entered the Society of Jesus, seeing the advantage which resulted to the secret Christianity of England from the College that nation had in Seville, desired to establish one in favour of the Irish, no less in need, and for many reasons more deserving of it from Spain, which took place, as I find in some records, in the year 1612. They had a house with some form of College, which was fostered and assisted by the Christianity and piety of Don Felix de Guzman, a Sevillian noble, archdeacon and canon, who thought it would be useful and advantageous if the Society of Jesus would charge itself with its government, as it did with that of the English. About which he applied to the Society, and the king," &c. I may here remark that the English College was never incorporated with the Irish, but remained distinct up to the suppression of the Jesuits, soon after which the Irish, as we shall see, was incorporated with the College of Salamanca, and the English with that of the same nation in Valladolid. The buildings, as the present writer can testify, are yet quite distinct.

It would appear the authors I have quoted did not see the licence to collect alms granted by Don Antonio Caetano, already referred to, and from which I gather that we are right in fixing the first informal beginning of this College some time

anterior to 1612 ; for, on the 8th June, the date of the licence, it was already a Junta or reunion of Irish students. The fragment called the "*Origin, Progress, and State of the Irish Seminary of Seville, of the Pure Conception of the Virgin Mother of God, Our Lady,*" and, as added in the handwriting of Father Conway, "*of the Catholic Faith,*" gives us no more information. The date of this fragment is 1620. There are some erasures and emendations by Father Conway. It begins by briefly relating the persecution of England under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and contains many things of which I shall make use in the present article. The following quotation is from it :—

"Finally, the Catholic laity seeing everything was against them (*de capa caida*), and in a state of irremediable desperation, sent those children whom they intended for the divine ministry to foreign parts and Catholic countries to prosecute their studies, that the holy faith might not be completely extinguished in their country, but in the course of time preserved and augmented. Some of these came to certain districts of Catholic Spain, but particularly to Castille and Portugal, where they were received and protected by the Catholic kings and other servants of God, so that the College of Salamanca, and afterwards that of Lisbon, were thus founded, and given in charge to the Society of Jesus by his Catholic Majesty. And as many noble youths, virtuous and deserving, left their country with this object, and the means of supporting them were limited, they determined to seek a remedy in other parts of Spain, and particularly in the royal and noble city of Seville, where they found shelter, favour, and protection. And although we have notice of the arrival of some of these noble youths at an early date, who all died of a fearful plague which took place here, their principal origin and beginning arose out of the following.

"A zealous youth, called Theobald Stapleton, otherwise Galduf, with the desire of increasing the number of Catholics in his country, left Lisbon, where he was a student, without telling anyone of his intention. Recommending himself to God and the Blessed Virgin, he reached the residence of the noble and pious Duke of Braganza, and told him he wanted to found a seminary of his nation in Seville. The Duke gave him letters of recommendation to the archbishop and governor and other persons of Seville, with a good viaticum, a part of which he spent in purchasing a blue habit and the cross which the students of Lisbon wore on their breast. And thus he arrived in Seville, animated more by the confidence he had in the Holy Virgin than by the human favours he received.

A good number of his fellow-country students united with him in a short time. He took a house and sought food for them, for which he neglected his own studies, that they might prosecute theirs with more freedom, and be able to give a good account of themselves. He procured for their direction a priest from the College of Salamanca called James Carney, who did them great service for a considerable time, till he determined on going to Ireland to comply with his obligation, and procure the salvation of his fellow-countrymen, leaving the town highly edified by his example, and the devil invidious of the good he feared might result from his work here. The devil determined to persecute Theobald through his own and strangers, and raise obstacles at the commencement of his work. The students did not find that encouragement they might expect from the prelate, who forbade them to wear the dress of collegians, because they had neither house, nor rent, nor fixed alms. Withal they managed to support themselves, like paupers at the doors of the convents of this city, but suffered on all sides great afflictions and privations, and the good Theobald manifest dangers of his life. Three soldiers, incited by the complaints of his domestic companions, conspired against his life, but died miserably without effecting their object in different parts and in a short time. Others beat him with sticks, and the good Theobald, bruised and sore, had to keep his bed for some days; but recovering his health, and recognising the work of the devil in all this, he gathered new strength to prosecute his good intentions." Stapleton left no stone unturned to procure the means of subsistence for his young community. He threw himself heart and soul into his work, and when he exhausted the resources of Seville, went with a companion, called Charles Reano¹ to Madrid, where he procured large means. Worn out by his exertions and labours, and broken down by the many disappointments and repulses he met with, he at last returned to Ireland, where he crowned all his labours by a glorious martyrdom. When administering Holy Communion one day, he was stabbed with a dagger in the breast, and his precious soul passed to receive its reward in the kingdom of heaven. "He was the protomartyr of the College of Seville, which afterwards became prolific of martyrs, and where he had served his apprenticeship of martyrdom."

Among the many who assisted him in the good work of the foundation of the College, Don Felix de Guzman deserves the first place. He took a deep interest in it from the first,

¹ This is the Spanish of his name, and although he was an Irishman, I know no corresponding Irish name.

and assigned it a monthly subsidy out of his own resources, besides making interest for it with others, and particularly with the king and the Society of Jesus, which he induced in the end to accept its government. He died bishop elect of Majorca, and left the College his universal heir. Another great benefactor was Don Geronimo de Medina Farragut, who, when the students had no fixed abode, invited them to his house, and lived among them for two years, edified, as he says himself, by their piety and good conduct. When the Society took charge of the College in 1619, he made it an absolute grant of his houses valued at four thousand crowns. Philip III. deserves to be mentioned also, for he took an interest in the struggling community, and not only assigned it five hundred crowns, but wrote commendatory letters in its favour to the archbishop and the authorities of the town, whom he permitted to allot to it forty crowns a year. The archbishop never gave anything of his own, but after the king's letter he allowed the students to wear their college dress.

During all this time, from 1612 to 1619, the College was under the direction of several secular priests who were not very successful in their government; for the carelessness and disorder which existed almost ruined it. The first, as we have seen, was James Carney, who was succeeded by another Irishman called Maurice Reagan; and then came four Spaniards in succession, Don Nicolas Romero, Don Juan de Menessus, Don Juan de Estrada, and Don Barnabas de San Roman. Guzman and Medina, seeing things going from bad to worse, renewed their exertions to induce the Society of Jesus to accept the government. Guzman offered to support the fathers who might be sent to it, and Medina to make over, as he did, the houses the students occupied, on the sole condition that the College should be called of the "*Pure Conception of the Virgin Mother of God, Our Lady, and of the Holy Catholic Faith,*" which name it retained ever after. It was also called in the town the *Colegio de los Chiquitos*, or *the College of the little ones*. This name is supposed to come from an expression in a letter of Philip III., where he calls them *noble Irish children*. The street to this day is called the *Calle de los Chiquitos*, and even a tavern adjoining the old College is called *La taberna de los Chiquitos*, which amused the present writer considerably when he saw it.

Father Thomas White, the founder of most of our other Irish colleges in the Peninsula, was in Rome at this time, and several persons wrote to him telling him of the state of affairs, and beseeching him to endeavour to have the College of Seville placed in care of the Jesuits, as those of Salamanca,

Lisbon, and Santiago were. He applied to the General of the Society, Father Vetelesqui, to take the matter up. The General wrote to Father Augustin de Quirros, Provincial of Andalusia, who, on the 11th April, 1619, held a consultation with his most experienced fathers, and laid before them the letter of the General, another from the Protector of the College, Don Felix Guzman, offering to support the Fathers who might go to it, as also the letters his Majesty had written on the subject, with the reasons and motives drawn up by Father Richard Conway to induce the Society to accept the charge. The resolution come to at this consultation was, that notwithstanding the grave difficulties which presented themselves, it was in conformity with the zeal and spirit of the Society to receive the Irish College under its care and Government. The Provincial immediately communicated this resolution to the General, who answered him in the following words, on the 17th June, 1619:—

“I thank your Reverence and the others who were present at the consultation, which you say you held, about taking charge of the Irish College of Seville, for the good and religious resolution you came to, for it is worthy of true sons of the Society which incessantly aims at the salvation of souls.” About the same time the Provincial also received another letter from the King, procured by Don Felix de Guzman, in which he renews his recommendation in the following words:—

“The King: Rev. and devout Father Augustin de Quirros, Provincial of the Society of Jesus, in Andalusia.—Persons zealous in the service of our Lord, and for the preservation and increase of the Catholics in Ireland, have told me that it would be of great importance to encourage and direct the students of that nation who come to the College they have in the city of Seville, and that this would be best done if the Society of Jesus would take charge of it as it has of those which are in Lisbon, Santiago, Salamanca, and Flanders. And I, who have always desired and procured the increase of the Catholic faith in Ireland, have received their petition graciously, and I charge you to receive the government of said College in the same way as the Society has that of those of Lisbon and the other places I have mentioned, and besides the service of God which can result from it, I shall look on myself as served in it. Lisbon, 25 July, 1619. I, THE KING. John de Civica.”

After some more consultations the matter was finally settled; and on the 20th August, 1619, the Jesuits took possession, and Father Richard Conway became the first rector. At his in-

stallation, and the taking possession, Don Felix de Guzman and Don Geronimo De Medina, the constant and munificent benefactors of the poor exiles, attended, and in neat speeches manifested the joy with which their hearts were filled on beholding the realization of their hopes, and the happy consummation of all their labours. They did not drop their connexion with the house, nor lose their interest in it, till their death, but remained its steady and anxious friends.

In the 1st Book of Accounts, which commences on the day the Society took possession, it is said that Father Conway, the first rector, found the following collegians:—William Supple, Philip Hogan, Daniel Brodin, and James Dillon, priests; and Thadeus Hea and Thomas Lid. There must, however, have been more, for I find in another place that the number of collegians on the occasion of Father Conway's instalment was fifteen, who made a cession of all their rights and property to the Society, as well on their own behalf as on behalf of their successors. I find the names of some of these were Peter Conrad, Christopher Cleary, Peter Sacrobosque,¹ William Joyce, Mathew Lynch, and John Blake.

From 1619 to 1767 nothing of importance occurred. The rectors were changed every year, and we have a complete list of them, as also of the students during that period, with the dates of their entrance and leaving, or their death. Among them we find many martyrs, and several bishops and archbishops.

On the morning of the 3rd of April, 1767, in virtue of the pragmatic sanction of Charles III. of the preceding day, and of the decree for the banishment of the Jesuits from the Spanish possessions, the deputy mayor of Seville presented himself with an armed force before the Irish, as he did also before the English colleges, and put into execution the orders he had, by transporting the Fathers to Xerez to await shipment to the Papal states. There were then only four Irish students in the house—John Blanchville, James Keating, Eugene O'Brien, and William Fitzgerald, and twenty-three Spanish pensionists. O'Brien and Fitzgerald were soon after expelled, because they had no commendatory letters from their bishops, and were besides turbulent; Blanchville went home, and Michael Brander, William Dooly, and William Travers were admitted.

His Majesty, in council extraordinary, was pleased to incorporate with Salamanca the Colleges of the same nation in Seville and Santiago in 1769, with all their goods, rents, and rights. In the councils of 17th June and 17th July,

¹ Hollywood.

the mayor of Salamanca, Emanuel Joachim Vega Melendez, and the rector of the Irish College, were authorized to administer the property, which was declared exempt from the confiscation of the temporalities of the regulars of the Society; and the four students' who remained were transferred to Salamanca on the 13th November. The material edifice was handed over to the corporation, who paid the Irish College of Salamanca the half of its value, and the Government the other half.

Thus ends the history of this once famous College of Seville, which gave so many heroes of the faith to Ireland in the days of her sighs and tears wrung from her by the persecution—the barbarous, relentless persecution she endured; and it only remains for me to say that I paid a visit to that city in the early part of the present year. It is situated on the banks of the Guadalquivir, and is perfumed by the aroma of its flowers and lemon and orange groves. The climate is delicious in winter; frost and snow are unknown, and invalids seek its warm salubrious temperature during the cold season; but in summer it is fearfully hot, and proved fatal to many—alas! too many—of our poor Hibernian youths. I made a pilgrimage to the old Irish house, and found it, to my great satisfaction, in being; but, alas, how changed! The corporation sold it to a gentleman of the town, who has it now let in rooms to thirty-six families, not one of whom knew it had ever been an Irish College, although the very street is called from it! I entered its portals with feelings of awe and deep respect, and dreamily trod its corridors and galleries, filled with veneration for every old stone I saw; nay, when I reflected on all the hardships, privations, and degradations its first occupants had to endure to prepare themselves for the successful struggle for the preservation in their native land of that which is more precious than all the wealth of earth, and which, through their superhuman exertions, and those of others like them, I, whose lot has been cast in happier times, have now the blessing to enjoy. I could have knelt down and kissed the bricks hallowed by their saintly and heroic feet.

WM. M'D.

MR. JUSTICE KEOGH AND THE CLERGY.

AT a meeting of the Clergy of the Diocese of Dublin, held on Thursday, 6th June, in St. Kevin's Chapel, Cathedral Church, Marlborough-street, the following address was read, and was unanimously adopted, "as expressing the feelings of the Clergy of the Diocese on the Judgment reported in the public journals to have been delivered by Mr. Justice Keogh on the Galway Election Petition :—

" To the Catholics of the Diocese of Dublin.

" DEAR BRETHREN—A great scandal has come upon us.

" A judge—a professing Catholic—clothed in the ermine of calm reason and matured wisdom, is reported to have uttered from the judgment seat words of fiercest insult—words which have roused up the sleeping monster of bigotry through the empire—which have been echoed back to us from England in menaces of renewed persecution—which have brought disgrace on the cause of justice, and filled the friends of discord and disloyalty with unutterable joy.

" The wise policy of English modern statesmen had done much to rear up a throne for justice on the affections of the people of Ireland. The events, however, of the last few days have well nigh shattered that throne, by rousing into almost unprecedented indignation the feelings of a whole nation. The statesman may devise wise laws, but the hands of an indiscreet man may by one act, if not repudiated, shiver into fragments the tablets on which they are inscribed. For centuries the bench, whence justice between man and man, and between the subject and his sovereign was supposed to be administered, was regarded by our people as the stronghold of their oppressors: habit had, in some sense, inured them to insult and injustice from its occupants: better times, however, came round, and the seat of law gradually arose before the nation's eyes as the seat of impartial justice too. But the words of passion which have lately come forth from it have done much to awaken in the minds of the people the memories of wrongs which they were willing to forget. None except those who are thoroughly conversant with the inner feelings of the Catholics of Ireland can sound the depths of the indignation which at this moment fills the bosom of the nation. They feel to a man that the laws of decency have been violated in order that their reverence for religion might be wounded. They feel that by the unjustifiable lan-

guage of a public officer, paid by their industry to administer justice, their religion has been blasphemed throughout the empire. We are not called on to canvass the merits of the decision in which the late investigation in Galway terminated. It may be the stern logical outcome of the evidence brought forward, or it may be the very reverse. With this inquiry we are not now engaged. We will leave to others the task of criticising that decision, if criticism be called for. But whilst we disclaim all intention of reviewing the conclusion to which the judge has arrived, we must enter our most solemn protest against the outrage on all propriety implied in the most unbecoming language which the reports of the public journals put into his mouth. And whilst we protest against these reported words, we, with unfeigned indignation, repudiate the calumnious misrepresentation by which it is attempted to be established that the priesthood of Ireland is prepared to prostitute the most sacred institution of religion to the unworthy purposes of low political intrigue. In the strongest terms which the sanctity of the place where we stand will allow, we resent the tone of this harangue, replete, from beginning to end, with insults to the religion and honour of our people. There is nothing so holy or sacred in our eyes that may hope to escape sacrilegious invasion of this wild effusion; the Holy Father must be sneered at, the national priesthood must be maligned, the discipline of the Church, in the administration of the sacraments, must be distorted, the unhappy cleric who is dragged before this tribunal must be mimicked to cause amusement for his enemies, the hereditary enemies of the people's faith and liberties must be eulogised as something more than angelic.

“It is not our business to defend the political actions imputed to some of our clerical brethren, neither is it our right to sit in judgment on their conduct. Indiscreet zeal may have carried a few of them beyond the line of decorum. But surely it is a question open for discussion, which of the two is the more unpardonable—the priest, in the heat of an angry contested election, in which he believed that the independence of his flock was assailed, yielding to an impulse, unbecoming if you will; or the ermined judge, in the delivery of a solemn judgment, surrendering himself to almost a paroxysm of vituperation? If the cassock is judged to be defiled, surely the ermine is not quite unstained. If the priest is to be relegated to obscurity and political silence for his indiscretion, is the judge to go unquestioned? If altar denunciations are censurable—as most unquestionably they are—is the temple

of justice exactly the place to hear the foulest epithets hurled from the very seat of justice on the heads of men to whom the people look with respect, and in whom they repose their entire confidence? The learned judge to whom the public journals attribute this speech is, as is generally believed, a Catholic. As such he is bound, under the most solemn obligation, to go to Confession at least once every year. A man so learned as he, must, most unquestionably, have made himself thoroughly acquainted with the discipline of the Church in reference to the administration of a sacrament which he is expected to approach periodically. He must well know that nothing necessarily falls within the precept of Confession but mortal sins, and those circumstances which change the species of a sin by adding to it the guilt of another mortal transgression. He must be well aware that the penitent who is duly disposed has a right, founded on justice, to receive absolution from the ministers of this great sacrament. He must know that the Roman ritual sternly imposes on the priest the duty of abstaining from all 'curious or useless interrogations.' He must know that all theologians teach, that when interrogations are put by the confessor, they must be 'moderate, discreet, and opportune.' He must know that these rules of theology carry with them no trivial sanction; yet with all this knowledge—and basing his judgment on a solitary case, which was not juridically established, and which no one believes—he stigmatizes an entire Church in the following outburst:—

“Parliament is still sitting, and the ministry and the legislature should know that the Catholic clergy, represented by the Rev. Mr. Coen, meant to use the confessional for purposes of election intimidation.’

“Which of the two shall be more admired—the good taste of the Catholic or the logical acumen of the judge? One priest in Ireland is accused, but most certainly not convicted, of the intention of converting the confessional into a political engine; therefore more than two thousand clergymen, who labour unceasingly and zealously in the cause of religion, will trample under their feet the most sacred ordinances of the Church, will despise the well-considered decisions of theologians—or, in other words, expose themselves to eternal damnation, to secure the return of a candidate for Parliamentary honour, perhaps a stranger, or differing from them in religion, whom they never saw before, and from whom they can never receive the slightest favour! And this is the reasoning of an educated man, who could afford to jeer at the mistaken pronounciation

of an overworked country priest—a priest to whose ears the fading language of Ireland is perhaps far more familiar than that in which his censor poured out his insults.

“ But this most illogical conclusion must, forsooth, be correct, because, although the priests ‘clustered in court thick as leaves in Vallambrosa,’ not one of them came forward to contradict the statement. Little wonder, indeed, that men who disbelieved the whole story would not voluntarily come forward to expose themselves to the treatment of felons, or perhaps to be threatened by the court with incarceration for contempt.

“ The judge, in his impetuous zeal against the priests of his native country, seems to have completely forgotten that to this very priesthood, so maligned, Ireland mainly owes her liberty, and he himself his ermine. Can he forget that the nationality of Ireland meant simply the Catholic Church? Can he forget that it was in the sanctuary alone the sacred fire of love and fatherland was preserved, awaiting better times, when it might be brought forth to burn more freely? Can he forget that if our countrymen were kept from sinking into a state of barbarism under the feet of their cruel oppressors, it was the hunted priest who, wandering in caves and mountains, sustained the fainting spirit of the nation, and animated the people to persevere in their trust in God, and in hope for their country? Does he forget that the man who struck from the limbs of his fellow-countrymen the last galling fetters of slavery, was never ashamed to proclaim, that without the priesthood of Ireland, the cause of liberty, even in his hands, must have failed? And surely he must remember that the great Liberator of his country bowed down before the authority of that Church his giant intelligence; that he was docile to her authority as the simplest peasant of the land; and why? He had seen liberty contended for by revolution, and to his clear vision it was evident that liberty without religion meant slavery the most intolerable. He knew that the Church of God was the only authority which could at once brave the folly of the people, and the tyranny of the despot. He knew that in the East, where that Church had been overturned, hopeless slavery, benighted infidelity, and unblushing immorality had firmly, perhaps unshakably, established themselves. He saw an Ambrose issuing from the sanctuary to reprove for his cruelty a mighty emperor, who heard from all others naught but adulation and encouragement. He saw an Anselm and a Thomas A’Becket confronting tyrannic rulers, who sported with men’s liberties as they did with the game of the royal forests. He saw in his own

beloved country a Hurley and a Plunkett proudly contending to death for the cause of true freedom ; and he knew that there was not a hamlet in Ireland which had not sent to heaven a cloud of witnesses to the glorious truth, that the Church of God is the child, not of the bondswoman, but of the free ; and that whilst she, and she alone, can warn away the dark messengers of paganism, infidelity, and barbarism, she, and she alone, can shelter and nurture to full strength that liberty which, coming blessed from heaven, makes men truly free. All this surely must have passed from the Judge's memory, when he makes the strange announcement to the world, that the Church had taken her stand against the country, and that the priests of Ireland had conspired against the liberties of the people.

“But the painful anomalies of this strange judgment are not yet exhausted. When this learned judge has tired himself in reviling the priesthood of his country, he betakes himself, with equal good will, to lavish his unmeasured praise on things and men most antagonistic to every Catholic sentiment. The novelist who made it his study to paint Irish priests as ideals of buffoonery and ignorance, is his particular friend. The proselytizing nobleman, distinguished by active hostility to the liberty and creed of his dependents, is a model of Christian virtues ; mixed marriages, and their necessary complement, indifferentism in religion, are heaven-descended means of establishing concord and domestic happiness. The godless university, struck with barrenness by the anathema of the Church, must be for him a centre of light and heat, under whose benign influence this desert land of ours is to become a blooming garden. One might well imagine that these outrages on the feelings of a Catholic country would have satisfied the most unbounded appetite for insult. But the compound is yet sufficiently bitter. There stands in the records of Irish woes a name which at once expresses all that is hateful, odious, and cruel—Cromwell—the regicide Cromwell, on whose head rests the blood of a monarch, through whom the royal line has come down to our present queen—must be taken up as a demi-god by the judge who sits behind her Majesty's commission ; the man who made the streets and churches of our towns flow with torrents of innocent blood ; the man who depopulated the land, so that over twenty or thirty miles of country scarcely a trace of human life could be found ; the man who transported, in thousands, the children of our race to do the work of slaves upon the island of Barbadoes ; the man who made this kingdom almost a desert, so

that for want of human inhabitants the savage wolf must supply the deficiency—this man, regicide, hypocrite and exterminator, must be held up in a public court as an object for the admiration of our people. But it would not meet the views of the learned judge merely to outrage a Catholic nation by proclaiming the merits of a fierce and cruel persecutor of their religion and their race, he must insult the memory of one of its noblest sons, by dragging him forward as an eulogist of a blood-stained enthusiast. Edmund Burke an admirer of Cromwell!!!—Cromwell, whom he calls a ‘great bad man,’ and of whom, amongst others, he writes:—‘I do not say—God forbid—I do not say that the virtues of such men are to be taken as a balance for their crimes, but they are some correctives to their effects.’

“To make the whole proceedings consistently incomprehensible, the place selected for this strange display must be the capital town of a province, every acre of whose surface was moistened by the tears of the gentry of Ireland, exiled from the wealthier quarters of the kingdom to make room for the mercenaries of a cruel tyrant; and the unwilling auditors of this strange harangue must surely have felt humbled by its utterance.

“But, although this judgment has, for the moment, wrought mischief, good, great good, will come forth from it. It has aroused already the indignation of the whole kingdom against the insult offered to the national pride and to the religious convictions of the people; and when the great battle of Irish education is to be fought, our countrymen will then remember that one of their own flesh and blood and religion, through the withering curse of a hostile university, was prepared to act a part, from which, we firmly believe, the honest instincts of a Protestant-born man would make him shrink.

“We must not conclude without putting on record our firm conviction that the courts of justice in Ireland will not retain the respect or command the confidence of our people if men capable of thus insulting all they hold venerable and holy are allowed to preside on their benches.”

DOCUMENTS.

I.—LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS PIUS IX. TO
CARDINAL ANTONELLI.*Roma, 18 Giugno,*RMO SIGNOR CARDINALE GIACOMO ANTONELLI
NOSTRO SEGRETARIO DI STATO:

Costretti nelle attuali tristissime circostanze ad assistere giornalmente al doloroso spettacolo di nuovi e violenti attentati contro la Chiesa, sentiamo oggi in modo particolare il bisogno di prender la penna per palesare a Lei, Sig. Cardinale, la profonda amarezza che provammo nell' apprendere testè la dichiarazione fatta dal Presidente de' ministri di questo Governo usurpatore sul fermo proponimento del medesimo di presentare quanto prima alle Camere una legge per la soppressione degli Ordini religiosi in questa Nostra città, sede del Vicario di Gesù Cristo, e metropoli dell'orbe cattolico. Questa dichiarazione, che rivela sempre più il vero fine, cui mira lo spoglio fatto alla Sede Apostolica del suo temporale dominio, è un novello oltraggio inflitto, non pure a Noi, ma a tutta intiera la cattolicità. Chi può negare infatti, che sopprimere gli Ordini religiosi in Roma, o limitarne anche arbitrariamente la esistenza, non è solo attentare alla libertà ed indipendenza del Romano Pontefice, ma è togliergli ben anche dalle mani uno dei mezzi più poderosi ed efficaci pel governo della Chiesa universale?

Ognun sa che, come Roma è il centro del cristianesimo, così le case religiose, che da secoli vi esistono, sono a così dire il centro di tutti gli Ordini e Congregazioni rispettive sparse nell'orbe cattolico. Sono desse come altrettanti seminarii eretti dalle cure indefesse dei Romani Pontefici, dotati dalla generosità di pii obblatori, anche esteri, e regolati dalla suprema autorità Pontificia, da cui ricevono vita, direzione e consiglio. Queste case furono istituite e destinate a fornire operai e missionari per tutte le parti dell'universo. Senza ricorrere alla storia, a rilevare i vantaggi portati alla cristiana repubblica, ed alla stessa umanità, da questi seguaci degli evangelici consigli, basta percorrere con lo sguardo i vari paesi d'Europa, e le più remote ed insospite spiagge dell'Asia, dell'Africa, dell'America e dell'Oceania, ove oggi stesso questi zelanti ministri di Dio, con esemplare abnegazione, consac-

rano le loro forze, la loro salute, la stessa loro vita a profitto e salvezza dei popoli.

Soppressi pertanto gli Ordini religiosi in Roma, o limitate anche sotto qualsiasi forma la esistenza, non sarà più possibile, che il mondo risenta, come oggi, i vantaggi di queste pie e caritatevoli istituzioni. E in Roma infatti, che esistono i principali noviziati intesi a preparare i novelli banditori della fede; è qui che accorrono i religiosi d' ogni nazione per rattemprare il loro spirito, e per render conto delle loro missioni; è qui che si trattano, all'ombra della Sede Apostolica, tutti gli affari delle case anche estere; è qui che si eleggono col concorso dei religiosi delle differenti nazioni i superiori generali, i dignitarii degli Ordini, ed i capi di tutte le Provincie. Come si può dunque sperare, che senza questi grandi centri, nelle condizioni in cui attualmente si trovano, e senza questa suprema direzione, l'opera vivificatrice e benefica di questi operai evangelici abbia gli stessi risultati di oggi? No: sopprimere le case religiose in Roma, e lasciare senza vita le comunità sparse in tutto il mondo: come spogliarle qui dei loro beni, è spogliare l'Ordine intiero della sua legittima proprietà. La soppressione adunque degli Ordini religiosi in Roma non è tanto una manifesta ingiustizia a riguardo di individui benemeriti della società, quanto un vero attentato contro il diritto internazionale di tutta la cattolicità.

Per dovere poi anche di riconoscenza è forza constatare, che la soppressione delle case religiose in Roma porterebbe ad un tempo non lieve detrimento a questa Sede Apostolica, ove i più distinti fra gli individui di quelle si dedicano, quali utili collaboratori nel sacro ministero, all' assistenza delle differenti Congregazioni ecclesiastiche, ora dando schiarimenti sulle varie missioni alle loro cure affidate, ora dedicandosi i studi profondi per la confutazione degli errori, ora emettendo il savio loro parere sulle varie questioni disciplinari delle singole Chiese dell' Orbe Cattolico.

E egli adunque ben manifesto, Sig. Cardinale, il vero scopo inteso dal Governo usurpatore nella divisata legge di soppressione degli Ordini religiosi in Roma. Sì: questa non è altro che la continuazione di quel piano funesto e sovversivo, che dal giorno della violenta occupazione di Roma, si va ipocritamente eseguendo a danno non pure della temporale Nostra autorità, ma più specialmente del supremo nostro Apostolato, pel cui vantaggio si annunciava a scherno volersi togliere a Noi il patrimonio della Chiesa: patrimonio elargito ai Romani Pontefici per ordine mirabile della divina provvidenza, e da Essi posseduto da oltre undici secoli con i titoli i più

sagri ed i più legittimi, a profitto appunto dell'intiera cristianità.

E chi potrebbe farsi oggi illusione alcuna sulla indole di questo piano tendente ad abbattere la nostra autorità di Capo supremo della Chiesa, ad avvilirne la dignità, ad inceppare l' esercizio del nostro augusto ministero, a sconvolgere infine l' ordinamento secolare di questa Apostolica Sede? Ella, Sig. Cardinale, è testimone ogni giorno delle usurpazioni che ora sotto un pretesto, ora sotto un altro, si vanno compiendo a danno della Religione, della moralità e della giustizia: usurpazioni che miran tutte all' esecuzione di quel piano distruttore. A che altro infatti se non a questo tende la sottrazione che a grado a grado si va facendo dalla Nostra autorità di tutte le istituzioni di carità e di beneficenza, di convitti d' educazione e di licei di pubblica istruzione, che formarono mai sempre la cura prediletta e la più sollecita dei Pontefici Nostri antecessori? A che altro, se non a questo, tende quella malaugurata legge che, condannando forzatamente al servizio militare i giovani dedicati a Dio, tronca, qual falce inesorabile, le più ridenti speranze della Chiesa, e priva il Santuario ed il chiostro di un eletta schiera di ministri novelli e laboriosi? A che, se non a questo, tende quella, sfrenata libertà d' insegnare impunemente errori di ogni sorta, sia per mezzo della stampa, sia per via d'una pubblica e scandalosa predicazione sostenuta con tanta impudenza da uomini apostati e ribelli all'autorità della Chiesa? A che quel rilassamento nei costumi, quella insolente licenza nei pubblici spettacoli, que' continui insulti alle Sacre Immagini ed ai Ministri del Signore, quelle frequenti profanazioni del culto religioso, quelle ributtanti derisioni d' ogni cosa la più sacra ed inviolabile, quell' oppressione sistematica d'ogni persona onesta ed affezionata alla Chiesa ed al Papa? Ella sa, Sig. Cardinale, come il nostro cuore sia straziato alla vista quotidiana di tutte queste sventure della Chiesa. Resi impotenti a apportarvi il benchè più leggiere rimedio, Noi non possiamo che piangere sui mali del nostro gregge: non senza però alzare pubblicamente la voce per reclamare e protestare contro gli attentati di cui la Chiesa è vittima, e per rendere palese al mondo la miserabile condizione, cui per la malvagità dei tempi Ci troviamo ridotti.

Avremmo potuto, egli è vero, risparmiarci in parte il sacrificio di bere quotidianamente un sì amaro calice, e di assistere personalmente a sì desolante spettacolo, cercando asilo in estero paese. Ma, se ragioni di alto interesse religioso ci consigliarono, nell' attuale stato di cose, a non abbandonare

per ora questa a noi diletteissima città Sede del Romano Pontificato, ciò non fu certamente senza un singolare tratto di divina provvidenza, affinchè il mondo si convincesse col fatto della sorte ch'è riservata alla Chiesa ed al Romano Pontefice, allorquando la libertà ed indipendenza del supremo di lui Apostolato venga compromessa dal cambio di una posizione provvidenzialmente ordinata da Dio.

E come difatti, dopo il nuovo ordine di cose, il Papa può chiamarsi libero ed indipendente? Non basta ch'egli pel momento possa dirsi materialmente libero nella persona; Egli deve essere e deve comparire agli occhi di tutti libero ed indipendente nell'esercizio della suprema sua autorità. Ora il Papa non è, nè sarà mai libero ed indipendente, finchè il supremo di lui potere sia sottomesso alla prepotenza e capriccio d'un' avversa autorità; finchè il suo elevato ministero sia fatto segno all'influenza e predominio delle passioni politiche, finchè le sue leggi ed i suoi decreti non vadano esenti dal sospetto di parzialità o di offesa per le rispettive nazioni. Nella nuova condizione di cose fatta al Pontificato dopo l'usurpazione del patrimonio della Chiesa, il conflitto fra i due poteri è inevitabile: l'accordo, l'armonia non può dipendere dalla volontà degli uomini; basati i rapporti fra i due poteri sopra un assurdo sistema, gli effetti altri essere non possono che quelli naturalmente derivanti da opposti elementi, che di necessita debbono tenerli in continua e penosa lotta.

La storia stessa è piena di conflitti fra le due autorità e di esempi di agitazioni nella cristiana famiglia ogni qualvolta i Romani Pontefici vennero anche momentaneamente sottoposti all'autorità di estraneo potere. La ragione n'è ben chiara. Diviso il mondo in un numero ben considerevole di Stati, gli uni indipendenti dagli altri, gli uni forti e potenti, gli altri piccoli e deboli, la pace e la tranquillità nelle coscienze dei fedeli non potè altrimenti esistere che in ragione della loro sicurezza e convinzione dell'alta imparzialità del Padre comune dei fedeli e dell'indipendenza de' suoi atti. Ora, come potrebbe oggi ciò essere, se l'azione del Romano Pontefice è continuamente esposta all'agitazione dei partiti, all'arbitrio de' governanti, al pericolo di vedere ad ogni passo turbato il suo riposo, la tranquillità stessa de' suoi consiglieri e ministri?

Anche la libertà delle sagre Congregazioni, cui incombe di risolvere questioni, e di rispondere a tutte le consultazioni dell'orbe cattolico, importa troppo alla sicurezza della Chiesa ed ai legittimi imperiosi bisogni di tutte le nazioni cristiane. Importa infatti, che niuno mai sulla terra possa sospettare

della libertà ed indipendenza delle decisioni e dei decreti emanati dal Padre comune dei fedeli. Importa che niuno sia turbato dal timore di estranee pressioni nelle risoluzioni pontificie. Importa che il Papa, le Congregazioni, lo stesso Conclave, non solo sieno di fatto liberi, ma che siffatta libertà apparisca evidente e manifesta, e che a questo riguardo non sorga nè un dubbio, ne un sospetto. Ora la libertà religiosa dei cattolici avendo per condizione indeclinabile la libertà del Papa, ne segue, che se il Papa, giudice supremo ed organo vivo della fede e della legge dei cattolici, non è libero, essi non potranno giammai rassicurarsi sulla libertà ed indipendenza de' suoi atti. Di quà le dubbiezze e le ansietà nei fedeli; di quà le perturbazioni religiose degli Stati; di quà quelle dimostrazioni cattoliche, simbolo dell' interna inquietezza dello spirito, che crebbero ognora più dall'epoca dello spoglio violento dell' ultimo resto dei pontifici dominii, e che non avranno fine se non quando il Capo della cattolicità rientri in possesso della sua piena e reale indipendenza.

Ciò posto, non è facile il persuadersi come possa ancora seriamente parlarsi di conciliazione fra il Pontificato ed il governo usurpatore. E qual conciliazione infatti potrebbe aver luogo nell'attuale condizione di cose? Non si tratta d'una semplice quistione insorta, o nell' ordine politico, o nel religioso, che ammetta termini abili per una conveniente transazione. Si tratta invece d' una situazione creata violentemente al Romano Pontefice, e che distrugge quasi per intiero quella libertà ed indipendenza, che Gli è indispensabile pel governo della Chiesa. Il prestarsi pertanto ad una conciliazione di tal fatta equivarrebbe per parte del Romano Pontefice a che non solo rinunziasse a tutti i diritti della Santa Sede trasmessigli in deposito da' suoi augusti Predecessori; ma che si rassegnasse, per un atto di sua volontà, ad incontrare frequentemente ostacoli nell' esercizio del supremo suo ministero; a lasciare inquiete ed agitate le coscienze de' fedeli; a chiudersi la via alla libera manifestazione della verità; in una parola, ad abbandonare spontaneamente al capriccio d' un Governo quella sublime missione che il Pontificato Romano si ebbe direttamente da Dio con istretto dovere di tutelarne l' indipendenza da ogni umano potere.

No: Noi non possiamo piegarci agli assalti contro la Chiesa, all' usurpazione de' suoi diritti sagrosanti, all' indebita intromissione del potere civile negli affari religiosi. Fermi ed imperturbabili nel difendere con onore, e con tutti i mezzi che ancora restano in Nostro potere, gl'interessi del gregge alle Nostre cure affidato, Noi siamo pronti ad incon-

trare maggiori sacrificii, ed a versare anche, ove occorra, tutto il Nostro sangue, anzi che venir meno ad alcuno dei doveri impostici dal Nostro supremo Apostolato. Che più? Con l'aiuto del Signore Noi non mancheremo mai di dare l'esempio di forza e di coraggio ai Pastori della Chiesa ed agli altri sagri ministri, che nell'avversità dei tempi sostengono tante lotte per la causa di Dio, pel bene delle anime, per la difesa del sagra deposito della fede, per la incolumità degli eterni principii di moralità e di giustizia.

Che le diremo poi, Sig. Cardinale, di quelle pretese guarentigie, che il Governo usurpatore fece mostra di voler dare al Capo della Chiesa, con manifesto intendimento d'illudere la semplicità degl'incauti, e di offrire un'arma a que' partiti politici, cui di molto non cale la libertà ed indipendenza del Romano Pontefice? Posto da parte qualsiasi altro ragionamento, ciò che accade oggi stesso in Roma, nel momento che vi sarebbe tutto l'interesse di convincere l'Europa della forza ed efficacia della decantata legge, è il più eloquente argomento per dimostrarne la futilità e l'impotenza. Ed invero, che giova proclamare l'immunità della persona e della residenza del Romano Pontefice, quando il Governo non ha la forza di guarentirci dagli insulti giornalieri cui è esposta la Nostra autorità, e dalle offese in mille modi ripetute alla Nostra stessa persona; e quando, insieme ad ogni onest' uomo, dobbiamo essere spettatori dolenti del modo onde in taluni casi, anche recentissimi, si amministra la penale Giustizia? Che giova non tenerci chiusa la porta del Nostro domicilio, se non Ci è possibile di uscirne senza assistere a scene empie e ributtanti; senza esporci ad oltraggi per parte di gente quà accorsa onde fomentare l'immortalità ed il disordine; senza correre il pericolo di renderci causa involontaria di conflitti fra cittadini? Che importa promettere delle guarentigie personali per gli alti Dignitari della Chiesa, quando essi sono obbligati fin anche ad ocultare per le vie le insegne della loro dignità per non trovarsi esposti ad ogni genere di cattivo trattamento: quando i ministri di Dio e le cose più sagre sono oggetto di scherno e di ludibrio, cosicchè non sia talvolta neppur conveniente eseguire in pubblico le ceremonie più auguste di nostra santa Religione: quando infine i sagri Pastori dell'orbe cattolico, che sono obbligati di tempo in tempo di venire a Roma per dar conto degli affari delle loro Chiese, possono trovarsi esposti, senza alcuna reale guarentigia, agli stessi insulti e forse anche agli stessi pericoli?

A nulla giova proclamare la libertà del Nostro pastorale Ministero, quando tutta la legislazione, anche in punti impor-

tantissimi, come sono i Sacramenti, trovansi in aperta opposizione coi principii fondamentali e leggi universali della Chiesa. A nulla giova riconoscere per legge l'autorità del Supremo Gerarca quando non si riconosce l'effetto degli atti da Lui emanati; quando gli stessi Vescovi da lui eletti non sono legalmente riconosciuti, e loro si proibisce con ingiustizia senza pari di usufruire del legittimo patrimonio delle loro Chiese e finanche di entrare nelle loro case episcopali; cosicchè sarebbero essi ridotti ad uno stato di totale abbandono, se quella carità dei fedeli che sostiene Noi, non ci fornisse, almen per ora, il modo di dividere con essi l'obolo del povero. In una parola: quale guarentigia potrebbe dare un Governo per l'osservanza delle sue promesse, quando la prima fra le leggi fondamentali dello Stato, non solo è calpestata impunemente da qualsivoglia cittadino, ma è resa nulla e frustranea dallo stesso Governo, che ad ogni passo ne elude, ora con leggi, ora con decreti, come meglio gli talenta, il rispetto e l'osservanza?

Tutto questo Le abbiamo esposto, Sig. Cardinale, allo scopo precipuo ch'Ella voglia far conoscere ai Rappresentanti dei Governi accreditati presso questa S. Sede il lamentevole stato, cui pel nuovo ordine di cose Ci troviamo ridotti con tanto pregiudizio della causa cattolica; incaricandola a reclamare e protestare nel Nostro Pontificio Nome contro gli attentati commessi e quei che si minacciano, a danno non pure Nostro, ma di tutta la cattolicità. Interessati essi, quanto Noi, al riposo ed alla quiete delle coscienze vorranno prendere in considerazione questa mancanza di libertà e d'indipendenza nell'esercizio del Nostro Apostolico ministero. Che se ogni fedele ha il diritto di domandare al proprio Governo di guarentirgli la sua libertà personale in fatto di religione, non lo ha meno per domandargli la guarentigia della libertà di Colui, che è per esso la guida, l'interprete della sua fede e della sua religione. Oltre di che è un vero interesse di tutti i Governi sia che professino la cattolica religione, sia che no, di ridonare la pace ed il riposo alla grande famiglia cattolica, e di sostenere la Nostra reale indipendenza. Non possono essi infatti disconoscere che, chiamati da Dio a difendere e sostenere i principii dell'eterna giustizia, loro incombe di difendere e proteggere una causa la più legittima di quante si conoscono sulla terra, sicuri, siccome essere lo debbono, che sostenendo i sagri diritti del Romano Pontificato, essi difendono e sostengono i proprii. Nè potranno ad un tempo dimenticare che il Pontificato Romano ed il trono Pontificio, lungi dall'essere un imbarazzo pel riposo e prosperità d'Europa o per la grandezza ed indipendenza d'Italia, fu sempre il vincolo d'unione fra

popoli e principi, fu il centro comune di concordia e di pace ; per l' Italia poi (convien pur dirlo) fu la vera sua grandezza, la tutela della sua indipendenza, la difesa costante ed il baluardo della sua libertà.

Infine, siccome esservi non può migliore guarentigia per la Chiesa e pel suo Capo che la preghiera innalzata a Colui nelle cui mani sono poste le sorti dei regni e che con un suo cenno può sedare i flutti e calmare la tempesta, così Noi non cessiamo dal porgere continue e fervide preci all'Altissimo per la cessazione di tanti mali, per la conversione dei peccatori, e pel trionfo della Chiesa nostra madre. Un'endo queste Nostre preghiere a quelle di tutti gli amatissimi Nostri figli sparsi nell'orbe cattolico, Noi non possiamo lasciare d'invocare su tutti, anche per debito di gratitudine, una particolare benedizione, la quale valga a preservarli da nuovi e più tremendi castighi ; a conservarli saldi e fermi nei principi dell' onore e nel sentiero della virtù ; a ridonarli infine, mercè la intercessione della Santissima Vergine Immacolata, del suo sposo S. Giuseppe, e dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo, alla primitiva pace e prosperità.

Riceva in quest' incontro, Sig. Cardinale, l'Apostolica Benedizione, che di cuore Le impartiamo.

Dal Vaticano 16 Giugno 1872.

PIO PP. IX.

II.—DECRETUM GENERALE.

SACRA Rituum Congregatio expendens Processus sive Ordinaria sive Apostolica auctoritate pro Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Canonizatione extra Urbem confectos gravem quandoque irregularitatem adnotare debuit in eo sitam, quod personis certum officium in processu instruendo gerentibus, postquam illo fungi coeperunt, venia data fuerit, perdurante adhuc sive Ordinaria sive etiam Apostolica ejusdem Causae inquisitione, officio primo dimisso, aliud diversae indolis assumendi et exercendi. Haec autem officiorum permutatio cum Juris regulis minime consona videatur, eadem Sacra Congregatio in Ordinariis huius diei Comitibus ad Vaticanum habitis ad praedictum removendum abusum et suspicionem quamlibet etiam levem in re tam gravis momenti prorsus eliminandam, *censuit prohibendum, si SSm. placuerit, ne deinceps in condendis quibusvis Processibus tam Ordinariis, quam Apostolicis, ad eiusdem Servi Dei Causam pertinentibus, eadem persona diversis officiis ne successive quidem, utcumque priori*

expleto et dimisso, fungi possit sub poena nullitatis. Die 10 Decembris 1870.

Factaque de praemissis per me subscriptum Secretarium SSmo. Domino Nostro Pio Papae IX. fideli relatione, Sanctitas Sua praefatam Sacrae Congregationis decisionem ratam habuit et confirmavit, eamque praesenti generali Decreto promulgari et ab omnibus servari mandavit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 22 ejusdem Mensis et Anni.

C. Episcopus Ostien. et Velitern.

Card. PATRIZI S. R. C. Praef.

Loco * Signi.

D. Bartolini S. R. C. Secretarius.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Pleadings of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. From the French ; with Introduction by a Catholic Priest. Dublin: William Powell, 10, Essex-bridge. London: Burns, Oates & Co., 17 & 18 Portman-street.

This is an excellent little manual of devotion to the Sacred Heart, simple in its language, and practical in its teaching. It consists of a series of exercises, well suited at once to kindle in the soul a love for the Heart of Jesus, and to extinguish in the soul whatever may give pain to that same Sacred Heart. These exercises, which extend over a period of thirty-three days, consist, for each day, of a short meditation, a practical resolution, and an appropriate example. In the meditation is vividly portrayed some phase of the love which Jesus Christ has shown to man. Then follows the practical resolution, as it were the natural response of the heart, acknowledging this great love, and offering to do something now, at once, in return for it. Lastly, comes the example to show what others, weak and frail as ourselves, have done for love of the Sacred Heart, that we may catch a portion of their zeal, as we hope to share in their glorious reward.

A short introduction is prefixed by the Translator, in which he explains, very clearly and effectively, the nature of this devotion to the Sacred Heart, and the grounds on which it rests. Finally, that nothing may be wanting, the little volume comes out with the approbation of the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and is stamped with the *Imprimatur* of His Eminence Cardinal Cullen.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1872.

THE CATHOLIC EDUCATION QUESTION.

“A STATE should seek its perfection in a manner conformable to its own nature,”¹ says Vattel. If it be composed of a single class of religionists, that class enjoys, of course, its exclusive protection and support. If it admit to the rights of citizenship different classes of religionists, each class becomes thereby an integral portion of the state, and the state should recognise not alone its rights, but its reasonable wishes. “In the case of Ireland, therefore, legislation, to be acceptable and useful, should express the real wants, and be in harmony with the intellectual, moral, and political instincts of the people.”² The action, however, of former governments tended to erase all Catholic ideas from the national mind. The Irish education laws were in the highest degree ruthless and ferocious, calculated to make us, as the Catholics of Ulster resolved in 1641, utterly ignorant of literature and civil breeding.³ In his history of the Norman Conquest, Guizot says he cannot find a parallel for our country, which, for three hundred years, maintained a spirit of rebellion, certainly not against the laws, but against the religion of England. The war of races in this country was not entirely political, nor altogether religious. It was both on one side and upon the other a politico-religious war. The Catholicity of the Palesmen was, in a political sense, Anglican. After the Reformation the political and religious interests of government were alike anti-Irish and anti-Catholic. The activities of proselytism, aided by all the power of the crown, resulted in

¹ Vattel, b. i., ch. ii. ² Irish Education, part i., p. 9. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³ The education of the people, conducted on those principles of morality which are common to all the forms of Christianity, is highly valuable as a means of promoting the main object for which government exists.—*Macaulay's Essays*, p. 498.

a religious and political reaction; and this reaction was precisely what modern statesmen call the IRISH DIFFICULTY.

The Irish bishops, in their pastorals, resolutions, petitions, and synodical addresses, urged upon successive governments the existence of these grievances, and prayed for redress. These solemn utterances of the Irish episcopate indicate the surface-flow of a public opinion, under which there brawled an undercurrent of bitterness and strife between priests and people on one side, and proselytizing parsons and plantation Protestants on the other, so that in the general ferment some among the people were well inclined to catch at any chance of change through plots or open insurrection against the State. Legislation, therefore, alien to the feelings of Irish Catholics has ever been attended with loss of public honour and danger to the State. We have at present in the United Kingdom Protestants, Presbyterians, Jews, Parsees, Mohammedans, all eager to share in the educational advantages afforded by the State.¹ We, Catholics, claim a share in the funds set apart for educational purposes, to which funds we contribute our full proportion. Our claim is not the less reasonable, because we would interweave with the secular instruction provided by the State religious instruction supplied by our own pastors. Our claim is founded on our rights of citizenship established by the law of emancipation, and other legislation in the same direction. This claim is decried by the government—to use the words of Lord Mayo in reply to the Roman Catholic Bishops:—"Your proposals cannot be entertained." Other answer than this a thoughtful politician may not expect either from our so-called natural allies, the WHIGS, or from our ancient adversaries, the TORIES. For every government aims only at what is expedient; at what will give general satisfaction to all, and by consequence, a longer tenure of office to themselves. The answer of Lord Mayo, for its good temper and mildness, contrasts favourably with the obstinate refusals of the highest personages in the realm to entertain proposals for Catholic Emancipation. But as Emancipation was carried, so we shall obtain a good education bill by means of combined and constant efforts. We come forward with a theory of education which is consistent with our own principles, and with our duty of allegiance to the State. We believe that "education is literally a bringing up—but not one section or fraction of the triple man—but the whole—physical, intellectual, moral—the body, the intelligence, the spirit. Educate the body at the expense of the intel-

¹ *Vide* W. C. Taylor's Visit to the Dublin Model Schools.

lectual and moral being, and you produce a brute lump of animated clay. Educate the intelligence at the expense of the moral and religious feelings, and you give power without virtue to wield it. Educate the moral only, and you leave virtue without her noblest ally!"¹ Hence, "religion should form the basis of, and be interwoven with, the whole education of mankind from childhood upwards."² In the waters of baptism a Catholic child receives into its soul the virtue of faith. Belief in the several facts of faith afterwards learned by that child, has a natural affinity to, and becomes united with, the beautiful virtue or habit of faith wherewith that child was clothed in baptism. These facts of faith are believed by the child on the authority of God who hath revealed them, and not of course on the authority of the parent or of the priest, who merely presents to the child's acceptance facts to be believed, together with motives of their credibility. Now, it is little less than persecution that any non-Catholic should insist on shaping the faith of Catholic children, whilst, on the other hand, sundering religious from secular instruction, and putting it off for a time, is the first *downward* step towards that doctrine of certain French Sciologists who would have all religious teaching put off till the intellect—strengthened by discipline and matured by experience—shall be in a position once for all to make a selection of a good religion.³

We believe, moreover, "that the sciences, as other gifts of God, may be used to wrong purposes with which they have no connexion, and for which they were never intended; and that, as in Greece, the elements of beauty with which the world is flooded, and the poetical faculty which is its noblest interpreter, were made to minister to sensuality; as in the middle ages, abstract speculation was often frittered away in sophistical exercises. So now; too, the department of facts, and the method of research and experience which is proper to it, may for the moment eclipse the light of faith in the imagination of the student, and be degraded into the accidental tool of infidelity. For whilst reason and revelation are consistent in fact, they are often inconsistent in appearance, and this seeming discordance acts most keenly and alarmingly on the imagination."⁴ There are, it is said, certain essential articles of faith admitted on all hands, and which may be safely taught in common.⁵ But it is precisely because they are essential that we want to have them taught by Catholic priests and

¹ *Dublin Review*, December, 1836—"Art Education in England."

² ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

³ *Vide* Bergier, *Dictionaire Theologie*, vol. ii., 618.

⁴ Newman's *Lectures on Education*, *Catholic University Gazette*.

⁵ *Vide* Bellarmine, "De Laicis," vol i., page 7811.

Catholic bishops. These (to speak it moderately), know at least as much about Christian dogma and the principles of moral action as sectarians who differ among themselves, and are allowed to differ even on such essential articles as the Blessed Trinity and Holy Baptism. Then, again, identical words may have different meanings, when used by Catholics and by Protestants. For illustration of this we have no need to go further than the articles of the Apostles' Creed, every one of which has been wrested from its Catholic and true meaning. On every principle of sound statesmanship it must be admitted that a system of education which brings discontent into the homes of many millions of her Majesty's Catholic subjects, does by that very fact interfere with the primary end of Government. It is absurd—seeking the well-being of the State apart from the happiness of those who compose the State.¹ We, Catholics, are not unreasonable. What we demand as a right for ourselves, we would have Government bestow on every denomination of Christians. It is said we Catholics are *impracticable* and intolerant. We are impracticable only by the steadiness of our convictions which are founded on truth and justice. I admit, likewise, we have been sometimes intolerant. But pray observe, there is a political toleration of religionists such as *now* obtains in the United Kingdom. Such toleration is often expedient, and sometimes necessary. There is, on the other hand, what may be called *religious toleration*. It is known by the language it speaks. It has its cant phrases, such as "sincerity is all in all;"² "no matter what a man believes, look at his practice;" "one religion is just as good as another." Such toleration as that, followed out to its logical consequences, is absurd and impious, condemned alike by Catholics and Protestants, and virtually discountenanced by all churchmen.³ Some of our opponents desire purely secular education, and some of them the system queerly denominated "*mixed*." Now I assert that *secular education*, though sometimes a preventative, is not a panacea of crime, and secondly that *mixed education* is dangerous to faith and morals. If these assertions be proved, it would follow that Denominational Education, founded on religious tuition, ought to commend itself to the judgment of every Christian who, in his wisdom or unwisdom, believes his own Church to be the Church of Christ.

The object of all education is truth; and truth is conversant about facts and their relations both in the world of matter

¹ *Vide* Macanlay's "Essays;" Gladstone "on Church and State;" and Southey's "Colloquies on Society."

² *Vide* Practical Christianity—Wilberforce's M.P.

³ *Vide* Perrone, *Prelectiones Theol.*, vol. i., Prop. xiii., p. 266.

and in the world of mind. Truths which refer to the world of matter may be comprehended under the generic name of Science, and these which refer to the world of mind, under the generic name of Literature. Education, having science for its object, has a restraining effect in that it diverts attention from sinful objects, and thus removes the occasions of sin. On the other hand, profane literature creates a nice taste, a keen discernment and quick apprehension of the proprieties of social intercourse. I admit, therefore, that *natural reason* may be led, by science and literature, as by *natural means*, to avoid, certain crimes, and fulfil many social duties. But the liberal knowledge acquired in the pursuit of science and literature "is no guarantee for sanctity or even for conscientiousness—they may attach to the man of the world, to the profligate, or to the heartless—pleasant, alas! and attractive, as he shows when decked out in them. Quarry the granite rock with razors, or moor the vessel with a thread of silk, then may you hope, with such keen and delicate instruments as human knowledge and human reason, to contend against these giants, the passion and the pride of man."¹ It must be admitted that the philosophers of ancient Rome were not only educated but skilled in all the learning of the civilization that then obtained in the world. They led, however, very bad lives, given up to the gratification of every base passion.² Such was the outcome of their secular education! Secularists would have us believe that the toil-worn artizan will affect to wrestle overnight with some favourite philosopher, nor let him go till he finds a blessing. Now, what is the fact? There are those who testify from their knowledge of the business transactions of circulating libraries, that works of fiction of the sensational sort are amongst that class of readers in greater requisition than works of useful knowledge.³ And these only whose morality ranges below the standard set up in such works can derive any benefit from their perusal. I have before me statistics of crime in these countries, stating the degree of instruction of persons committed to gaol for various offences. What is their evidence on this point? It is that the number of criminals who have received some education is actually vastly in excess of those who have received none. We should, indeed, expect an uniform progression in the percentage of crime in proportion to the increase of the population. The percentage, however, is far in excess of that just proportion.⁴

¹ Rev. John H. Newman's *Scope and Nature of University Education*.

² *Vide* 1st Ep. of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. 1st.

³ *Blackwood's Magazine*.

⁴ *Dub. Review*, Dec. 1836; Official Returns for 1869-70.

The increase of crime in the United Kingdom since 1805 can be ascertained by reference to the statistics of crime which date from that period. Making due allowance for all necessary abatements, I can arrive only at this conclusion, that the increase of crime in these countries is owing to a system of education defective in its essential part—its supply of religious teaching. "It may, therefore, be laid down as an axiom, that the higher the physical and intellectual civilization of man is carried, the more strict must be its dependence for stability on proportionate moral improvement."¹ "Scotland was formerly set forth as a model nation for its small amount of crime."² The reason of that is not far to seek. Of religious teaching her children of that day had an adequate share. Its influence was seen in the ways of their manhood. Then came the Scottish clearances. Some of the evicted clans were expatriated, and more crowded into towns, and grew up into great manufacturing communities, in which youth is further removed from parental and clerical tuition. And hence the comparative increase of her public crime. The conflict between good and evil principles is not confined to individuals of a class, nor to classes of a community. It disturbs the whole human family in its personal, private, public, and political relations. On the one side the State regards social perfectibility as the final end of the nation's existence, and the nation's wealth as a mark of heavenly approbation. In its pride and self-sufficiency it presumes there will be found in the treasury of State expedients, ample means for eliminating the social evils of the day. It sets great store by enlightening the minds of the masses towards uprooting enthusiasm and superstition,³ for it is jealous of every church that is not its creature and its slave. It seeks talent with or without virtue; and for this weakness, as for its every error, it provides a specious theory. It has invented a natural law for nations, distinct from the natural law that binds the conscience, of individuals; and this is the fruitful source of all the misery and meanness of statecraft. On the other hand, the Catholic Church derives her dignity, and grandeur, and triumph from her participation in the designs of an All-wise Providence that controls the destinies of all races and nations. We rightly seek to have the intellectual faculties of Catholics elevated and enobled through the abundant means of grace which our Church affords. "For my own part," said Lord Mahon, "I consider that if the state should confine itself to secular education without associating it with religion,

¹ *Edinb. Review*, Oct. 1848, p. 401.

² *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1841, Art Education.

³ Adam Smith, *Fol. Econ.*, c. i., p. 329.

it would be doing absolutely worse than nothing.”¹ As to mixed education, the highest authority in our Church has pronounced it to be dangerous to faith and morals. Our opponents cannot name a single Catholic bishop all the world over who holds the contrary opinion. But they contend it serves to smoothen the asperities of those who, as they grow up, will be engaged in the same service of the State. It is, however, a fact unquestioned, that Catholics in this country educated in the most strictly Catholic schools and colleges, do, in their social and political relations, converse freely and co-operate faithfully with their Protestant fellow subjects. The system under which they received their education, while making them good Catholics, make them at the same time good neighbours and good citizens. But it is said what has religion to do with geology, or with the history of the animal creation, or with the teaching of the ancient classics? It is true that these subjects may be discussed without wounding the susceptibilities of any person in a mixed audience; but they are often discussed in a spirit and tone most offensive to the religious sentiments of Catholics. Take, for instance, the “*Bridgewater Treatises*.”² We find in almost every volume of that learned series utterly irrelevant and monstrously offensive reflections touching the errors of the Church of Rome. And if we find that learned professors had the hardihood to commit to the permanency of type such reflections, altogether irrelevant to the subject, and digressive in their character, how much more reason have we to fear that Catholic youth would hear in their lecture halls similar words of bigotry and similar perversions of truth. Both the Secularists and the advocates of mixed education unite against the Catholic as against a common enemy. They generally make “*Ultramontanism*” their war-cry, as if the domestic controversies of trans-alpine and cis-alpine theologians had anything to do with this question of education. The word “*Ultramontanism*,” so long obsolete, and now caught up into the mouth of faction, means either some political calumny, or it implies our recognition of the infallibility of the Pope, and our feelings of loyalty and devotion, of respect and reverence, towards the Head of our Church. In this latter sense it is most expressive of our sentiments towards his Holiness. People talk of our divided allegiance. But they forget the conduct of Irish and of English Catholics on historic occasions. In the year 1759, when a French force was collected for the invasion of Ireland, the committee of the Catholic Association forwarded to the

¹ *Hansard's Debates*, April, 1847.

² *Vide* Letters and Speeches of Dr. Cahill—American edition.

Lord Lieutenant a declaration in which they professed themselves ready and willing to the utmost of their abilities to assist in supporting his Majesty against all hostile attempts whatsoever. They offered, continues Parnell, to accommodate government with large sums of money if necessary, and the Catholics of Cork presented an address to the Lord Lieutenant expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms of assurance. The English Catholics supported the government of Queen Elizabeth during the panic of the Spanish invasion. Such, and a thousand similar instances, prove that, under the most trying circumstances, the allegiance of Catholics is neither doubtful nor divided. "Underlying all their reasoning," says an able writer in the *Daily Telegraph*, "is the suppressed premiss that the Roman Catholic religion is dangerous, and must, as far as possible, be discouraged. This feeling pervades too many arguments advanced against the claims of Irish Catholics from this side of the channel. Now, we hold that in dealing with this question of education, the government is absolutely bound to have no opinion on the merits or demerits of the Catholic faith. In Ireland that religion is on a level of perfect equality with others; the claims of its adherents must be admitted or rejected on the ground of political justice and expediency, and for that reason only." Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*) and other writers on the law of nations, teach that the Catholic religion is more favorable to a monarchy than it is to a republic; and the republican form of government commends itself most to the judgment of very many of our opponents on this question of education. As the House of Hapsburg finds just now its safest allies in Hungary, it requires no great skill in the art of political divination to forecast that, under like circumstances, the House of Brunswick may have its ablest allies in Catholic Ireland. In this agitation much is said against us in regard to the political state and religious character of Catholic countries. Such objections, even if well founded, are irrelevant. But by way of a set off, I will quote the statement of a witness above suspicion. Writing of Sweden—a purely Protestant country—Mr. Laing says:—"Notwithstanding this powerful, effective, and complete Church Establishment, and notwithstanding this very wide diffusion of education and religious instruction by parental and clerical tuition, and by an efficient and national establishment of public schools suitable to all classes, the Swedish nation stands among the lowest in the scale of morality; no other three millions of moral beings in Europe appear to commit within a given time so large an amount of crime and moral transgression!!!"¹ I conclude with an anecd-

¹ Tour in Sweden, in 1838, by Samuel Laing, Esq., p. 425.

dote from the *Quarterly Review*. In the days of penal depression a Protestant bishop of Elphin set his face against the base system of pecuniary proselytism. Such converts, said he, would be only bad Protestants. Better make them good Catholics. To that end he distributed among them the works of Gother—a learned Catholic divine. The system of mixed education will make not only bad Catholics, but bad Protestants; for by an essential tendency it drifts towards indifference and infidelity. The faith of the Irish, like that of the Romans, is known to the whole world. That precious deposit was, under all circumstances, saved and cherished by the forefathers of our race. Sure I am, Irish parents will not expose their children to the danger of losing it by apathy in resisting every scheme of godless education.

JEREMIAH MOLONY, P.P.,
St. Mary's, Star of the Sea,
Lislee, Co. Cork.

July 31st, 1872.

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON, S. J.

(Continued from page 440.)

LET us supplement the foregoing most interesting letters of F. FitzSimon by some passages culled from the correspondence of other Irish Jesuits, who were in Ireland during his imprisonment.

On the 20th of July, 1600, F. De la Field wrote from Dublin: "Fr. FitzSimon had been in close custody for two months, but now he enjoys a little more freedom. F. Archer, whom I send to Rome with this letter, will tell you all about him. I send him because I know from F. Duras's letter to F. Holywood, that your paternity wishes him to be sent as soon as possible to Rome, and because no one can explain better to you and to others the state of our country.

"We used to hear from our merchants every month an account of F. Holywood's state, but since his removal to Wisbeach we hear nothing, and we have no hopes of his liberation during the life of the queen. As soon as F. Henry entered this island, he erected a sodality which has done a great deal of good, and it now waits for the full approbation of your paternity.

"It is reported here that His Holiness has renewed the excommunication which Pius the Fifth fulminated against Elizabeth. It has been promulgated by some bishops, and is

received in Ulster and Connacht. Many gentlemen ask what they are to do between excommunication and confiscation. There is great hope of the restoration of Religion, as the Catholic army is nearly always victorious in the various encounters."

On the 20th of September, 1601, F. Nicholas Leinich wrote from Dublin to F. Aquaviva a Spanish letter in which he said that Fathers Field, Moroney, Lenan, and himself, renewed their vows with great consolation and joy in Dublin, whither he had gone for that purpose. He went to see Fr. FitzSimon, who, he said, was in the Castle, in good spirits, and resigned to the will of God. He added, that Fr. Henry, even in prison, brought back many schismatics and heretics to the fold, and solved many moral cases which were presented to him as well as to the other Fathers.

From a letter of Father William Bathe we find a confirmation of what FitzSimon says about the success and indomitable courage of the Irish chiefs, even after the disastrous and mysterious defeat at Kinsale:

"After the surrender of Kinsale in March, the Viceroy gave his troops some rest. In June he left 4,000 foot and 300 horse to keep Munster quiet, while with the rest of the army he went against Prince O'Neill. O'Neill, understanding this, came to meet him at Moiry Pass, and obtained a signal victory over him, slew 3,000 men and 27 captains, and pursued the Viceroy to Dundaik, and then took the forts of Armagh and Blackwater, putting 600 English soldiers *hors de combat*. The Viceroy has called troops out of Munster to make up for his losses. There are 4,000 soldiers under the President of Munster, the Earl of Thomond, the Viscount Barry, about to besiege the castle Dunboy, where O'Sullivan has sixty soldiers. F. Archer, while in Ireland, was worth a large body of soldiers on account of the respect in which he was held. So great was his influence that the hearts of men were united and held together at his will not only in the territory of Berehaven and in the south, but in a great portion of the kingdom. In order to destroy this influence, the English, according to the customary wile of war, forged a letter in which F. Archer asked pardon of the queen, and promised, under certain conditions, to preach against all her enemies. They presented this letter to Don Juan, asking him to show it to the King of Spain; but the fraud was detected, and the thing was not believed by the prudent."

The long letter, from which these facts have been gathered, was written by Father Bathe from information given by

Captain Hugh Mostian, Dr. Owen MacEgan, Dermod M'Carthy, O'Driscoll, and Patrick Sinnott. I presume the forged letter is in the State Paper Office, and will be brought forward some day as an infallible proof of the double-dealing of the Jesuit, whereas it only proves what masters of mendacity pious Protestants were in the good days of Queen Bess.

On the 25th of February, 1603, F. Field wrote: "Fathers Morony and Leinich are in Munster, F. Lenan and I are in Leinster, and F. FitzSimon is in prison, but not in chains, nor kept as closely as before.

"Our brother, Dominick O'Collin, was taken and thrown into chains, and as he could not be prevailed on to leave the Society or the Faith, or to follow the interests of Elizabeth, he was placed on a gibbet, and suffered death,¹ giving great edification of all the inhabitants of the city of Cork, who, bathed in tears, followed him to the place of execution.

"We, who labour to save souls among the subjects of the queen, dare not hold communication with those who are thought to be in arms against her, lest those with whom we live should be suspected, and lest our name, which is hateful enough to the enemies of the cross of Christ, should be stained by rebellion, and become execrable even to the good. What fruit our Fathers have produced here is shown by the firm attitude of the Catholics of Dublin.

"After the battle of Kinsale, more than sixty spiritual commissaries were sent through Ireland to protestantise the people. They began with Dublin. They restored the churches, divided the city into twelve parishes, and with threats and promises invited and pressed the Catholics to attend the sermons. Not one went. They then fixed a day on which the 'recusants' were to appear before them. They attacked the senators first, and then tried the pulse of the people. They threatened imprisonment and a fine of £10 for every time they would be absent from the Protestant conventicle. The Catholics say they will not pay it, because they cannot by law be forced to pay it. Our chief business here consists in confirming the faithful, bringing back schismatics and heretics, and in extinguishing deadly hatreds among the leading men. Send us more workmen, the people have the greatest reverence for our Fathers, and they fancy that every learned priest who comes from abroad is a member of the Society." . . .

Fathers O'Kearney and Wale wrote to the General in the

¹ *i.e.*, to assassinate an Irish chief, as that was looked on as *the* sign of conversion to her temporal and spiritual interests. (Note of the writer of this memoir.)

year 1603: "We travelled through England in disguise, and after a most miraculous escape, arrived in Ireland on the 22nd of July, 1603. We met at Chester thirteen Irishmen, who, suspecting that we were ecclesiastics, generously volunteered to lend us money that we might get to our destination. The morning after our arrival in Dublin, F. Field, not knowing anything of our presence, came by chance to the house where we lodged. He saluted us politely, and the host soon coming in, whispered to us that he was our Superior. F. FitzSimon, hearing of our arrival, wrote to us two or three letters, and we answered him in a long letter, which greatly consoled him. We could not possibly visit him, so strictly was he guarded, on account of the enmity of some people towards him.

"We have lately had a conversation with a Catholic gentleman, who spontaneously offered to the state and the Viceroy to maintain at his expense six priests and six parsons for the space of three or four years, who, by their disputations and conferences, would show the true religion. The government seemed pleased at this offer, but soon after rejected it."

On the 12th of March, 1604, James the First ordered F. FitzSimon's release; yet he was not released for three months afterwards. The order runs thus:—"Directed to the L. Deputie and Council of Ireland. After our very hartly commendations to your Lordship and the rest. Wheras, one Henry FitzSimon, a Jesuit, hath these five years past remained prisoner in the castle of Dublin, on whose behalf humble sute hath been made to the King's Majestie for his enlargement out of prison. And his Majestie hath bene informed that he hath made so good demonstration of his loyaltie and dutyful affection to his Majestie and the state as deserveth that he should be used with as great favoure as a man of his sorte and qualitie may be capable of. You shall therefore understand, that it is the King's Majestie's pleasure that you shall release the said Henry FitzSimon out of prison, taking sufficient bonde of him, with good sureties for his avoiding out of the realm, within some convenient time to be by your Lordship limited unto him for his departure; and that he shall not at any time hereafter returne into any of his Majestie's dominions without license first obtayned by him in that behalf. And so we bid your Lordship and the rest very hartely farewell. From the Court at Whythall, the 12th of Marche, 1603.

"Your Lordship's very loving friends,

"Lord Chancellor, L. Treasurer, L. Chamberlain.

"E. Shrewsburie, E. Devonshire, E. of Mar.

"L. Cecyll, L. Knollis, L. of Kinless."¹

¹ Catholic Confutation of Ryder, p. 225.

On the 5th of April, of the same year, 1604, F. FitzSimon still ignorant of the order that the king had sent to the Lords of the Council of Dublin, wrote to F. General Aquaviva, from the Castle of Dublin, a letter which we have already given.

A month later F. Christopher Holywood wrote from the county of Dublin to the F. General:—"Every day we expect the liberation of F. FitzSimon, if, indeed, banishment can be called freedom. I find that no letters from you have arrived here since the 17th of April, 1599, when Father de La Field got a letter through his cousin, Mr. Christopher Cusack; wherefore I beg that you will send two letters each time on the same subject to the rector of Bordeaux, who will transmit one copy by one merchant and another copy by another." On the 24th of April F. Holywood had already written from the county of Kildare: "It would not be prudent to send the eldest son of Bertram (he means F. Archer), although we should be delighted to have him with us. F. Henry is offered liberty to go beyond the seas under certain conditions. It is a favour; but whether and how it is to be accepted, we shall consider as soon as possible."¹

I dare say King James meant it as a favour. He was more honest than Bismarck. He declared that the Jesuit was loyal and dutifully affectionate to his Majesty, yet he banished him out of his country, and was well nigh banishing him out of existence, because he was a Jesuit priest. It was a clear case of persecution, and it showed how priests, notoriously loyal, were punished as "traitors," and how several of the clergy in those days died real martyrs. Poor F. FitzSimon had no reason to be proud of the royal favour of that pedant prince who justified St. Louis' opinion of Scotch kings. That French monarch said to his son:—"I beg of you to make yourself beloved by the people of your kingdom, for if you were to govern badly, I would prefer that a Scot came from Scotland and reigned in your place."

On the 30th of June, F. Holywood again wrote to the General and said:—"I trust Fr. FitzSimon has already given you an account of his state, for it is a month since he sailed for Spain. If he return without the King's leave four hundred pounds must be paid to the exchequer."

Five days later Fathers O'Kearney and Wale wrote to F. Aquaviva from Cashel, announcing that F. FitzSimon was forced to go beyond the seas, and that he left behind him five fathers who continued the work of the Society.²

As the merchants who were to take the letters to the con-

¹ F. Holywood's letter of 5th May.

² Letters of July 4th, 1604.

inent insisted on reading them, and as the letters might find their way into Protestant hands, Holywood's *nom de plume* was John Bushlock, or John Bus, or Jobus. Aquaviva the General was "my very loving cousin Claude Merchant at his lodgings." F. Maurice Wise was Barbarossa; F. Walter Wale was John Philalberto, and F. Bryan O'Kearney was Barnabas de Franca.

F. FitzSimon, however, always put his full name to his letters, in and out of prison, and, as F. Holywood anticipated, he gave an account of his departure to the Head of his order.

On the 22nd of June, 1604, he wrote to the General from Bilboa :—"Very Reverend Father—At last, by the letter of our king, procured by much labour and expense, I was to be freed from prison, and treated with much favour, for many reasons, but chiefly because I never meddled in secular matters. However, at a convenient time, which was to be fixed by the Viceroy, I was to leave my native land, never to return without permission. The Dublin Council were perplexed and vexed by this letter, as they knew that the whole country would be greatly delighted at my liberation, and would, at the same time, feel confidence in the king's inclination to give freedom of conscience to Catholics. Long, and many, and doubtful were the debates on this letter. They thought it better to ignore the king's letter than to give freedom to a man, who was so hostile to their plans of protestantising the island. Meanwhile they spoke very kindly to me, and promised wonders, if I would take an oath and give sureties that I would not say Mass or preach, or if I would renounce a little of the King's indulgence so far as not to fix the time and place in which I should remain with them, or if at least I would say that I was displeased at being exiled by his Majesty. Finding me intractable, and seeing serious disagreements take place in the Council on my account, the Viceroy rashly and unjustly exiled me at once without the knowledge of my friends, without allowing any provision for my voyage, without regard to a convenient time and place, and without regard to the wishes of the King. He insisted on getting securities for my compliance with his orders, although those who had till then been my enemies tried to dissuade him from doing so. Strange to say, almost without my knowledge, the Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs offered themselves as sureties for me. Such was the indecent hot haste, with which I was thrust into the vessel, that F. Holywood had hardly time to send me some money and the 'Letter of Obedience.'

"From the Castle I was taken straight to a vessel, and was accompanied by the Governor of the prison. This man had

been my deadly enemy, but like most of my most bitter foes he became my fast friend. He restored to me what he had robbed me of, gave me two hundred Flemish florins of his own, and when bidding me good-bye, burst into floods of tears. As the vessel in which I was placed was bound for Spain, I asked leave to enter another boat close by, which was to sail for Flanders or France. I was refused, notwithstanding the entreaties of influential intercessors, and the murmurs of the public. Thus, by a Divine dispensation, I, who while in prison had only my friends to condole with me, hardly left one person behind who did not sympathize with my sufferings.

“From last Easter to the day of my liberation from the Castle of Dublin, by God’s grace, I brought nine heretics back to the fold. Almost all of them were men of note, and two were graduates of Cambridge. During my voyage all cursing and quarrelling were done away with on board the vessel. I landed at Bilboa on the 14th of June. Shortly afterwards, I got all the sailors and passengers, except the master of the ship, to go to confession and communion; and in that port also, but not without great trouble, I gained to Christ an Englishman, who is a member of a university.

“I have brought one of my kinsmen with me. He will go from Calais to London to tell the King himself that his will was disobeyed in my regard, and to implore leave for me to return to my former labours.

“The Father Superior of the Mission, and the whole Irish Church with him, wish me to print at once my ‘Answer,’ about which I have often written to your Paternity. That, I think, would be the best service which I can now render to the cause of truth, and to the glory of God. Wherefore, partly from leave of the Superior, and partly from the presumed ratification of your Paternity, I am going to Rouen or Antwerp in order to get the book printed. I doubt not but that I shall have leave to return to my country before the book will be published. I do not know whether your Paternity would approve of my going back, but whatever your Paternity decides with regard to me I will do most cheerfully. The work of our Fathers in Ireland is solid and brilliant; and if more workmen are sent, they will do that which shall wonderfully comfort the whole Church, and most of all, the Society of Jesus.

“I humbly commend myself to the Holy Sacrifices, and to the commands of your Paternity.

“Of your Paternity the most obedient son and servant in Christ,

“Henry FitzSimon.

‘Bilboa, the 22nd of June, 1604.’

(*To be continued.*)

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON, S.J.

[Copy of an original letter from F. FitzSimon to V. R. F. General Claudius Aquaviva, dated 10th April, 1603, from Dublin Castle. From Vol. VI. MSS. Angliae, Stonyhurst Coll., p. 209.]

“Pax Chri.

“R^{do}. admodum pri. Claudio Aquaevivae Gnali. Societatis
“Iesu, Romae.

“Admodum R. P. tandem nactus commoditatem copiamque scribendi, silentium libentissime abrumpo. Quo tempore Hispani se ad nos applicuerunt, ante universa regni negotia de me provisum est, ut, custodia districtissima, (libris caeterisque solatiis disclusis) comprimerer. Timuerunt ubi non erat timor. Et certè, cui illa provincia concredita fuit, alter Jonathas scriba, in utinam alterum Jeremiam, extitit. Qua enim, quos potest atrocissimos conducendo ergastulos, qua illos tanquam in me nimis propitios fustigando, et octo diversos illo solo nomine ablegando, qua falsos in me testes subornando, odium plus vatiniانو, in nomen et propositum nostrum profitetur. Sed nihil illum tantoperè dirumpit, ac in non repugnantem ferocire. Nihil praetermissum est ad illum placandum, et emolliendum.

“Cum me firmissime obstrinxissent, rumores undequè disseminarunt, in suam me transiturum sententiam, et propediem ad templa eorum aditurum; idque mea syngrapha esse consignatum. Ut id mihi innotuit (quod proclive fuit summa plurimorum utenti benevolentia) ex alta, in quam subinde capescendi aeris causa conscendere potui paradromide, in subjectum hortum, quo plurimi tanquam ad omnium ludorum gymnasium confluerant, exclamavi, tantum abesse ut sectarijs istis vellem me aggregare, ut potius Judaeis et Turcis accederem. Sic eos rumores dissipavi, que meos corroboravi, sed gratiam favoremque adversantium, ex eo tempore frustra sollicitavi.

“Fuerunt meo tempore Episcopus unus, tres Franciscani, Sacerdotes sex, vel prece, vel pretio, vel captivorum commutatione in libertatem tracti: at unum me é Soc. Jesu., infimi subsellij alumnum, nulla supplicatio, nullus favor, nulla aequitas, aut iniquitas, evincat. Beatum illud nomen, tam tremendum, et invisum Dei hostibus—solus qui in calculo candido illud scriptum, accepit, scit, et sentit, quam dulce sit, et gustat videtque quia bona est negotiatio ejus.

“Quidam pseudodecanus edidit in Catholicos librum,

meo solo nomine per provocationem, et invidiam, expresso. Insolens factum: non enim hactenus nostri Ecclesiastes suas ineptias publicarunt. Mihi, superioris, nostrorumque, et omnium Catholicorum voluntate, incumbendum erat, ut futilitas, falsitasque, illius libri (in quo antiquos patres velle author videtur, ad suas partes traduxisse: illa enim haeresis inconstantia est, ut ubi recens, antiqua, ubi antiqua, recens esse simuletur; jamque proprios parentes fastidens, claras antiquorum doctorum familias asserere incipiat aequè posteriori audacia, et priori insania defenda): propalam innotesceret. Dei ope implorata, ad scribendum mentem appuli; tantumque Ejus auxilio, legendo scribendoque, uno et altero mense, profeci, quod (etiam suorum opinione) explodendus, exhibendusque noster antagonista, habeatur. In ea tum ille, tum totus magistratus opinione versabatur, me in faucibus eorum positum, nihil ausurum mutire; idque erant illi, non iniquitati suae, qua ademerant scribendi idoneam facultatem, sed infirmitati causae, relaturi. Sed desuper datus est mihi sermo in apertione oris, mysterium Evangelij cum fiducia notum facere, pro quo legatione fungor in catena.

“Cum responsionem illam elucubrassem, verbo tamen, vultuque sibi constare videretur adversarius; audaciam audacia superare proposui. Ipsi igitur proregi supplicavi, dignaretur nobis aures paucis tantum horis accommodare, deinde eum qui causa caecidisset, pro arbitrato mulctaret, vel ad cauterium si, voluisset. Fiduciam pluribus dicitur laudasse; at nihil respondit. Progrediendum putavi, ad ipsum primarium Collegij, in honorarium arbitrum provocandum. Dei enim certissimo fretus auxilio, et causae fultus firmitate, quidvis audendum (ut sum in Dei causa per Dei gratiam imperterritus) judicani. Id P. Superior, id nostri, id Catholici omnes, quorsum evaderet anxie reputabant, variantibus prejudicijs. Cessit ut certo praesumeram, ad magnam Dei gloriam et ad plurimam Ecclesiae utilitatem: expalluit enim adversarius, fremensque frendensque, vix aliquando compos sui, aperte hactenus detrectavit omne certamen, cum tamen essent et sint tam iniqua omnia a parte ipsius. Verum cum ex eorum sit primoribus, aggreditur me splendida vitae proposita conditione, mille quingentorum florenorum quot annis, a sententia dimovere. Sed quod Sathanas a Salvatore, et Symon Magnus a S. Petro responsum a me retulit. Librum meum responsorium tanto et tam continuo ardore plerique ambiunt, ut saepius consultaverit P. Superior, an expediret de rati habitione V. Paternitatis tantum presumere, ut excuderetur. Neque etiam num definitum est, praestatne illam constitutionem contradicentem pia interpretatione

in tanta necessitate pertransire, an verò ex perfecta obedientia observare. Sed non commitemus, ut aliud sit apud nos tam commendatum, et antiquum (quantumvis grande et urgens) ac ipsa coeca et simplex obedientia : quamvis referre plurimum videatur, ut nobis tam dissitis, extremisque terrae finibus constitutis, tum presens quam celerrime, tunc similis indulgentia pro futuro permittatur : quandoquidem ita simus comparati, ut nihil a nobis indignum, aut minus expensum, aut a communicatis consiliis non profectum, proficiscatur.

“Clam librorum meorum sum potitus : quibus non magis utiliter in aliquo Lyceo usus fuisset. Ingens derepente in Catholicos cum aborta esset tempestas, jussu superioris, Senatores Civitatis, consolatoriis epistolis, plurimisque modis, ac internuntiis, a me stabiliendi erant : suisque perfuncti sunt caeteri Patres indefesse muneribus, zelo ac pietate flagrante. Erant isti cives in fide, et Christiana doctrina tenuiter instructi, et hactenus consueti fidem cum externa commoditate metiri et mutare : omniumque praesumptio erat, etiam adversariorum, succubituros universos. Sex praecipua templa adornari jubentur, dispositis concionatoribus, censisque paroechianis, excubantibusque in singulis templis singulis dynastis e Senatu Secretiori, plurimisque quadruplatoribus, ne aliquis impunè abesset. Tempusque praefixum est, ut omnes omnis aetatis confluerent. Verum ex tam ampla, et frequenti civitate, non fuit saltem unus, qui illorum voluntati obsequeretur. Ad tribunal ergò (sessoribus ad majorem terrorem supra triginta) sistuntur : et ut paucis dicam, dempto uno, abibant omnes gaudentes a conspectu Concilij, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati. Quare cum praecipui cives incarcerati teneantur, nulla tamen laetior nobis unquam illuxit dies, aut adversarijs magis luctuosa ; ita ut in salebris haereant, ambigentes, consultiusne sit progredi, an regredi.

“Inclitus quidam Baro (cujus uxor mea est praecipua benefactrix) filium suum in praefatum Collegium educandum exposuit : id illum, non obstante alimonia quam ab illis recipio, summa libertate et acrimonia docui tam impium facinus fuisse, et detestabile scandalum, ut confestim subductus sit puer, et alii eodem exemplo, et imitatione, non sine Collegiatorum ingenti fremitu, qui hactenus nullum alicujus estimationis ad se pellicere potuerunt, jam vero nullum ultra sperare valeant. Atque hinc, quicquid eorum impietas et odium conflare in me valuerit, ab ijs expecto. Saepius mihi fuit elaborandum, ne mulieres Catholicae Sectarijs nuberent (quae¹ ea ratione exploratores in nos deveniebant) bono ut plurimum

¹ Quia?

successu. Anglus quidam qui non aliter quam corruptis custodibus, nec id nisi ad ipsam carceris januam, adeoque a me inconspetus accedere potuit, propositis ultro citroque rationibus, ad Dei caulas fuit perductus. Pari omnino modo absolutionis beneficium alius incredibili cum gaudio et lucro accepit. Cum essem valetudine semper infirma, ea tamen integra et nusquam intercisca usus sum, cum responsionem meam, saepius media hebdomada pervigil elaborarem; at vero simul ac vacare inciperem, pristina infirmitas me repente exercuit, recessitque resumpto negotio. Alia quaedam Dei providentiae argumenta inusitata, quibus illum meum qualemcunque laborem approbare est visus, ante sesquiannum prolixè declaravi. Cujus modi erat, tres diversos libros, singulos diversi idiomatis, per totidem prius ignotos homines, appositissimos ad materiam scribendam, eos deinceps rarissimos tum alibi tum hic maximè, in ipso temporis puncto, cum primam manum illi ipsi dubio enucleando adhibebam, suppeditasse; nec non ita intellectum memoriamque prae solito illustrasse, ut plurima aut prius inconcepta, aut oblivione prorsus obruta, apprime tamen necessaria, cogitanti sponte promptè obvenirent: ita ut verba Ecclesiastae verè usurpem, modicum laboravi et inveni mihi multam requiem. Quae ideò maxime a me enarrantur ut omnis laus illius libri in omnium bonorum largitorem redundet; deinde ut vestra Paternitas consolationem quam ex suorum laboribus appetit soletque haurire, ex istis sibi consciscat: ultimo ut omnis meus conatus vitaeque ipsa cui adversarij mille modis quotidie insidiantur, jamque opinione sua sunt erepturi, sacrosanctis sacrificiis precibusque Societatis in pium holocaustum Deo Opt. Max. offeratur, et ad ejus nominis gloriam majorem Ecclesiaeque utilitatem exhauriatur.

“Tempestas in Catholicos praefata, inscio et inconsulto Praeside qui peregre erat profectus, excitata dicitur: is ergo reversus cum caeteris dynastis graviter expostulavit, quod rebus non nihil pacatis (ut tum videbantur, jam vero pristino more conjurati revirescunt) novas turbas cierent. Omnes igitur religionis causa inclusos, dempto me, emisit; ea tamen conditione, ut si quem e Soc. Jesu, aliumve reip^{cae} perturbatorem hospitarentur, aliove modo ei subvenirent, mille florenorum mulcta tenerentur. Diu certatum est, ut Captivi Catholici illam tales excludendi, et declinandi, in se obligationem aliquo jurejurando aut saltem firmiore protestatione, reciperent: Sed ab ijs responsum est, per officium Catholici id non licere, ne pulvere pedum eorum excusso, tolerabilius foret Sodomeis et Gommorrhais quam ipsis; satis autem esse ut mulctae periculo id facere prohiberentur: Sicque transactum est, sedata tempestate, et secuta ex turbulentissima epitasi placidissima catas-

trophe. Nam existorum constantia Decuriales conjecturam facientes reliquorum, placuit illos non irritare, vel majorem invidiam in tam ancipiti rerum fluxu subire. Quod autem illi Catholici constiterint, et ea ratione caeteri immunitate fruantur, dicant alij non dicam, id secundum Deum Soc^{ti} acceptum esse referendum, cum nihil simile prius innotuisset, nihilque caeteri opis contulissent.

“Cum igitur sint in nomen nostrorum etiam num tam infensi, ut nostros velint ab omnibus peculiariter excludi; plane liquet conatus Soc^{tis} proeclare jam stetisse, uberrimumque emolumentum eosdem producturos ubi tantam in principio resistantiam offendunt. Quod Deus Opt. Max. pro Sua infinita clementia faxit. Dignetur supplico V.P. vel via Anglicana, vel Lusitanica ocysimum responsum, velitne excudi praefatam opellam, ne nobis insolentius inequitet adversarius. His benedictionem V.P. nixus popletibus cum omni demissione deosco.

“10 Apr., 1603. Ex Castro Dublinensi in Ibernia.

“V. Paternitatis obsequentissimus filius servusque in Xto.

“Hen. FitzSimon.”

TASSO'S TOMB.

THERE are some men whose days are strangers to everything that is cheering. Into the picture of their lives bright tints are introduced in quantities sufficient only to give full depth to the shadows that mass themselves darkly on all sides. To this class of men Torquato Tasso belongs by right of fifty-one years of painful vicissitudes and corroding sorrows, culminating in his grand final disappointment. It is a touching and instructive sight, to see death reverse, in such men's cases, the verdict of life, and to witness posthumous honours showered on reputations which it had long been the fashion to load with scorn. It is as if a painter were to take some unfinished picture long laid aside, place it once more on his easel, and set himself to fill in, and to round into beautiful forms the caricature—like outlines traced by his careless pencil years before. But in the case of Tasso's tardy glory there is a significance beyond the common. He was snatched away by death at the very hour when Pope Clement VIII. and the Roman Senate had decreed that he should receive, in the Capitol, the laurel crown of which no head had been found worthy since the days of Petrarch. This favourable decree

was almost the first joy that had been his, and the crown it promised him was worthy even of the brow under which the "Jerusalem Delivered" was conceived. Yet, when on the eve of his recognition as a great poet, he found himself sick unto death, his were not the proud thoughts that prompt rebellion to God's will, but sentiments of humble and religious resignation.

What the poet's death hindered the sixteenth century from doing has been done by the nineteenth. And when the later age thus carries out the intention of its predecessor, its act is not to be looked on as a simple tribute of reverence to the genius of Tasso. It is a good deal more. It is payment made by an heir of a debt contracted by one of his remote ancestors; a payment not indeed by a discharge in full, for that is impossible, but by an instalment as generous as it is in the creditor's power to accept. To crown Tasso prince of song in the capitol, amidst the shouts of thousands, was not given to the nineteenth any more than to the sixteenth century; but the nineteenth century could at least take care that his ashes rested in a monument worthy of one who was worthy of being so crowned. This it did a few years ago, when the poet's remains were, with solemn pomp, transferred to a splendid sepulchre erected to his honour in the Church of Saint Onofrio at Rome. Having been a witness of the ceremony, and a sharer in the veneration it expressed, I may be allowed to communicate some of its details to the reader; the more so, because light may be thereby thrown on some chronological questions connected with the poet's different resting places after death.

When he felt himself stricken by his last illness, Tasso desired to be removed to the monastery of Saint Onofrio; partly out of esteem for its inmates, partly because of its healthy position. But in reality he came to die in peace within its cloisters. In the garden still stands an aged oak tree, now rifted and storm-torn, under which he used to sit in these, the closing days of his life, to gaze on the panorama before him. All Rome lay stretched beneath, enclosed between the blue Latin hills and the Tiber, where its waters bathe the green slopes of Monte Mario and of Monte Verde. Between the river, running swiftly to the sea, and his own life ebbing daily away, his quick fancy must have often drawn a parallel. Perhaps it was this picture, seen by him from his vantage ground on the Janiculum, when the purple tints of the April evening were spread over the fresh-born leaves and shoots in the neighbouring thickets and vineyards, that influenced him in his wish to be buried near the spot whence he looked. "Father," said he, on his death bed, "write down that I give

back my soul to God who gave it, and my body to the earth whence it is derived, in this church of Saint Onofrio."

And in the church of Saint Onofrio he lay from the 25th April, 1595, to 25th April, 1857, with hardly a monument to mark his resting place. Not that hearts were wanting, loving enough to wish to render him this service, and powerful enough to realise their wish. Far from it. It was the very jealousy of love that left the inheritor of Virgil's genius almost unhonoured in a humble grave.

His beloved friend, Battista Manso, came to Rome some years after the poet's death, and went to Saint Onofrio to visit his ashes. Dissatisfied and pained at the poverty in which they were left, he resolved to erect a monument worthy at once of his friend and of his own love. But Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, who had been Tasso's best protector in life, and who had closed his eyes in death, was unwilling to allow other hands than his own to perform that duty.

There are a few details regarding Tasso's monument about which some obscurity exists. The editor of Fairfax's Translation of the "Jerusalem Delivered," (Knight and Co., 1844), in his life of the poet, says:—"He was interred in the church of Saint Onofrio. A plain slab was placed over his remains, with a simple Latin inscription, expressing—

"Here lie the bones of Torquato Tasso."

Cardinal Bonifazio Bevilacqua some years after erected a tomb to his memory." Dr. Stebbing, in his "Lives of the Italian Poets," places the visit of Manzo ten years after the poet's death, and adds, that it was with some difficulty that he obtained permission from Card. Cinzio to inscribe the poet's name on the marble tablet, in order that it might be known by strangers, who visited the monastery in which spot his bones were deposited—(page 330-3, 1860.) But, in reality, the inscription referred to was placed by the Fathers of the convent, and runs thus:—

TORQUATI TASSI
OSSA
HIC JACENT.
HOC NE NESCIUS ESSET HOSPES
PATRES HUIJUS ECCLESIAE
P.P.
M.D.C.I.

Now, as the poet died in 1595, only six years must have elapsed before this scanty honour was paid to his tomb. If, therefore, Manso on his arrival found no inscription, he must have come, not after ten years, but before the six years were completed.

The generous promise made by Card. Cinzio Aldobrandini remained but a promise to the end. No change was made until Cardinal Bonifazio Bevilaqua of Ferrara erected a monument adorned with the poet's portrait, and bearing an honourable inscription. On this occasion the body was exhumed, and removed from its place before the High Altar to the lower extremity of the Church, where it was deposited at the left hand side of the principal door, immediately under the monument itself. No date is assigned by the writer above-mentioned to this translation of the poet's remains. I am inclined to fix it at 1601, so that the inscription erected by Manso, or by the Fathers at his suggestion, preceded but by a little the gift of Cardinal Bevilaqua. For, on the lid of the coffin raised in 1857, the following inscription was found, and may now be read in the poet's room :—

TORQUATI TASSI
OSSA HIC SITA SUNT
A.P.P. HUIUS CŒNOBII LECTA ET CONDITA
AD PIETATIS IN EUM ATQUE OBSERVANTIÆ
MONUMENTUM,
AN. M.D.C.I.

The expression "lecta et condita," "gathered and buried," appears to signify two distinct acts—one of exhumation, the other of a second burial.

Now, it is not recorded that the good Fathers exhumed the body, when, at Manso's earnest prayer, they placed on the tomb the inscription quoted above. Besides, this second inscription is on a leaden coffin, whereas it is distinctly stated that the poet was buried at first in one made of wood.

Tasso's tomb remained thus till the middle of the first half of the present century, when a new tomb was projected worthy of him who had filled the world with his fame. It was commenced in 1827, at the expense of some Italian gentlemen, who were proud of their second Virgil, but it was afterwards interrupted. It was finally completed at the public expense by order of Pius IX. Its principal feature is a noble statue, larger than life, sculptured in white marble, and representing the poet at the moment of his inspiration, whilst he is about to write down the second stanza of his "Jerusalem." I shall now endeavour to describe the ceremony which took place when his remains were transferred to this tomb.

The sun of the 25th April, as it rose over St. Onofrio for the two hundred and sixty-second time since the poet's burial, lighted up a scene such as it had not witnessed since the day of his death. Not that it found everything changed in St. Onofrio, for there were some objects there in which a change was neither visible nor desirable. Leonardo da Vinci's Madonna still stood out in relief against its quasi-mosaic back-

ground in all the simple grace with which the great master's pencil had quickened it. But the old walls of the church were hidden beneath draperies of silk and velvet, the dark sweeping curves of which were made less dark by the gold and silver that shone amidst the folds. In the centre of the building stood a catafalque, a solid square, with the poet's virtues symbolized on its four sides. Piled upon this square, in graceful disorder, a pyramid of swords, bucklers, cuirasses, and bannerets rose to the very roof of the church, where, above the Crusaders' flag, hung suspended a laurel crown. At each corner of the square stood four vases filled with bay, and four candelabra with flaming lights. Around these were seated the deputies of every learned society in Rome, all of which had been invited to be present at the ceremony.

When the last notes of the requiem had died away, the Minister of Public Works ordered the slab that covered the grave to be raised, and in a few moments the leaden coffin containing the remains was exposed to view. But time and damp had so injured the joinings, that the whole coffin seemed likely to break up if moved. To prevent this disaster, the lid was taken off and placed underneath, so as to bear the entire weight. Thus the ashes of Tasso were exposed once more to the light of the sun. Having been laid on a table, the bones, after the solemn service of the Catholic ritual, were one by one taken out of the coffin, and after being described and registered on parchment, were carefully transferred to a leaden urn prepared for the purpose.

Meantime silence had fallen on the throng who gazed on the poor mortal spoils that had once been Torquato Tasso. It was painful at such a moment to recall to memory the description given of his friend by Giovanni Battista Manso, and yet, though painful, it was brought forcibly before the mind. The fair skin, the finely arched brow, the large broad forehead, the blue eyes, in which the poet's soul was seen, the graceful limbs, all these had belonged to Tasso, but now . . .

When the transfer of the remains had been effected, the parchment, signed by all present, and enclosed in a glass tube, was placed with them in the leaden coffin. This was then carefully sealed, and deposited in one of marble, with the simple inscription, "*Ossa Torquati Tassi,*" the bones of Torquato Tasso; and in a few minutes the poet's remains reposed in their new and splendid resting place.

Thus was fulfilled the promise of a noble tomb made over his grave nearly three centuries before; thus was realized, after so long a time, the triumph of the Capitoline crown; and the glory which had been denied to him in life, gilded at last, with brightest rays, his tomb in death.

THE BISHOP OF ORLEANS ON THE PREROGATIVES OF THE SUCCESSORS OF ST. PETER.

VERY REV. AND DEAR FELLOW-LABOURERS :

The Archbishop of Paris, as you are aware, recently addressed to the clergy and faithful of his diocese a pastoral charge, publishing the dogmatic constitutions promulgated in the Vatican Council. I deem it my duty, after the example of my worthy metropolitan, to publish in my turn those important constitutions. The obligatory character of a dogmatic decree does not depend, it is true, on its publication in each diocese : nevertheless, I think it necessary, Rev. Brethren, that you should have under your eyes, and should be able to preserve in the archives of your parishes an authentic and faithful exposition of the doctrine which is the rule of our faith, and which should serve as a ground-work for the instructions that you will give to a Christian people.

Such is the nature of the communication which I am about to make to you to-day.

I would have forwarded it to you sooner were it not that the exceptional gravity of the crisis through which we have passed since the prorogation of the Council prevented me from sending these constitutions to you with suitable instructions : whilst, moreover, the publicity accorded to them by the press seemed to justify some delay in sending them to each parish.

I did not wait, however, until the present time to send the expression of my sentiments to the Holy Father : and long ago I notified to His Holiness, to you, and to the faithful of my diocese, my adhesion to the doctrines promulgated in those constitutions.

Amidst the afflicting cares of the war, and of the Prussian occupation, at a time when I was shut up within the walls of Orleans, unable to hold communication with those outside, even with the pastors of my diocese, I sought a solace from so many woes by labouring at the pastoral charge in which I purposed to promulgate the constitutions of 25th April and 18th July. This charge has now become a volume, which I shall publish as soon as my heavy labours will allow me time to revise it.

And between the month of February, 1871, and the morrow of our deliverance, in my letter of adhesion addressed to the Holy Father from Bordeaux, I reminded His Holiness that if I had written and spoken against the opportuneness of the definition, " as to the doctrine itself, I had always professed it,

not only in my heart, but in my public writings, for which the Holy Father had kindly congratulated me in most affectionate terms ;” and I said to him, that “ I gave in my adhesion anew, too happy if by this act of submission I could offer some consolation to His Holiness in the midst of his bitter sorrows.”

From other sources, Rev. Brethren, you may understand the depth of my feeling ; for, when bidding you adieu on the eve of my departure for Rome, I admonished you with what “ submission of voice, of spirit, and of heart we should all receive the decrees which would be adopted.” And after my return, when speaking to you concerning the controversies of the past, I said that “ the contests of the Church are not like those of the world ; they are not terminated by personal triumphs, but by the victory of faith in accordance with the holy will of God.”

To-day, then, I respond to your wishes and to my own, by publishing the two dogmatic constitutions—*Dei Filius* and *Pastor Aeternus*—without fear of vainly exciting mistrust, which the good sense of true statesmen knows how to resist, or of the clamours of the enemies of the Church and of the Holy See.

In the peaceful silence of your dwellings you can read them—you can meditate on them with faith. You will see in the first of these constitutions the withering blight which has fallen on those doctrines—which Fenelon called monsters of error—the energetic condemnation of Atheism, of Pantheism, of Materialism, which, some years ago, I designated the disgrace of our age, the most formidable danger of the future, whilst at the same time I pointed out the social dangers which menaced us, and the abyss into which we have at length been precipitated, and in which we are now vainly struggling.

My weak voice was then of no avail, and, like an empty sound, it was lost in the air ; but the voice of all the Bishops of the world assembled together will now perhaps convince the people, and those who hold the destinies of the people in their hands, how fatal such errors are, and how important it is that all should proclaim, and should defend against every assault, those necessary and fundamental truths without which all order, social and moral, must perish.

Indeed, before even two generations should have passed away, where could we hope to find reason, good sense, morality, public dignity, or civilization amongst a people who persuade themselves that there is no God, no soul, that man is only a perfected ape, that the reason of man is more or less like the instinct of brute animals ; who admit no other religion than that which is suggested by the passions ;

who acknowledge no distinction between good and evil, no future life, no other providence, in fine, than the fatuity of blind laws; and instead of liberty, instead of moral responsibility, the alternative of contrary and preponderant movements of cerebral matter! To such an extent can folly be carried, that men will be found to assert that the greatest culprits are not the malefactors who are dragged before tribunals, but "the magistrates who condemn them." This has been asserted, Rev. Brethren, and sustained in public Theses!

As for myself, Rev. Brethren, I often thought whilst assisting at the Council, and I repeated it to myself whilst reading these decrees: "What a disgrace to poor humanity! What! after nineteen centuries of the Gospel, and more than forty centuries of philosophy, is it necessary that seven hundred bishops should assemble from all parts of the world, under the presidency of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to denounce and to condemn such errors as these:—'If any one should deny the existence of one only true God, Creator and Sovereign Lord of the world'—'if any person should not blush to affirm that outside of matter nothing exists?'"

What are such errors, Rev. Brethren, but the perversion of reason and of all truth—of all truth, of all virtue, of all that which is called religion and morality amongst men?

Wherefore, Rev. Brethren, be on your guard, and struggle against the evil. Do not believe that the existence of the Church, any more than the existence of the sun, is sufficient to drive away all darkness. We must labour, we must toil. It has pleased God to oblige us to labour; and if he has called you to the priesthood, it is in order that you may labour without ceasing to rekindle in the souls of men the flame which is extinguished, to root out unceasingly the errors which are continually springing up.

In the second constitution, *Pastor Aeternus*, you will perceive, and you will teach your flocks the beauty and the greatness of the promises made by our Lord Jesus Christ to Peter, the Supreme Head of the Church.

You will read again and again, with sentiments of profound consolation, those incomparable words of our Lord—words so simple, and yet so forcible, in which we feel a sovereign power, which carry with them such light that we are unable to conceive anything clearer or more striking.

For my own part, I am never weary of reading the Gospel narrative—so simple and so grand—where we find the very original of the constitution promulgated on the 18th July:—
"And Jesus set out with his disciples to preach in the neigh-

bouring villages of Cesarea Philippi, and on the road he proposed to them this question : Whom do men say that I am ? They answered : Some say that you are John the Baptist ; others Elias ; others, in fine, Jeremias, or one of the prophets. But you"—said Jesus to them—"whom do you say that I am ? Simon Peter answered and said : Thou art Christ the Son of the living God. And Jesus answering, said to him : Blessed art thou Simon Barjona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed to thee but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee that thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth it shall be loosed also in heaven."

Here, then, behold the entire design of our Lord made manifest. Behold the meaning of that glance which he cast upon Peter when first he saw him, and the substitution of that symbolical and wonderful name.

See, then, this poor humble man become the foundation of a Divine edifice. To this poor ignorant man, unacquainted with any of the sciences, but believing in the love of God for men, believing in the kingdom of heaven—it is said, "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven"—I will give to thee those keys which, by faith and grace, by hope and charity, by the exercise of the spiritual sovereignty and the virtue of Christian obedience, will open and will close the gates of heaven ; that is to say, the great moral power, the religious authority, the direction and the support of consciences ; in a word, that which gives security to souls here below. Behold what is given to the most humble and the weakest of men !

And on the eve of the passion : "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have thee, that he may sift thee as wheat ; but I have prayed for thee that thy faith may not fail ; and thou being once converted confirm thy brethren."

Then, again, after the Resurrection : "Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these ?" asks Jesus after his resurrection. And Peter answered, "Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him feed my lambs. Again, he saith to him : Simon, son of John, lovest thou me ? He saith to him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him, the third time, Simon, Son of John, lovest thou me ? and Simon answered : Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee ; Jesus saith to him feed my sheep"—*Pasce oves meas*. Then it was that Peter definitely received his Divine appointment in presence of all his brethren, and was constituted sovereign

pastor of the lambs and of the sheep, of the young and of the old, that is, of all the flock of Jesus Christ.

Here, then, behold this high authority which presides over the whole church! Behold the Papal Infallibility, in virtue of which the successor of St. Peter can never err, when defining, *ex-cathedra*, as universal pastor and teacher, what is to be believed by all the faithful! Behold here, then, the great teaching authority which forms the bond of spirits, the unity and solidity of belief in the Holy Catholic Church.

If Jesus Christ has committed the teaching authority to all the apostolic body, for the perpetual diffusion of truth—“*Itē docete omnes gentes . . . Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus . . .* He wished to vest it especially and above all in the chief of the apostles for the immutable preservation of unity . . . “*Tu es Petrus . . . Tibi dabo claves . . . Sint unum.*” . . .

This unity was the dearest wish of his heart; and it was for this especially that he prayed to his Father on the evening of the Last Supper: “Holy Father keep them in thy name whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we also are, and not for them (the apostles) only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in me; that they may be one as we also are one.”

Thus Jesus Christ wished that not only the Twelve but the thousands of bishops who were to come after them, should be for ever one, that they should have but one and the same heart, one and the same spirit, one and the same voice in the infallible teaching of truth.

And this it is which the constitution of the 18th July admirably expresses in these words:—“In order that the Episcopacy may be for ever one and indivisible, and that by the firm adhesion of a priesthood closely united in all its parts, the entire multitude of the faithful may be maintained in the unity of faith and of communion, Jesus Christ, the Eternal Pastor and Bishop of souls, putting forward the blessed Peter as chief of the Apostles, established him as a principle and a visible foundation of this two-fold unity; and it is on the immutable solidity of this base that he wished to erect the Eternal Temple of his Church—that Church, which, destined to be raised even to the heavens, should be built on the secure foundation of unalterable faith in virtue of this incomparable word: “Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.”

Such, then, was the design of our Lord in making Peter the chief of his Apostles.

From this moment Peter appeared the first in everything:

he is named the first on all occasions by the Evangelists. Paul maybe the great Apostle, but Peter is the Prince of the Apostles. Paul converted, enlightened by Jesus Christ himself, must come to see Peter, *videre Petrum*; to see him, to contemplate him, to study him, said St. John Chrysostom—to see him as one greater and more venerable than he was, in order that it might be well established that howsoever learned, howsoever holy a man may be, were he another Paul, he must go to see Peter, *videre Petrum*. Peter, said the great Archbishop of Constantinople, in another place—Peter is the mouthpiece of the Apostles—*Os Apostolorum*, the Corypheus of the Apostolic choir—*chori Apostolici Coryphoeus*.

Thus, he was the first in his confession of faith, the first in his confession of love, the first in the election of a successor to Judas, the first in the solemn promulgation of the Evangelical Law; the first in the conversion of the Gentiles; the first in the government of the Church; the first everywhere—Peter everywhere, and always guides and directs all.

But where will he be conducted by a will manifestly higher than his own? Where will Peter reside? In what quarter of the globe will he establish himself to perpetuate this supreme authority with which he has been invested? Where, in fine, will be Peter's See?

After having founded the Church of Jerusalem, where he presided over the first of the Councils, after having sat at Antioch, where the glorious name of Christianity took its rise, he goes to Rome—the capital of idolatry and of empire—but which, destined to become the capital of religion and of the Church, was therefore to be the See of Peter, and the seat of Apostolic sovereignty. Nero thought that he could overturn everything at one blow by fastening Peter, with his head downwards, to a cross; whilst at the same time he caused the head of Paul to fall beneath the executioner's blade. But imperial cruelty concurred in spite of itself in the accomplishment of the eternal design. In raising Peter on the cross, Nero fixed for ever at Rome that sovereignty which he dreaded.

Rome, the divinely-appointed See of the fisherman of Galilee, witness of his martyrdom, and the depository of his venerated relics, acquired the right of retaining his chair. This chair of Peter—the one chair in which alone all can find unity—still exists after so many ages, and exists after so many persecutions with its imprescriptible rights, sustained by the protecting hand of God, in the place where Peter himself carried it, and fixed it by his death—in the place where he left his sacred bones, after having given to his Master this great testimony of love.

At the commencement of the new persecution, which for more than a quarter of a century has desolated the Church without overwhelming her, when Pius IX. commenced, on the rock of Gaeta, to drink this bitter chalice which he drains to-day in his astonishing old age, I had the consolation and the honour of addressing him in the words which I rejoice, Rev. Brethren, to repeat to you to-day.

“Behold,” said I, “this Pope! this successor of Peter, the head of Catholic Christianity, this mouthpiece of the Church—*Os Ecclesiae*—always living, and always open to teach the universe—the centre of faith and of Christian unity: this torch of truth enkindled to illuminate the world, *lux mundi*: this infirm old man, this weak old man—immutable base of a Divine edifice, against which the powers of darkness shall never prevail: this corner-stone on which is raised, here below, the city of God! Behold this immortal head, on which repose so many glorious memories of the past, the hope of the present, the designs of an eternal future! Prince of princes, father of fathers, heir of the Apostles; and, as St. Bernard said long ago, greater than Abraham by his patriarchate; greater than Melchisedech by his priesthood; greater than Moses by his authority; greater than Samuel by his jurisdiction; in a word, Peter by power, Christ by unction, pastor of pastors, guide of guides, cardinal point of all the churches, impregnable citadel of the communion of the children of God.”

This is what I wrote twenty years ago. When one has always thought thus, you can understand, Rev. Brethren, with what joy, and—in the extreme affliction of the present time, in face of the universal desertion of the weak powers of earth—with what profound devotion I proclaim again the high prerogatives of him who is the Successor of Peter, the Vicar on earth of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Accept, Rev. Brethren, and dear fellow-labourers, the expression of my most devoted esteem in our Lord.

Versailles, 29th June, 1872, Feast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

* FELIX, Bishop of Orleans.

DOCUMENT.

EX S. CONGREGATIONE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE.

DE FACULTATE ITERANDI MISSAM MISSIONUM ORDINARIIS-
CONCESSA.

INTER facultates, quas Missionum Ordinariis tribuit S. Congregatio fidei propagandae praeposita, ea continetur, quae his verbis est concepta: “Celebrandi bis in die, si necessitas urgeat (ita tamen ut in prima Missa non sumpserit ablutionem) per unam horam ante auroram et aliam post meridiem sine ministro et sub dio et sub terra, in loco tamen decenti, etiamsi altare sit fractum vel sine reliquiis Sanctorum et praesentibus haereticis, schismaticis, infidelibus et excommunicatis si aliter celebrari non possit. Caveat vero, ne praedicta facultate seu dispensatione celebrandi bis in die aliter quam ex gravissimis causis et rarissime utatur, in quo graviter ipsius conscientia oneratur. Quod si hanc eandem facultatem alteri Sacerdoti . . . communicare aut causas ea utendi alicui, qui a Sancta Sede hanc facultatem obtinuerit, approbare visum fuerit, serio ipsius conscientiae iniungitur, ut paucis dumtaxat, iisque maturioris prudentiae ac zeli, et qui absolute necessarii sint, nec pro quolibet loco, sed ubi gravis necessitas tulerit et ad breve tempus eandem communicet aut respective causas adprobet.”

Instructio quae sequitur respicit hunc facultatum articulum, eaque est tenoris huiusmodi:

1. Facultas iterandi Missam, quam tribuere solet S. Sedes Ordinariis Missionum, quam facultatem communicare possunt suis Missionariis, non pauca excitavit dubia ab iisdem huic S. Congregationi proposita. Horum dubiorum ratio petitur ex ipso clausularum rigore quae iussu Alexandri VII. adiectae fuerunt articulo Formularum qui de hac facultate agit. Quare opportunum visum est colligere per praesentem Instructionem principia et regulas communiores, quae in huius facultatis usu prae oculis sunt habendae.

2. Quisque noscit, Regulam generalem esse, iuxta vigentem Ecclesiae disciplinam, fas esse Sacerdoti S. Sacrificium offerre semel in die. Sic Innocentius III.:¹ “Respondemus, quod excepto die Nativitatis Dominicae, *nisi causa necessitatis suadeat*, sufficit Sacerdoti semel in die unam Missam solummodo celebrare.”

¹ Cap. *Consuluisti* de Celebratione Missarum.

3. In casu ergo necessitatis permittitur Sacerdoti Missae iteratio eodem die. Id tamen debet intelligi, ut ex ipsis formulae verbis dignoscitur, de venia celebrandi duas tantum Missas, quamvis graves concurrerent causae quae maiorem numerum celebrare suaderent. Postulavit olim Praefectus Missionis Capuccinorum Tuneti, an uno eodemque die, si necessitas urgeret, plures quam duas Missas celebrare posset, propterea quod omnes eius Missionarii in carceres coniecti erant? Atque S. Congregatio generalis fidei propagandae praeposita die 7 Augusti 1684, respondit: *non posse vigore facultatum celebrare ultra duas Missas*. Quod iampridem responsum fuerat in generali Congregatione habita coram Summo Pontifice die 17 Februarii 1648: namque exposito abusu qui invaluerat inter Sacerdotes captivitate detentos in Algeria celebrandi tres Missas, “*SSm̄us...iussit per dictum Praefectum (Algeriae) praecip̄i nomine Sanctitatis Suae Sacerdotibus... quod cum Sedes Apostolica in facultatibus Missionariorum potestatem seu licentiam concesserit celebrandi bis in die, ubi necessitas id exegerit, ne deinceps ultra duas Missas celebrent.*” Idem fuit repetitum anno 1818 et 1820 Praefecto Tuneti.

4. Necessitas ergo est unicus titulus ex quo facultas Sacerdotibus fit duas dicendi Missas. Expediit cum Verricelli¹ animadvertere, quod “haec necessitas non est desumenda ex parte inopiae Sacerdotum, sed ex parte necessitatis spiritualis populi et raritate Sacerdotum.” Hoc principio posito, facile est quasdam negativas regulas eruere de usu facultatum de quibus agitur.

5. 1^o. Non potest iterari Missa diebus festis suppressis, quibus populus Missam audire non tenetur, quemadmodum monuit S. Congregatio anno 1837 his verbis: “*Re mature perpensa, ex ipsius formulae verbis satis clare patuit, non posse facultates ad abrogatas festivitates extendi. Cum enim in memorata formula declaretur, facultatem valere si necessitas urgeat, sequitur ex eo unice titulo, quod dies illi festi olim fuerint, non posse Missam bis ab eodem Sacerdote celebrari.*”

6. 2^o. Pariter interdicta est Missae iteratio in eorum commodum, qui vellent praecepto audiendi Missam satisfacere in suis privatis capellis. Enarraverat anno 1842 Vicarius Apostolicus Limburgensis consuetudinem in suo Vicariatu inolitam permittendi Missae iterationem *in castris magnatorum*; quum autem non putaret his in adiunctis eam necessitatem esse, quae a formulis exigitur, petiit, tum ratione consuetudinis, tum moralis utilitatis quae inde proveniebat, ut sibi auctoritas fieret id permittendi. At S. Congregatio Inqui-

¹ De Apost. Mission. Tit. IV. quaest. 98: Dub. 18 n. 201.

sitionis iudicavit: *iuxta exposita non expedire*. Quum autem subiunxisset Vicarius Apostolicus, aliquos Sacerdotes ex praehabita facultate ab eius Praedecessore iterationem Missae prosequi, eadem S. Congregatio decrevit: *facultatem esse revocandam, quatenus Vicarius Apostolicus Limburgensis prudenter id fieri posse existimet*.

7. 3°. Ex huiusmodi Resolutionibus infertur, consuetudinem non esse titulum sufficientem, ut idem Sacerdos offerre bis possit uno eodemque die S. Sacrificium. Quod etiam consonat cum eo quod docuit Benedictus XIV. in Const. *Declarasti nobis*, data die 16 Martii 1746 ad Episcopum Oscensem his verbis:—“*Solum inquirimus, utrum ea consuetudo rationem praescriptionis sibi aut praesumptionis comparavit, et utrumque falsum et alienum iudicamus.*” Et ad praescriptionem quod attinet, scripsit: “*Si etenim iuxta civiles leges sanctae res praescribi non possunt, absonum undique est asserere, fuisse per praescriptionem aliquid obtentum vel acquisitum, quod adversetur sanctionibus universalibus Ecclesiae, quarum observantiam S. Concilium Trid. in Missarum celebratione Sacerdotibus omnibus praecipit.*” Ad praesumptionem autem quod attinet subiunxit: “*Sed ceteris praetermissis subdimus hacc intelligi posse de illis privilegiis, quae impetrari potuissent a Sede Apostolica, si quis ea postulasset, non vero de iis, quae cum postulantur, negari omnino consueverunt, ne praesumptio plus habeat roboris et momenti quam veritas.*” Inde est, quod S. Congregatio, quum cognoverit aliquo in loco inolitam esse consuetudinem iterandi Missam sine necessitate, non omisit eiusmodi reprobare consuetudinem tamquam abusum, zelum Episcoporum excitans ad eam eliminandam.

8. 4°. Etiam Presbyterorum paupertas non iustificat Missae iterationem ut cum Verricelli¹ indicatum est. Quidam Hiberniae Archiepiscopus anno 1688 petiit:—“*An ex sola paupertatis causa possent Regulares duas Missas diebus festis celebrare id facientes in privatis domibus, quamquam omnes parociae et Conventus proprias ecclesias et capellas haberent.*” S. Congregationis Responsum negativum fuit: quum autem relatum esset particulari Congregationi Fidei Propagandae habitae tum die 7 Martii 1743 tum die 28 Iulii 1750, eiusmodi abusum in Hibernia adhuc vigere, quod multi Sacerdotes utebantur facultate iterandi Missam non alia de causa quam ut pinguires eleemosynas perciperent, atque inde commodius se sustentarent, Eñi Patres decreverunt:—“*Graviter moneantur Sacerdotes, ne facultate celebrandi bis in die abutantur, ut stipendium largius et pinguius habeant.*” Et a Benedicto XIV.²

¹ L. cit.

² Const. Apostolicum Ministerium 30 Maii 1753, § 11.

appellatur *abusus intolerabilis* concessio alicui Sacerdoti facta iterandi Missam *eum in finem, ut duplici eleemosyna decentius se sustentaret*. Solum ut aliquem morem gereret pauperibus Religiosis eius Regni, qui conquesti fuerant de simili prohibitione facta in Synodo provinciali Tuamensi ob damnum inde proveniens sublata sibi eleemosyna quam Missae occasione percipere solebant ad ecclesiae ianuas, cum ipsi viverent ex fidelium oblationibus, S. Congregatio voluit, ut monerentur Episcopi, ut, "*in impertienda de auctoritate Apostolica Sacerdotibus licentia celebrandi diebus festis de praecepto duas Missas ob causas necessitatis ab Apostolicis Constitutionibus approbatas rationem habeant Sacerdotum Regularium ac praesertim illorum qui in pauperibus coenobiis moram trahunt*." Ceterum cum declaraverit S. Congregatio Concilii:—"ex praxi generali Presbyteris non concedi eleemosynam recipere pro secunda Missa, etiamsi de illis agatur, qui parochiali munere instructi ideo stipendium pro prima Missa nequeunt obtinere, quod eam pro populo applicare teneantur," ut notificatum est per literas circulares S. Congregationis Fidei Propagandae praepositae die 15 Octobris 1863 Ordinariis Missionum, dubium omne ac quilibet obtentus iterandi Missam intuitu stipendii sublatus est. Habita tamen ratione circumstantiarum quarumdam Missionum, SS^mus Pater dignatus est auctoritatem facere, ut constat ex dictis Litteris circularibus, earum Ordinariis ad permittendum, "*ut iusta et gravi causa intercedente Sacerdotes sibi subditi etiam pro secunda Missa in eadem die celebranda stipendium percipere possint ac valeant*."

9. 5°. Denique interdicta est Sacerdoti Missae iteratio si alter haberi possit Sacerdos, quo satisfiat populi necessitati, ceu expresse docet Benedictus XIV. in citata Constit. *Declarasti nobis*. Atque inde est, ut, priusquam admittatur Missae iteratio, videndum sit, an aliquod medium iure constitutum suppetat ad prospiciendum spirituali populi necessitati: atque in primis tenetur ipse Parochus ad dandum stipendium alteri Sacerdoti; posita autem eius impotentia, tenetur populus; et denique, si neque populus ob suam paupertatem cogi posset, Ordinarius supplere teneretur.¹

10. Hactenus de casibus, in quibus prohibita est Missae iteratio. Ad casus quod attinet in quibus ad iterandam Missam necessitas concurrat, hi sunt expositi in Constit. *Declarasti nobis*. Hac in Constitutione consideratur in primis, iuxta unanimum Theologorum consensum permitti iterationem Missae Sacerdoti, "*qui duas parochias obtineat, vel duos populos adeo seiunctos, ut alter ipsorum Parocho celebranti per dies festos*

¹ Ben. XIV. l. c. Votum Card. Zelada *Thesaur. Resolutionem*, t. 37 in causa Derthusen. 26 Aug., 1768.

adesse nullo modo possit ob locorum maximam distantiam." Atque hic est primus et communior casus: alter, qui ibidem recensetur, est, "*quando una tantum sit ecclesia in qua Missa celebratur, et ad quam insimul universus populus convenire non potest.*"

II. In his casibus iterari Missa potest etiam ab iis, qui facultate non sunt donati per formulas, quae concedi solent per S. Congregationem fidei propagandae praepositae, cum id concedat ipsum commune ius, semper tamen dependenter ab Ordinario, cui pertinet de vera necessitate iudicium deque possibilitate applicandi canonica remedia (§. 9). Revera eiusmodi mediis indicatis Benedictus XIV. subiungit: "*Quae huc usque dicta sunt, canonicis etiam generalibus sanctionibus innituntur.*" Quin imo concors est Theologorum opinio, quemadmodum et ipse Benedictus XIV. animadvertit, in casu unius Parochi cum duabus paroeciis, "*Parochum nedum posse, sed plane teneri bis eodem die Missam celebrare.*"¹ Ex quibus facile consequitur, articulum Formularum, cum sit facultativus, protendi ad alios quoque casus necessitatis in communi iure non consideratos; secus enim inutilis ille articulus evaderet, saltem pro iis locis in quibus paroeciae sunt canonice erectae, ipso iure communi pro his paroecis disponente. Quod consonat cum eo quod docet Benedictus XIV. in opere *De Sacros. Missae Sacrificio*,² in quo facta mentione: *casum, qui revera contingit, eum esse, cum Parochus duas habet parochias* etc., his verbis prosequitur: "*Neque tamen quidquam praeiudicatum volumus de aliis casibus, qui accidunt in Missionibus, quibus consultum est concedendo Missionariis facultatem plures celebrandi Missas eodem die; itemque de aliis casibus, in quibus vel ob locorum distantiam, vel ob paucitatem Sacerdotum, aut haereticorum aut infidelium persecutionem, ne fideles Missa careant opus est a Sacerdotibus duas Missas celebrari.* Et de huiusmodi quidem causis quae locum in Missionibus habent, pro quibus Missionum Superioribus datur facultas, agebatur anno 1832, cum ad quendam Missionarium Philippopolitanum, qui non iterabat Missas, quamvis variis populis praesideret, scriptum fuit: iniuncta scilicet Missae iteratione, etiam ex mandato generalis S. Congregationis, adiungebatur: "*Si autem quaeras, cur facultati iterandi Missam in formula Indulti adiiciantur illae rigoris clausulae, invenies in ipsa formula responsum: observabis enim Indultum non coerceri ad populi indigentias diebus tantum festivis; sed, quum generalibus terminis continetur, comprehendere quoque alios casus de quibus agitur, quemadmodum esset necessitas administrandi infirmis Vaticanum in*"

¹ De Syn. Dioec. L. VI. c. VIII. n. 2.

² Lib. III. c. v. n. 4.

utraque paroecia, et in huiusmodi aliis casibus locum habere debere praescriptas cautelas."

12. Atque in huiusmodi singillatim casibus minus frequentibus in usu eius facultatis identidem implexi reperti sunt Episcopi et Missionarii; de causarum praesertim sufficientia dubitantes, quae requirerentur iuxta clausulas facultati adiectas. At vero tot tamque varii sunt casus, qui de hac materia in Missionibus possunt contingere, qui praevideri facile haud possunt, multoque minus reduci ad determinatas regulas; de iisdem enim iudicium variari potest iuxta dispares locorum, temporum personarumque concurrentes circumstantias. Haec est ratio cur dubiorum particularium resolutio, quae hac de re sunt proposita, plerumque remissa est prudenti Superioris Missionum arbitrio.

13. Pluries regula postulata est de numero fidelium, qui esset satis, ut Missa iterari posset. In Constit. *Apostolicum Ministerium*, edita pro Anglia dicitur, eiusmodi facultate posse uti "*cum eorum numerus, qui diebus festivis tenentur sacris assistere, talem exhibeat necessitatem, ut nisi alicui Sacerdoti duas Missas eodem die celebrandi potestas concedatur, Ecclesiae mandato plures non satisfacerent.*" Eiusmodi tamen generalis norma dubium non aufert de numero iterationi necessario. Idem repeti potest de quodam negativo responso S. Inquisitionis anno 1688 dato quibusdam Missionariis Capuccinis in Graecia. Hi quaesiverant: "Utrum Missionarius Sacerdos solus in loco degens duas Missas diebus Dominicis et festivis pro quindecim seu viginti personis, quae legitime impeditae primae Missae adesse non valuerunt, celebrare possit:" et Suprema S. Inquisitio die 28 Ianuarii eiusdem anni decrevit: *non licere*. Si itaque numerus viginti fidelium haud satis existimatur ut Missa iteretur, ulterius quaeri potest, quinam sit minimus numerus, qui sufficiat.

14. Sed circa eiusmodi dubium, quemadmodum circa ea quae distantiam respiciunt, S. Congregatio in more habuit, resolvenda haec esse prudenti Ordinariorum Missionum arbitrio, a quibus facultas pendet; ipsi enim in locis in quibus sunt recte aestimare possunt concurrentes circumstantias in singulis casibus. Et sane usque ab anno 1688 Praefectus Missionis Tuneti in Mauritiana generatim postulabat, ut declararetur, qualis esse numerus fidelium deberet qui Missa privarentur, ut Missa iterari posset; et S. Congreg. Generalis Fidei Propagandae die 16 Novembris respondit: *Relinquatur caritati et conscientiae P. Praefecti*. Similiter Episcopus S. Ludovici in Statibus Americae foedere iunctis anno 1828, exposito suo aliorumque Episcoporum timore propriam conscientiam gravandi ob formularum clausulas, postulavit: "utrum

quoties triginta aut quinquaginta fideles periculo exponuntur Missam de praecepto non audire, bis celebrare valeant:" iussu Leonis XII. litteris datis die 13 Martii rescriptum est: "*omnem te anxietatem animi deponere debere, et quin commovearis verborum rigore, Se (Sanctitatem Suam) conscientiae ac prudentiae tuae committere, ut iudices quibus in casibus ratione habita adiunctorum dioecesis tuae graves adesse causae censendae sint, facultatem, de qua sermo est, Sacerdotibus impertiendi. Ubi vero has causas graves secundum conscientiam prudentiamque tuam arbitratus fueris, Sanctitas Sua posse te absque ulla dubitatione ea facultate uti benigne declaravit.*"

15. Similis quoque responsio data est anno 1851 Vicariō Apostolico Limburgensi, qui dubium super distantia sic proposuerat: "*In hac regione ex antiqua consuetudine binandi licentia aliquando conceditur ob necessitatem moralem, licet parochia vicinior non distet ultra spatium mediae leucae; quaeritur num recte?*" S. Congregatio suis literis die 31 Iulii respondit: "*Praemisso Episcoporum esse muneris pro viribus curare, ut hac uti facultate non sit opus ad succurrendum fidelium necessitatibus, praxis generalis servanda in singulis casibus assignari non potest. Quapropter in casibus ut supra particularibus, deficiente Presbyterorum copia aliisque omnibus circumstantiis mature perpensis, prudenti iudicio Superioris definiendum, utrum eo in casu concurrant gravia rerum adiuncta, quae tradunt Doctores necessitatis casum efficere (uti propositus videtur), in quo dispensationi a praecepto universali de non iterando Sacrificio ab eodem Presbytero eademque die locus fiat, et binandi facultati tribuendae qua parce omnino illum uti debere ex Apostolici ipsius Indulti verbis apprime perspicitur.*" Atque haec Instructio iisdem verbis data fuit Episcopo Trevirensi anno 1853, cuius nomine varia dubia de Missae iteratione proposita fuerant; rescriptum enim ei fuit die 28 Septembris, quod eius quaesitis consideratis, "*censuit S. Congregatio dandam esse instructionem, quam... Vicarius Apostolicus Limburgensis obtinuit sub die 31 Iulii anno 1851.*"

16. Ceterum inter varia responsa, quae iudicio Superioris remittunt causarum gravitatem nonnullae peculiarem mentionem merentur; eiusmodi sunt illae quae, dum sequenter consuetam regulam remittendi Superioris iudicio causarum aestimationem, indicant simul aliquo modo genus seu necessitatis gradum quem iteratio Missae postulat, atque identidem aliquatenus temperant impressionem atque leniunt nimiam animi anxietatem quam Episcopis et Missionariis illae clausulae creaverant quibus haec facultas coercetur. Unum ex eiusmodi responsis datum est anno 1848 ad Episcopum in Statibus Americae foedere iunctis; datis enim litteris die 9 Maii sic

est rescriptum: "*Venio ad postulatam tuam circa modum interpretandi necessitatem, quae requiritur ad licitum usum facultatis bis in die Missam celebrandi. . . Noverit ergo Amplitudo Tua necessitatem huiusmodi, de qua sermo est, veram quidem, sed moralem intelligi; non autem absolutam, de qua proinde diiudicare in singulis casibus pendet a prudenti iudicio inspectis circumstantiis. Caveas ergo oportet hac in re ab anxietate nimia in diiudicando, ne frustra concessa aut pene in nullo casu ad actum reducenda facultas praedicta videatur.*"

Notatu dignior est declaratio quae facta est anno 1828 ad quendam Praefectum Apostolicum in Antillis Americae. Cum enim ille haud fideret tranquille uti facultate de qua agitur ob graves condiciones quibus constringitur, imploravit "*amplio- rem facultatem a Sede Apostolica copiam faciendi Presbyteris . . . ut diebus dominicis et festis de praecepto Missam bis celebrare possint, cum id postulet necessitas aut spiritualis fidelium utilitas.*" Facta huius rei relatione R. Pontifici die 13 Aprilis responsum est eo modo qui sequitur: "*Talis existimatio est virtutis et prudentiae tuae, ut SSinus D. N. iusserit, omnem deponere te debere anxietatem animi, et si existimaveris necessarium esse, vel fidelibus vehementer utile, ut Sacerdotes bis Missam eodem festo die celebrent, verborum quibus rescriptum contineri videtur, rigore commoveri te non debere. Prudentiae itaque et conscientiae D. T. committit de necessitate ista, et causarum gravitate iudicare atque in iis rerum adiunctis facultatem per memoratum Rescriptum copiam faciendi Sacerdotibus, ut Missam bis celebrent, te habere Sanctitas Sua benigne declaravit.*"

17. Eadem regula committendi arbitrio aut charitati Superioris Missionum applicationem generalium principiorum practicis casibus servata quoque est, quando in ipsis, prout exponebantur, non appareret ea causarum vis et gravitas (saltem si hae causae considerarentur in se et in abstracto) quam huius facultatis clausulae exigant; quod quidem confirmat, in causis considerandis, quae usum facultatis suadeant, magnam rationem habendam esse omnium conditionum statusque fidelium. Huius rei argumento est responsio a S.C. data anno 1688 Vice-Praefecto Missionis Tripolitanae. Hic ob clausulas incertus quaesierat: "*cuinam numero servorum aut liberorum posset praecise celebrare Missam secundam, quum interdum daretur casus, ut in balneo extra Tripolim praesentes Sacrificio non adessent plures quam decem aut duodecim servi . . . et an in Presbyterorum carentia pro illis solis posset celebrari secunda Missa diebus festis?*" At quin obstaret Resolutio eodem anno data a S. Congregatione Inquisitionis, et notatum est superius §. 13, S. Congregatio Fidei Propagandae praeposita

die 5 Octobris respondit: "*Relinquatur charitati et conscientiae P.V. Praefecti.*" Neque mirum esse debet si haec S. Congregatio benigniori interpretationi indulset; agebatur enim de servis, qui ob hanc suam conditionem peculiarem indulgentiam merebantur, quum unicum fortasse solatium eis esset S. Sacrificium. Aliud eiusmodi argumentum, ratione circumstantiarum habita, anno 1860 supeditavit S. Inquisitio; namque licet die 20 Iunii responderet Vicario Apostolico cuiusdam Regni Sinis adiacentis "*desiderium Neophytorum bis aut ter in anno S. Sanctam Eucharistiam sumere volentium per se non esse urgentissimam causam, in casu de quo agitur*" idest iterandi Missam iuxta facultatum, attamen subiunxit: "*sed pensatis omnibus locorum et personarum circumstantiis relinquendum arbitrio R. P. D. Vicarii Apostolici.*" Ex quibus eruitur, eas causas, quae per se atque proinde multis in locis graves non sint, graves evadere posse in aliis locis ob circumstantias quae casum concomitentur.

18. Haec sunt principia, quae prae oculis sunt habita quoad facultatum Missam iterandi, quaeque profecto in eiusdem facultatis exercitio Missionum Ordinarios tranquillabunt. Quamvis autem prudenti Ordinarios Missionum arbitrio deferri soleat, attamen ex hactenus dictis apparet, quanta cautela ipsi uti debeant; quum semper eorum conscientia onerata maneat in exercitio huiusmodi extraordinariae facultatis. Nihilominus repetere hic iuvabit, quod S. Congregatio anno 1832 ad Episcopum Nicopolitanum in Bulgaria rescripsit, clausalis in Formulis adhibitas "*intelligendas haud esse in extremo rigore, habito prae oculis principio, Sedem Apostolicam dictam facultatem concedere in bonum spirituale fidelium, cupientem, ut omnes praeceptum ecclesiasticum adimplere facile possint.*"

19. Superest nunc de ritu dicere seu de modo quo iterari Missa possit. Semper a S. Congregatione Missionariis fuit praescriptum atque a Benedicto XIV. eum qui Missam iterat, consuetas Calicis ablutiones sumere non debere ob ieiunium, ita ut "*si in prima Missa post receptionem Corporis et Sanguinis, profusionem acceperit, non debeat secundam Missam in praedictis casibus celebrare*"¹: id est etiam in iis casibus, in quibus populus Sacrificio privaretur diebus festis. Quamvis autem in Decreto Sacrae Congregationis SS. Rituum in *Elusitana* die 16 Septembris 1815 praescriptum esset, ut unus tantum esset calix quo uti debeat, qui duos celebret Missas; quum tamen eiusmodi Decreti executio haud levibus difficultatibus esset obnoxia, quando celebrari deberet in duabus ecclesiis

¹ Conc. di Nimes tenuto nel 1284 presso Bened. XIV De Sac. Missae Sacrif. L. III. cap. V n. 4.

ab invicem remotis, eadem S. Congregatio in comitiis habitis die 12 Septembris 1857 pro moderamine dicti Decreti rescripsit: *usum duorum calicum in casu posse permitti*.¹ Instructio quae heic adiicitur, iussu eiusdem S. Congregationis SS. Rituum concinnata, modum respicit purificandi calicem qui pro prima Missa inservierit.

Ex Secretaria S. Congregationis fidei propagandae praepositae die 24 Maii 1870.

EX QUIBUS COLLIGES :

I. Pluribus abhinc saeculis paullatim invalescente ecclesiastica disciplina, quae nunc viget, de Missa non iteranda ab eodem Sacerdote uno eodemque die, non posse Missam iterari, nisi causis canonicis existentibus, quae eiusmodi iterationem legitimam reddant

II. Eiusmodi causas canonicas hoc generali principio contineri: Missam iterari posse ac debere, si alia ratione consuli non possit populo ius et officium habenti audiendi Missam diebus festis.

III. Iudicium de harum causarum existentia non ad Parochos vel Presbyteros pertinere, sed ad Episcopum seu Ordinarium, a quo venia iterandi Missam obtinenda est ne abusus oriatur.

IV. Haec quae ex communi iure derivant communia quoque esse Ordinariis Missionum independenter a facultate, quam habent per S. Congregationem fidei propagandae praepositam.

V. Quare, quum Ordinarii Missionum habeant facultatem a S. Sede delegatam iterandi vel iterari faciendi Missam suis Missionariis, per eiusmodi facultatem intelligi non posse coercitum id quod ipsis iure communi iam sit concessum: sed per eam, id quod iure communi sit omnibus Ordinariis concessum, ad alios quoque casus protendi.²

¹ Hoc Decretum expositum habes in vol. III p. 603 et seqq. harum ephemeridum.

² Inter casus, qui in praeposita Instruktionem memorantur, ad quos facultas sese extendit, videtur quoque recensendus casus qui propositus fuit per *Summaria praeconia* S. Congregationi Concilii die 17 Septembris 1859, qui est huiusmodi. Plures dies festi in Galliis anno 1802 per Card. Caprara fuerunt suppressi, ita ut fideles his diebus non teneantur audire Missam. Inter eiusmodi festos dies suppressos recensetur festum Circumcisionis Domini, quod congruit cum civili festo Episcopus Argentinensis videns eiusmodi civile festum aequiparari ecclesiae festo, ita ut grave scandalum oriretur si populus ea die Missam audire non posset, S. Congregationi hoc dubium proposuit: "Utrum Rectores animarum et ceteri Sacera dotes, quibus Episcopus Argentinensis concessit facultatem diebus dominicis et festis de praeepto duas Missas celebrandi in dissitis locis hac facultate (*ordinaria*) uti possent in festo Circumcisionis? Et quatenus negativum edatur responsum, supplicat ex gratia speciali, ut praedicto festo hoc idem facere possint quod diebus dominicis et festis de praeepto faciunt." S. Congregatio, precibus discussis respondit: *Pro gratia ad quinquennium, facto verbo cum SSmo*. Sane quamvis causa sufficiens non sit ad Missam iterandam sola ratio festi suppressi, ut in Instruktionem animadvertitur, potest tamen esse causa, si populus festum, licet ex Decreto suppressum, consideraret tamquam Ecclesiae festum, ita ut scandalum grave oriretur si ea die se Missa destitutum videret. Esset enim festum iure suppressum, facto autem quodammodo non suppressum.

VI. Unde gravissimas clausulas facultati adiectas non alia de causa intelligendas esse appositas, quam ut evitarentur facultatis abusus

VII. Abuses autem deesse, quoties ille qui facultatem habet, arbitrio boni viri, rebus pensatis, iudicet Missam iterari necessarium esse seu valde utile.

VIII. Eiusmodi necessitatem moralem ex variis titulis oriposse, idest ex iustitia (saltem in locis in quibus parociae canonicesunt erectae), ne populus Missa diebus festis defraudetur; ex caritate, ne populus cogatur summis incommodis ad audiendam Missam; ne praecipuo solatio privetur ad christianam pietatem fovendam; ne scandalum oriatur et similia.

IX. Ea necessitas, quae ex iustitia oriatur, adeo vincere videtur prohibitionem iterandi Missam, ut non tantum bis dici Missa possit ac debeat eodem die, sed etiam ter vel quater,¹ si alia ratione consuli non possit populi necessitati.

X. Prohibitam nihilominus esse Missae iterationem si Praesbyter ieunus esse cessaverit.

XI. Neque posse recipi eleemosynam pro Missis iteratis, nisi id auctoritate apostolica sit indultum.

XII. Eiusmodi indultum ob peculiare necessitates in locis tantum Missionum concedi solere.²

¹ Vi facultatis, de qua Instructio agit, existente morali necessitate, dici ab uno Sacerdote eodem die non possunt Missae numero plures quam duae: facultas enim refertur ad casus, praeter ordinarios. Ordinarii autem casus, in quibus opus non est facultate Apostolica, duo solent esse, 1° quando unus Presbyter praesideat pluribus populis, quo in casu toties repeti Missa debet quot sunt populi: unde si sint tres vel quatuor, ter vel quater idem Presbyter iterare Missam debet: 2° Idem dicendum, si templum adeo sit angustum, ut omnem populum nonnisi repetita vice continere possit. De qua re praeclarissima est epistola S. Leonis Magni ad Dioscorum Episcopum Alexandrinum de disciplinae conformitate servanda inter Romanam et Alexandrinam Ecclesiam; in ea epistola haec inter cetera Pontifex praecipit: "Ut autem in omnibus observantia nostra concordet, illud quoque volumus custodiri, ut cum solemnior quaeque festivitas conventum populi numerosioris indixerit et ea fidelium multitudo convenerit, quam recipere Basilica simul una non possit, Sacrificii oblatio indubitanter iteretur, ne his tantum admissis ad hanc devotionem, qui primi advenerint, videantur hi, qui postmodum confluerint, non recepti: cum plenum pietatis ac rationis sit, ut quoties Basilicam, in qua agitur, praesentia novae plebis impleverit, toties Sacrificium subsequens offeratur. Necessae est autem ut quaedam pars populi sua devotione privetur si unius tantum Missae more servato, Sacrificium offerre non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte convenerint. Studiose ergo Dilectionem tuam et familiariter admonemus, ut quod nostrae consuetudini ex forma paternae traditionis insedit, tua quoque cura non negligat etc."

In hac epistola S. Leo est tantum sollicitus de Missae iteratione in expositis rerum adiunctis, nulla facta distinctione, sive per unum sive per plures Presbyteros successive facienda sit; atque ea praesertim de causa, quod *plenum sit pietatis et rationis*. Quibus verbis titulus iustitiae indicatur. Sed de his rebus copiosius loquar in sequenti Volumine VII.

² Confer causam *Circa applicationem secundae Missae*, quam retuli p. 526.

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,
OR,
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT
MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF DERRY.

(*Continued from page 288.*)

to repair the abbey ;^b and the next year King Murchertach and the abbot extended the greater church eighty feet, and finished the whole work in the space of eighty days ;^u the time is reduced by some to forty.^w

1166. An act unheard of in former ages was perpetrated about this time by Rory Mackany Mackillmorey O’Morna—he destroyed, by fire, the greater part of the town of Derry, with the church called Duibh-regles.^x

1170. The town was again consumed by fire, but it seems to have been accidental.^y St. Muredach O’Cobthaigh, bishop of Derry and Raphoe, was interred in the Duibh-regles.^z This Muredach was present, as bishop of Kinel-cogain, in the famous synod of Kells, held A.D. 1152 ; it seems, therefore, as if the abbot Flathbert was raised by the synod of Brigh-macthaighe to the episcopal dignity at large.

1175. Died the abbot Flathbert, after a tedious illness ; he was so highly esteemed for his learning and exemplary virtues, that he was raised to the episcopal dignity, and the government of the abbey of Hy was offered to his acceptance ;^a he was succeeded by Gilla M’Tieg O’Branain.^b Donogh O’Carillan perfected a treaty of friendship with the abbey and town of Derry, and granted to the convent a betagh townland near Donaghmore, and certain duties to be paid them for ever.^c

1180. Moeliso Hua Muredhuigh, professor of divinity in this abbey, died in a respectable old age ;^d and the same year Amlave, bishop of Kineleoguin was interred in this abbey, near to his predecessor, St. Muredach ; from hence it appears that the church called Duibh-regles is the same with the abbey

^p *Tr. Th.*, p. 505. ^q *Annal. Munst.* ^r *Tr. Th.*, p. 505. ^s *Id.* ^t *Id.* ^u *Id.*
^w *O’Flaherty Mss.* ^x *Tr. Th.*, p. 505. *Annal. Munst.* ^y *Annal. Munst.* ^z *Tr. Th.*, p. 505, and *O’Flaherty Mss.* ^a *Tr. Th.*, p. 505. ^b *Annal. Munst.* ^c *Id.*
^d *Tr. Th.*, p. 505.

of St. Columb ; and O'Flaherty remarks, that no church was named Regles but where canons regular were placed.^o Edvina, the daughter of Hua Cuinn, a widow lady of Munster, died about this time at Derry in her pilgrimage ;^f and Moelcanech Hua Fercomais, professor of divinity in this abbey, was drowned between Ard and Iniseoguin.^g The gate of the refectory in Duibh-regles was erected by O'Cahane of the Krive, and the daughter of O'Nonorge.^h

1195. The abbey was plundered this year by Rughruidhe, the son of Donsleibhe, and the English ; but we find that soon after his whole army was cut to pieces at Armagh.ⁱ

1196. Murchertach, the son of Murchertach, King of Ireland, was treacherously killed by Dunchad O'Cathain, and was interred in this abbey with great funeral pomp.^k

The altar of the great church was robbed the same year by Mac Cienaght of 314 cups, which were esteemed the best of their kind in Ireland, who also took the cups of Moydery and O'Dogherty ; but they were recovered the third day after, and Mac Cienaght was executed for the fact.^l

1197.—Rotsell Pitun came about this time to attack Derry, but through the goodness of God, and the protection of the Saints Columb and Cannech, he was defeated by Flathbert Hua Moeldoraid and others of the O'Neills, near Nuachongbail with a very great slaughter.^m The abbot Gilla M'Teig O'Branain resigned this year, and Gilla Christ O'Kearnich, with general consent, succeeded him ;ⁿ he was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Connoir, and died A.D. 1209.^o

1202. Moyle Finin M'Colman was erected arch-prior, but he died this year ; and on the 27th of April following, O'Brolchain, the prior and great senior, paid the debt of nature ; he was in high estimation for his many virtues and extensive learning.^p

1203. This town was consumed by fire, from the sanctuary of St. Martin to St. Adamnan's well.^q Amalgaid Hua Fergail was then abbot ; he was afterwards elected abbot of Hy.^r

1206. Died Domnald O'Muiredhuich, the principal professor of divinity in this abbey.^s

1211. The town was plundered by Thomas M'Ughtry, with the M'Rannals and others in this year, and also in 1213.^t

1213. Died the abbot Anmire O'Cobthaich, a man equally admired for learning, piety, liberality, and charity.^u

^o *Ogygia.* ^f *Tr., Th., p. 506.* ^g *Id.* ^h *Annal Munst.* ⁱ *Id.* ^k *Tr. Th., supr.* ^l *Annal. Boyle.* ^m *Tr. Th., supr.* ⁿ *Id. Annal. Munst.* ^o *Annal. Munst., and War. Bps., p. 219,* ^p *Annal. Munst.* ^q *Id., and Tr. Th., p. 305.* ^r *Tr. Th., p. 305.* ^s *Id.* ^t *Annal. Munst.* ^u *Id., and Tr. Th. sup.*

1215. Doncha Duvdirma, the chief of Bredagh, in Inniscoguin, died in this abbey.^w

1218. Moelisa Hua Doighre, who had been archdeacon of Derry for the space of 40 years, and was beloved for his hospitality and good works, died on the eighth of December.^x

1219. Died the abbot Fanacta O'Brogan, and Flann O'Brolchain was chosen in his place.^y

1221. Moel Columb, archbishop of Armagh, was interred here.^z

1229. Died the Canon Gerard O'Cahane, esteemed the most learned of the whole order.^a

1233. Died Geoffrey O'Doigre of this abbey.^b

1250. The upper end of the great church fell to the ground on the 8th of February.^c

1397. Reginald O'Hegerty resigned the abbacy, and Odo M'Gillebride O'Dochyrtly was chosen in his room.^d

1531. Conaght O'Fraghill was abbot; for Sir Odo O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell, being prevented by sickness from personally renewing his oath of allegiance, did appoint the said abbot and Richard O'Grayhan of Tredagh, to perform his bounden fidelity to the King, which they accordingly did, on the 5th of May this year, before the Lord Deputy Skeffington, at Tredagh.^e

Nunnery; The registry of the honour of Richmond says, that an abbey for nuns of the Cistercian Order was founded at Derry, A.D. 1218,^f by Turlough Leinigh O'Neil, of Strabane.^g

Dominican Friary; Was founded here in the year 1274,^h by O'Donnell the younger, Prince of Tyrconnell, at the request of St. Dominick; the number of friars in this house was generally 150.ⁱ Nicholas Lochlynnagh was prior in 1397.^k

There are no remains of this building, which was situated on the north side of the city.

Franciscan Friary; Burke alone mentions that the Friars had a monastery here.

Dezertoghill;^l St. Columb founded the Abbey of Desert, which was generally called Disert Hy Thuachuill, in Oireacht Hy Chathan.^m Dezertoghill is now a parish church, near

^w *Annal. Munst.* ^x *Id.*, and *Tr. Th.*, *supr.* ^y *Id.*, *Act. SS.*, p. 108. ^z *Tr. Th.*, p. 506. ^a *Annal. Munst.* ^b *Id.* ^c *Id.* ^d *War. Mss.*, vol. 34. ^e *War. Annal. and Cox.* ^f *War. Mon.* ^g *Allemande.* ^h *Annal. Domin. de Trim. King*, p. 84. ⁱ *Walsh's Prosp.*, p. 258. ^k *War. Mss.*, vol. 34. ^l *War. Mon. Burke*, p. 182. ^m *Tr. Th.*, p. 495.

^l This place was called by the Irish inhabitants *Disert-Ui-Thuathighaile*, i.e., "the place of retreat of the O'Tuohills." The adjoining territory formerly belonged to the O'Tuohills, and this name is still frequently met with in the neighbourhood under the corrupt form of *Toghill*. The cemetery and site of the old church, locally called *Desert*, which Colgan reckons among those founded by St. Columba, are in the townland of Ballynameen.

the river Bann, in the barony of Coleraine, and diocese of Derry.ⁿ

Domnachdolda, or Domnachmor,¹⁰ A church built near the Faughan water, in the barony of Tirekerin; Bescna, a disciple of St. Patrick, and also his brewer, was a presbyter of this house.^o

Donoghmore is now a parish church.

Dunbo,¹¹ St. Patrick founded Duncruthen for St. Beoan, or Beoad; it appears to be the same which is now called Dunbo and is situated on the Atlantic ocean, in the territory of Mac-hare, and barony of Coleraine.^q

Dungiven,¹² A village in the barony of Kenoght, 13 miles south east of Derry.

ⁿ *Visitation Book.* ^o *Tr. Th.*, p. 181. ^p *Visitation Book.* ^q *Tr. Th.*, p. 181.

¹⁰ The church of *Domhnach-dola*, sometimes written *Domhnach-dula*, is supposed to have been near the Moyola. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, we find St. Bescna mentioned as his disciple and chaplain: "Sanctus Bescna presbyter de Domhnach dola, saccellanus."—(*Trias.*, page 167). An ancient poem, on St. in the Book of Lecan, fol. 44, also mentions St. Bescna: "The priest, Bescna, Patrick's household, inserted in the Annals of the Four Masters, and also preserved sweet his verses, the chaplain of the son of Alprann (*i.e.*, St. Patrick)." Archdall seems to have confounded St. Bescna with St. Mescan, who, in the poem just cited, is styled: "The priest, Mescan, without evil, his friend and his brewer. (*Annals of F. Masters*, i., 137). The Tripartite Life also describes him as "Sanctus Meschanus de Domhnach juxta Fochmuine fluvium, cervicarius."—*Trias*, page 167. The church of *Domhnach-Mescain* seems to be that described in Archdall's text: it was situated near the river Faughan, in the county Derry. *Domnachdulan*, on the contrary, was in the plain of Magh-dula, through which the river Moyola flows.—See Notes of O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, i., 137. An interesting account of the members of St. Patrick's household may be seen in the new "Life of St. Patrick," just published, by M. F. C. Cusack.

¹¹ According to Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, page 495, St. Adamnan was the patron of Dunbo. The ruins of the old church, situate near Downhill measure sixty-three feet by twenty-seven and a-half. In this parish was situate the ancient fortification of *Dun Ceithirn*, so called from Cethern, son of Fintan, one of the famous heroes of the Red Branch, who flourished in Ulster in the beginning of the Christian Era. The late Mr. O'Donovan was the first to identify this fortress with the hill now known as the "Giant's Sconce." He thus writes in the "Londonderry Letters," *Ordnance Survey*, page 60: "I visited the Giant's Sconce, and viewed it with religious contemplation. I am perfectly satisfied that it is the *Munitio Cethirni* of Adamnan, and the *Dun Ceithiru* of Tigernach, and other annalists." Archdall errs when he confounds this place with the *Dun Cruithne*, or "Arx Cruthaenorum," of which Colgan speaks, and where St. Beoaidh was placed as bishop by our apostle. The townland of *Duncrun* still retains traces of the name *Dun Cruithne*, and within its limits, not far from the modern parish church of Magilligan, on the top of a hill commonly called "Canon's brae," may still be seen "the foundations of a small building, thirty-five feet by nineteen, inside which lies a long rude stone, having on it the figure of a cross in relievo. The cemetery has not been used for many years, and has been partly tilled. A ditch, which has been drawn across the hill, divides the sites of cemetery and the church. The spot, however, can always be identified, for it is marked on the Ordnance Survey, "Ruins of an Abbey."—(Reeves' "Cotton's Visitation, page 84.)

¹² Dungiven (*Dun Geimhin*) and Glengiven have been Latinized *Munitio pellium* and *vallis pellium*, and, by a curious coincidence, both places, at the time of the Ulster plantation, fell to the lot of the "Skinner's Company." The ruins of the

A.D. 1100. O'Cahane, Prince of the country founded a priory here for canons regular following the rule of St. Augustin.^f

1206. Died the prior O'Lathvertagh.^g

1215. Died the prior Paul O'Murey.^h

1253. Died the prior Moyle Peter O'Murray.ⁱ

1397. On the 16th October the archbishop of Armagh, at the intreaty of the prior and convent, solemnly restored the church and cemetery of this place, which had been polluted by the effusion of Christian blood.^j Dungiven was the village of Dermot O'Cahane.^w

Magillagan ;^l At the outlet of Loughfoyle, in the barony of Kenoght, five miles north of Newtown Limavaddy.

St. Columb, the great founder of churches, erected a monastery at Ardia, which is also called Aird-megiollagain ; this abbey was called the shrine of St. Columb,¹⁵ and in process of

^f *Allemande.* ^g *Annal. Munst.* ^h *War Mon.* ⁱ *Annal Ulton. War. Mss. vol. 34.*

old church are situated a little outside of the village in the townland of Dungiven. They consist of a nave and chancel, which communicate by a lofty circular chancel-arch. The nave measured forty feet by twenty. A round tower, about fifty feet in height, stood at the S.W. corner, incorporated with the walls of the church : it was undermined by some persons seeking for treasure, and fell to the ground in the year 1784. Drawings of the old church and round tower may be seen in Sampson's "Memoir of the Chart and Survey of Londonderry," p. 328. In the Martyrology of Donegal, at the 8th of January, we find the following entry: "St. Neachtan of Dungiven, in Cianacht of Glengiven, A.D. 678." The death of Neachtan Neir is recorded in the Annals of Ulster in A.D. 678 ; in the Annals of the Four Masters, in A.D. 677.—See *Reeves*' "Cotton's Vis.," p. 41.

¹³ Archdall makes this statement on the authority of Ware, who derived it from the Acts of Archbishop Cotton's Visitation. This important record is itself now accessible to every one, having been published in full by Dr. Reeves for the I. A. Society in 1850. We are not told, however, when or by whom the wicked deed was perpetrated which brought desecration on the Church and cemetery of Dungiven. It was probably something similar to that recorded in the Annals of Ulster at A.D. 1121, when the cemetery of Banagher, about three miles from Dungiven, was thus desecrated ; "Gilla-espoig-Eoghain O'Hennesy, king of Kianaghta, was killed by his kinsmen in the middle of the cemetery of Banagher."

¹⁴ The parish originally called *Tamlaght-ard*, became known in later times as *Ard-mac Gillygen*, from the family of the Magilligans, who were the hereditary tenants of its church-lands. The Magilligans, according to M'Firbis, were descended from Oilíoll, son of Eoghain Breadach, and their church-lands, in 1615, consisted of forty towns or balliboes, "which forty balliboes or towns do contain ten quarters, amounting to two-and-a-half ballibetaghs."—(*Ulster Inquis.*) The ruin of the old church are in the townland of Tamlaght. Its patron saint was Cadan or Catanus, "whose tomb, nearly covered by the surrounding graves, lies close under the east gable of the old church."—*Reeves*, p. 84. In the Book of Leacan this saint is called "The Priest Caden of Tamaght-ard." In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick he is styled "Catanus Presbyter," and is named as one of the household of our Apostle.—*Trias Thaum*, page 167. It was probably the similarity of the name that led the able writers of the Ordnance Survey to mark this spot and the neighbouring well as "*Bishop Aedan's tomb, and Bishop Aedan's well.*"

¹⁵ Hence the name *Ballynascrine*, or more correctly, *Ballynascrine de Ardo*. The ruins of the old church of Ballenascrine, stand in the cemetery, on the north side of the Moyola, in Moneyconey, which was one of the "six towns of Ballyna-

time became very rich. It was plundered A.D. 1203, by Diermit Hua Lochluinn, who at the head of a party of foreigners attempted to plunder Kineleoguin, but the Lords of that country pursuing them, Diermit, with many of his party, fell.^x

Moycosquin ;¹⁶ Three miles south west of Coleraine and in that barony.

Moycoscain, or the abbey of the Virgin Mary of the Clear Spring, was founded for Monks of the Cistercian order,^y A.D. 1172.^z The abbot John was made bishop of Derry by the Pope in the year 1401, and he died in 1419.^a

Rathregenden ; Colgan says, that Rathregenden was a church in the diocese of Derry, and that it was founded by St. Columb for his disciple St. Baitan, or Boedan ;^b it is now unknown.

Templefinlaghan ;¹⁷ on Loughfoyle, in the barony of Kenoght.

St. Columb founded Tamlact-fionlugain, and made St. Finnlugan, his disciple, abbot ; it is now a parish church in the diocese of Derry,^c and is named Tamlaghtfinlaghan, or the church of Finnlugan.^d

^x *Tr. Thr.*, p. 493. ^y *Ware's Mon.* ^z *Pembridge's Ann.* ^a *War. Bps.*, p. 28.
^b *Tr. Th.*, p. 493. *Id.*, p. 495. ^d *Visitation Book.*

screen"—*Ulster Inquis.* The shrine of St. Columba was executed at a very early period, by Coula, the Artificer, and was preserved in Ard-M'Giollagan down to the sixteenth century. It was considered one of the most exquisite and elaborate specimens of the artistic skill of the early Irish school. O'Donnel, in his Life of St. Columba, thus speaks of this precious shrine: "Illud scrinium, quod usque in hunc diem, tanquam nobilissimus thesaurus et unum ex praeicipuis Sacrae Insulae sacris monumentis in summa veneratione habetur, et asservatur in Ard-Miegiollagan, quae est maritima portio regionis de Kilnacta Glunne-Gemhin in Septemtri onali parte Ultoniae. Scrinium autem illud longe ante adventum S. Columbae ad illa loca, et ut traditio est, vivente adhuc S. Patricio, elaborari coeptum est in loco Dun-Cruithne priscis appellato. Fabro qui nobile et valde artificiosum opus inchoavit, nomen erat *Conla* cognomentum *Artifex*; ex sua nimirum excellentia in ea professione inditum."—*Trias Thaum*, page 405.

¹⁶ See note 4, at *Canus*.

¹⁷ St. Fionnluigh, patron of this church, is thus noticed in the Martyrology of Donegal, at 3rd January: "Fionnluigh of Tamlacht—Fionnlogha in Cianacht of Glen-given." Cloghan tells us that he was the son of Deman, and the brother of St. Fintan, of Dumblesc. and that he made Scotland the field of his missionary labours: "in peregrinationem exiit in Albionem."—*Acta SS.*, p. 12. He was probably the monk *Findluganus*, who, according to Adamnan, interposed in the island of Hinba to save St. Columba's life.—*Vit. S. Col.* ii. 24.

(To be continued.)

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NOTES FROM CHURCH HISTORY IN THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

IT would be an interesting, though a melancholy study, to examine the ever-varying phases of religious error—to observe the zealous and unceasing efforts of its apostles to propagate its spread—to see how the hand of God guides His Church through danger and darkness—how the light of truth gleams out at last amidst the gloom—and how the spirit of God, breathing, as it were, over the troubled waters, creates tranquillity from the chaos of jarring creeds.

Few forms of religious error, past or present, are more deserving serious attention than those which originated and spread with the Reformation. Preceding errors—Arianism, Pelagianism—are nearly as much of the past as the Councils of Nice and of Ephesus. It is not so with the errors against which the anathemas of the Council of Trent were fulminated. Though it would be difficult for a Protestant of the days of Luther to recognise the teachings of modern Protestants as the doctrines taught in Wittenberg by the Reformer, yet the name of Protestantism remains with many of its errors. Hence we would find the study of Protestantism replete with interest, whether we were to consider its immediate influence on Europe in the 16th century, or the character of its apostles, or its subsequent natural and logical development into systems which utterly reject revelation.

Sad as were the effects of Arianism—bitter and intolerant as was the Arian spirit against the members of the one true fold—still more lamentable were the results of Protestantism, and more bitter its antagonism to the true Church. Forgetful of the golden precept of charity, which constitutes the

strongest principle of social and religious union, its followers revelled in discord, and thirsted for the feast of human blood. That bond of union was severed which brought the nations of Christendom together to vindicate, in the distant east, the Christian cause and name beneath the banner of the cross. The first fruits of the Protestant heresy were scenes of carnage and of sacrilege such as Moslem fanatics never perpetrated on European soil. Protestantism boasts, indeed, of having given an impulse to science and its development. It hesitates not to stigmatise as ignorant and superstitious the centuries generally known as the middle ages. It charges Catholicity with having fettered enterprise and genius, and vaunts itself on having effected their complete emancipation.

Such a statement regarding the middle ages and the influence of Catholicity during that period betrays ignorance of history or a persistent effort to falsify its teachings. It is true, indeed, that many of the physical sciences which, in our age, have been the mighty agents of great material changes in society, were then comparatively unknown. Even since the days of Newton much has been done in experimental philosophy to utilise the principles of mechanics and hydrostatics. In electricity a new field of MARVELS has been more recently opened for the scientific inquirer. On the other hand, the sciences of theology and speculative philosophy were never more successfully cultivated than in the "middle ages." Their principles, and the development of those principles, were then examined with a minuteness and success which have never been surpassed. Were there no names to save this period from the charge of ignorance except those of Lanfranc, Duns Scotus, Peter Lombard, St. Thomas Aquinas, Victor of St. Hugo, should they not be considered sufficient? Yet all those illustrious names and many others belong to the "middle ages." Ages of ignorance could not bequeath to us such grand monuments of architecture as the beautiful cathedrals of the "middle ages." Ages of ignorance and superstition could not, against the difficulties of the period, found and endow universities such as those of Oxford and Paris. And though the mature development of science and letters PROPER to later periods were wanting, we must not forget that society was but in its growth from infancy to maturity, and that its preservation from utter ruin is the work of the Catholic Church, the guardian and advocate of faith. Many intelligent adversaries, indeed, admit what I have been endeavouring to show. They willingly admit the valuable services of the Church of the "middle ages" in promoting civilization and giving reason a proper guidance.

Let us listen to the testimony of a professed adversary, F. Laurent, Prof., Ghent ("Studies on History") :—"The Church was worthy of her mission, for in an age of barbarism, immorality, and ignorance, she alone opened asylums for science; she alone showed to the world models of Christian perfection. She wielded spiritual power in the highest acceptance of the word, for she ruled by superiority of reason and wisdom." A Catholic could hardly bear more favorable testimony to the good services of the Church in promoting the interests of reason and society. Yet we hear the old calumny against the Catholic Church repeated again and again in contradiction of the truth of such evidence. We are told by men who allow passion and prejudice to rule their judgments, that reason is fettered by the Catholic faith, and that the glory of its emancipation belongs to Protestantism and modern infidelity.

By a glance at Europe, before the so-called Reformation, it shall be seen that the heresy of Luther, originating in violated vows, was fruitful of results highly prejudicial to society. The eloquent and learned BALMEZ, in his book on "European Civilization," has drawn a picture of the state of Europe before the Reformation, which we shall study for a moment. "One can hardly observe without pain that the appearance of Protestantism was exactly coincident with the critical moment when the nations of Europe appeared to the world full of vigour, energy, and splendour. Putting forth gigantic strength, they discovered new worlds, and placed one hand on the East and the other on the West. Europe everywhere displayed extreme activity, a spirit of enterprise was developed in all parts. The time had come when the nations of Europe were about to see open before them a new *London* of POWER and grandeur, the limits whereof were invisible to the eye . . . The development of mind kept pace with the increase of power. Erasmus examined all sources of knowledge, and spread his fame in triumph from one end of Europe to the other. The distinguished Spaniard, *Luis Vivez*, rivalled the *savant* of Rotterdam, and undertook to regenerate the sciences, and give a new direction to the human mind. In Italy the Schools of Philosophy were in a state of fermentation. In the same country the genius of Dante and of Petrarch was continued in their illustrious successors. The land of *Tasso* resounded with his accents, like the nightingale announcing the coming of the dawn; while Spain, intoxicated with her triumphs, lay like a soldier who, after victory, reposes on a heap of trophies. Europe, we say, in a condition so prosperous, replete with noble hopes, was about to commence the work of

civilizing the world." Here, then, was little to show that ignorance or superstition were conditions characteristic of the state of European society previous to the Reformation. Under the influence of Catholicity, Goth and Frank, Huns and Vandals lost the barbarity of their northern homes and forest fastnesses. The great European nations, though composed of discordant elements, were held united by a common bond—the spirit of Catholicity. And from the ruins of the Roman Empire Catholicity constructed the colossal fabric of modern civilization, and cast abroad its blessings with an ungrudging hand. The literature of Spain, and of Italy in particular, and its imperishable monuments of art, are convincing proofs of intellectual activity and culture long before the name of Luther was known. Never did Europe give more positive proofs of enterprise and energy than at that period. A new world, discovered by Spanish enterprise, revealed new wonders to the admiring gaze of Europe. Highly favored by nature, it was a country rich with fabulous wealth. Clothed in the varied beauties of tropical vegetation, it seemed to vie with the fairest gardens of Andalusia or Granada. And here the powers of European arms had already conquered kingdoms, and Spanish enterprise had founded cities destined in time to vie, in wealth and splendour, with the best in Europe. Such a state of things at this period will hardly convince a dispassionate mind that the influence of the Catholic Church is to debase the mind or to destroy a wholesome spirit of national or individual enterprise. Yet such was the state of Europe when an apostate monk commenced to propagate his blasphemous errors.

Alas! for Europe, it was a moment of transient triumph for the powers of darkness and the enemies of religion and truth. From the University of Wittenberg the foul errors spread with the quickness of lightning, and with the fatality of an infectious disease. Germany, Prussia, Holland—in a word, the northern European nations—became heretical. The new doctrines were on the lips of all men. They were spoken of at the peasant's fireside. They were lauded in the courts of kings. Libertines contrasted with satisfaction the free spirit of Luther's doctrines with the salutary restraints imposed by the Old Faith. These restraints they now threw off, and launched forth into the surging sea of error and sin, with no other pilot through the rocks and quicksands than their own weak judgments. But did the numerous converts embrace the new creed through a spirit of conviction entirely divested of selfishness? It seems to be the opinion of the Protestant Macaulay that interest and the gratification

of prejudice and passion were their principal motives. These are his words:—"All ranks, all varieties of character, joined the ranks of the innovators. Sovereigns impatient to appropriate to themselves the property of the people; nobles desirous to share the plunder of abbeys; suitors exasperated by the extortions of the Roman Camera; patriots impatient of foreign rule; good men scandalized by the corruptions of the Church; bad men desirous of the license inseparable from great moral revolutions; weak men allured by the glitter of novelty—all were FOUND on one side!" Not content with the simple profession of a creed professedly based on the principle of private judgment, they enforce its acceptance by the sword. They are guilty of the worst excesses. The cities of Europe flow with Christian blood shed by Christian hands. Provinces are laid waste. Churches are desecrated and plundered. Cloistered virgins are dragged forth from their retreats of peace and prayer. All readers of history are familiar with the scenes of bloodshed by which the Protestant religion was inaugurated in England under Henry and Elizabeth—in Saxony under Frederick—in Sweden under Gustavus Vasa—in Holland under the Prince of Orange—in Switzerland under the Lords of Berne. The history of carnage, and sacrilege, and pillage committed by the insurgent peasants under Munzer would form a melancholy narrative. Such were the excesses of those fanatics, that Luther felt himself called upon to address them as follows:—"Madmen! what have the old men, and women, and children done whom you will drag down with you into destruction? What have they done to you that you should fill the country with blood and rapine, and that you should make so many widows and orphans? Oh, this is a glorious and a joyous sight for the enemy of man."—(Michelet's *Life of Luther*, p. 239.) Not less diabolical were the excesses which John of Leyden, King of MUNSTER, perpetrated in the sacred name of religion and truth. Thus did Luther destroy the peace of Europe by unchaining the demons of revolt and disorder. The first result of his errors was a state of lawlessness, anarchy, and bloodshed. Hence BALMEZ correctly infers, "that by extending itself over Europe, the schism of Luther weakened, in a deplorable manner, the action of Europe and other nations of the world. The flattering hopes which had been conceived were dissipated in a moment and became no more than a golden dream." This was, indeed, a sad period, not alone for the welfare of society, but for the Church of Christ. Her apostate children were in arms against her, and inflicted cruel wounds upon her. And with her bleeding wounds upon her,

she saw her enemies gather round her and shout in hoarse cries, "Away with her, away with her!" They would abolish for ever her time-honoured ceremonial and religious practices which they were pleased to term Romish superstition. It was time the Basilicas of Rome should become Protestant houses of prayer! It was time the "Man of Sin" should be expelled the Vatican! So the heretics wished and thought, but such were not the decrees of God.

And must we believe that the principal author of those calamities was an instrument in the hands of God to regenerate an erring church. A man of great talents, Luther prostituted those powers to pride, sensual indulgence, and the deliberate perversion of truth. Having made the gratification of his own passions the paramount object of his existence, he easily extended to his followers the privilege of indulging in similar excesses. Hence, every wholesome restraint to sin is set aside. Penance is pronounced unnecessary; confession ruinous to souls; the sacred bond of marriage is trampled under foot. Luther threw off allegiance to the Church as he knew that criminal indulgence was incompatible with the observance of her laws. Though God often selects the weak of this world to confound the strong, and the foolish to confound the worldly wise, still it must sound even to Protestant ears like blasphemy to say, that a God of purity and of truth should select for the work of regenerating his Church an apostate monk who trampled upon his sacred vows.

Like many of his predecessors in heresy, while he loudly denounced the Church's pretensions, he practically claimed for himself that infallibility which he would not admit in her. Substituting his own for the authority of the Church, he gives expression to his reformatory measures in a more than dictatorial tone. In his letter to the king and nobles of Germany, after indulging in his usual strain of abusive language against the Supreme Pontiff, he says:—"Let priests be permitted to marry, let fast days be put an end to, let the decretals be abolished." The same haughty arrogance which caused him to rebel against the authority of the Church, caused him also to profess a total disregard for the opinions of the Fathers. Of the Fathers of the Church he writes—"Jerome may be consulted for the purpose of study. As to faith and good true religion and doctrine there is not a word about them in his writings. I have already PROSCRIBED ORIGEN; Chrysostom possesses no authority in my estimation; BASIL is but a monk for whom I would not give the value of a hair." Luther, however, did not write or teach thus without a strug-

gle with conscience. But he was deaf to the warnings which the voice of God whispered in the silent depths of his soul. His blindness was of his own seeking, for he closed his eyes to the guidance of grace. His own words can prove this truth (Michelet's *Life of Luther*, p. 65):—"I feel more and more every day how difficult it is to lay aside the scruples which one has so long within one. Oh! how much pain it has cost me, though I had the Scriptures on my side, to justify to myself that I should dare to make a stand alone against the Pope and hold him forth as anti-Christ. What have the tribulations of my heart not been? How many times have I not asked myself with bitterness the same question which the Papists put to me! Art thou alone wise? Can everybody else be mistaken? Can so many ages have been mistaken? How will it be after all if it be then thyself who art wrong, and art thus involving in thy error so many souls who will be eternally damned?" Luther's alarms were indeed natural, for it was highly improbable that an erring church could boast miracles so striking, learning so profound, sanctity so high, as could the Catholic Church. Even the clamorous demands of his insatiable pride could not all at once drown the warning voice of conscience. Writing to Erasmus he says:—"CERTES, when I think on it I feel I could heartily wish to bear all in silence, and to pass a sponge over what I have written. To have to render an account to God of every heedless word!—'tis hard! 'tis horrible!"

Hard and horrible it is in truth; but, alas, for Luther, those salutary fears availed not to stay his career of sin. The silent warnings of conscience are seldom heeded in the atmosphere of strife and disorder in which he lived. Luther had unchained the monsters of anarchy and disorder which he could not now control, and though borne onward in his sinful career by the spirit of pride, to which he was a slave, he often looked back with ill-concealed alarm on the ruin which he caused.

"Liberty of conscience" was the pretended principle of which he made himself the champion. Conflicting creeds were the natural and necessary result of this principle. The new sects naturally disregarding his pretensions to the right of defining for them the new dogmas of the new faith, brought down upon themselves his opposition and virulent abuse, for his pride could but ill brook the existence of sects which no longer professed to regard him as a leader. Of Carlostad he says:—"The miserable creature becomes more and more hardened in his error every day." Zuinglius draws upon himself like abuse for availing himself of this principle of private judgment. "I regard him," he says "as having drawn

upon himself the hatred of all good men by his daring and *criminal* manner of treating the word of God." And yet *Carlostad*, and *Zuinglius*, and John of Leyden were only availing themselves of that immunity from external authority in interpreting the word of God, which as Luther asserted was the prerogative of all Christians.

The frenzy occasioned by the disorders of the period could alone blind the nations to such inconsistency. The total absence of consistency in Luther's teachings seems to form a peculiar and prominent trait in his character. Commencing by rejecting four of the Sacraments, he soon found he rejected one too many, and finally ended by retaining only two. He at one time denounced the dogma of transubstantiation as blasphemous, and maintained consubstantiation. At another time he considered both as equally important, and finally condemned transubstantiation, while permitting it to some Italian churches. The portions of the Bible he could not easily reconcile with his own teachings, these he summarily rejected. His followers seemed to vie with their apostle in similar caprices. In the German States the popular creed was as fluctuating and variable as the whims of the rulers by whom it was imposed. Now it was the Lutheran creed; again it was Calvinism; then Lutheranism again. Such was the case in the Palatinate of Frederick III., A.D. 1562. In Hesse Cassel and Brandenburg the popularity of the oracles of Wittenburg depended on similar circumstances. This inconsistency in the Protestant religion and its professors is so usual that it seems in part at least to constitute the genius of the religion.

Thus we see Europe profoundly agitated by the reformation; its religious and political unity destroyed; its commercial enterprise weakened; its energy paralyzed. We see society convulsed, and the dictates of the worst passions taking the place of temperate reason. We see fanatics impelled by the frenzy of religious enthusiasm, and designing adventurers, allured by the prospect of lawless plunder, to commit, in the name of religion, crimes the most appalling. Yet all seek to give to their acts the semblance of right by an appeal to the ruinous teaching of the period. Ruin succeeds ruin, and crime follows crime, until the foul work of the Reformation towers into colossal and terrible magnitude, and the world stands aghast at the spectacle.

Meantime the Church, though deeply afflicted at the fatal errors by which so many were led astray, and Europe was deluged with blood, does not allow the poignancy of her grief to impede the efficiency of her action. True to her Divine

mission she prepares to refute and condemn those fatal errors. Paul III. summons a General Council at Trent, A.D. 1545. Summoned, like its prototypes, the Councils of Nice, Ephesus, &c., in the interests of truth, it was attended with the most salutary results. By the study of an authentic history of the Council, or of the authentic Decrees, the most sceptical can ascertain how minutely the errors of the Reformers were examined, and how justly condemned—with what clearness and minuteness of detail the Catholic doctrine was defined—how salutary were the disciplinary enactments for the purpose of fostering the spirit of true piety in the bosom of the Church. The Church seems to prosecute her glorious mission with increased energy and zeal. She has heard the voice of her Divine Master hushing the angry storm, and making tranquil the surging waves. Passing through an ordeal of fire she clung more closely to her Divine spouse. For some time indeed the evil passions of many of her children, and their bad lives, pressed upon her like an incubus. Now, despairing of their conversion, she casts them off, and is freed from the incipient torpor. Her faithful children rally round her, offering, by the purity of their lives, a striking contrast to the lawless disorders of the Reformers. Their sanctity and learning are like a fortress of adamant which the Father of error assaults in vain. The light of truth, for a time obscured, streams out again with its wonted lustre. Nay more, it penetrates to other hemispheres; it sheds its rays of gladness on the vast plains of the Mississippi and Missouri, and beyond the Cordilleras. Sixtus V., St. Pius, St. Charles Borromeo, Belarmine, Suarez, St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier, are names to shed a lustre on any age. Thus did the Church of the 16th century fight victoriously for religion, for truth, for social order. The opposition between the Church and error is the opposition between light and darkness. God's oracle upon earth, her glorious mission is to declare His sacred truths and preserve them pure for her children. It is for this her mysterious life is preserved from generation to generation, and the freshness of perpetual youth lends additional charms to the dignity of venerable old age.

J. A. F.

HORATIANA.

THE first great city which we remember attempting to appropriate to the boyish imagination was Rome—the Rome of Horace. From our school-days we could realize, or, at all events, fancied we could, the scenes and localities in and around the Imperial capital, made familiar in the pleasant discursive gossip of the genial, observant, humourous Venusian. We loved to follow him as he sauntered down the Via Sacra, as was his wont, or strolled about the cheating circus, scanning with a keen eye to fun the motley gathering of charlatans and quacks that there did congregate, or lounged in the “evening forum” among the fortune-tellers and the usurers at Marsyas’s statue—“a chiel amang them ta’en notes”—studying a “character,” or drawing out a “genius” whenever Apollo sent one of the species across the path of the easy, careless, blear-eyed little wag, or as he jogged along contentedly on his bob-tailed mule by the Tibur’s Via *en route* for Vacuum Tibur and

“The streams which warbling flow
Rich Tibur’s fertile vales along.”

His personality is never out of sight ; himself and his habits, his tastes, his pursuits, his surroundings, are always before us, and so we come to know him and be familiar with him. Drawn to him as to a friend, the boy to whom some *orbilius plagosus* introduces him in the first instance, does not hesitate to invest his affectionate admiration and predilections in the genial humourist, and cherishes through life his first and strongest literary attachment.

The hold which Horace takes of the boy’s mind he maintains with increased force over the man’s. The charm that attracts the former lies in those traits of personal character which he so pleasantly touches off in his playful easy manner ; his honest independence in his relations with the great, his light banter of his own foibles, and his manly pride in his slave-born father—that *custos incorruptissimus* to whom he never tires proclaiming his debt of reverence and gratitude. The latter loves him for the kindly wisdom, the homespun philosophy, the practical common sense, the shrewd observation of the world, the subtle insight into character, the deep knowledge of the human heart, that have given “the currency of proverbs and the authority of oracles” to the countless happy phrases into which he has condensed so much poetry, philosophy and truth. Those maxims of mother wit, instinct with truth, tersely, and vigorously, and pithily worded, stamp themselves on the mind, and are the

household words of the educated man. Bossuet and Burke were ever quoting our poet; Swift and Pope imitated him; Chesterfield says, "When I talked my best I always quoted Horace;" Derby and Gladstone have translated him, and Lord North was famous for punning upon the Venusian. It is said of the latter nobleman that, when his son, in complaining of straitened circumstances, expressed a fear that he should have to dispose of his mare, he administered consolation to the dispirited youth in the words which Horace addressed to Dellius:—"Equam memento rebus in arduis servare." A few of the tritest of these concentrated truths may be cited in illustration of the terseness and force of the poet's peculiar manner of condensing and expressing the deductions of his worldly experience, and giving the most felicitous utterance to those deep and broad natural sympathies which show him eminently a "Man akin to all the universe." Such are:—

Leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt;
 Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu;
 Sincerum est nisi vas quodcunque infundis acescit;

truths of deep import, and telling with effect against the baneful system of education so much in fashion with the enemies of the church at the present day:—*Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem, dulce est desipere in loco*—the value of which comes home to the many overtaxed energies which, all over the country, are seeking repose and relaxation in this holiday time. *Dulce et decorum pro patria mori*—a sentiment too sublime for comment. His utterances on the awful subject of death, sometimes gloomy and despairing, sometimes defiant and perverted to point the bad moral of present enjoyment, are yet such as to make us sorrow for one of his genius living amid the decay of those moral principles that Paganism itself had upheld, and in the dark hour immediately before the day of truth had dawned.

Omnes una manet nox; Omnes eodem cogimur; Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas, regumque turres: Vita summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam: Sapias, vina liques . . . dum loquimur fugerit invida aetas. Carpe diem quam minimum credula postero. Omnem crede diem tibi illuxisse supremum.

*Immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alium,
 Quae rapit Hora diem,*

which is thus aptly turned by Lord Ravensworth in a better sense perhaps than the poet meant:—

"Do thou take warning from the fleeting year,
 Nor hope for joys immortal here."

Death and fleeting time are an ever-recurring theme on which he moralizes. His "Eheu fugaces Postume, labuntur anni"—of a portion of which we append Ravensworth's translation—is a dismal chant altogether on the one subject, and insinuating rather than openly inculcating his favorite precept to keep the lotus in *presens animus* :—

"In vain from bloody Mars we run ;
 In vain the broken billows shun
 Of Hadria's roaring seas,
 And vainly timorous seek to shroud
 Our bodies from the th' autumnal cloud
 And pestilential breeze.

"Cocytus in his mazy bed
 Must soon or late be visited,
 And Lethe's languid waters ;
 And Sisyphus despairing still
 To mount th' insuperable hill,
 And Danaus' guilty daughters.

"Thy lands and home and pleasing wife
 Must all be left with parting life ;
 And save the bough abhorred
 Of monumental cypress, none
 Of all the trees thy care hath grown
 Follow their short-lived lord.

"A worthier heir shall grasp thy keys,
 And all thy hoarded vintage seize,
 From bolts and bars released ;
 And stain thy floor with nobler wine
 Than ever flowed at holy shrine
 Or pontifical feast."

There is no more touching story of parental solicitude for the moral and intellectual education of a child than Horace's pages tell us of his father, except perhaps the devout record of filial reverence which the same pages show—sure proof of the abiding influence of such early training.

It is refreshing in this nineteenth century to read the tribute to his father's worth which Horace, in the zenith of his fame, and in the ripe fulness of his genius, the laureate of the most splendid court in the world, the companion of princes, and of wits, and poets, pays to the worth and manly independence of his slave-born father. The father and the son were worthy of each other.

The former having made a little fortune at the humble, but in those times of proscriptions, when estates were daily coming 'sub hasta,' remunerative calling of an auctioneer's collector, purchased a small farm on the confines of Apulia. Here flourished, untainted by the corruptions of the time, a peasantry remarkable for those qualities for which Holy Writ gives the ancient Romans credit; and doubtless here it was that Horace was imbued by the example of his father, and his sturdy neighbours, with his love for the simple virtues and the innocent enjoyments of the peasantry, which he never ceased to admire and to sing. Amid the mountains

" Stern and wild,
Meet nurse of a poetic child,"

he imbibed the love of nature which flows through all he wrote, and to which he has given expression with a picturesque power and vivid accuracy that no poet of ancient or modern times has ever surpassed. It was a fortunate spot to cradle the genius of the young poet; for Greek was as current on that border land as Latin, and he was at an early age enabled to achieve a mastery over the literature of Greece, to transfuse into his own more rugged tongue all the grace and beauty which it was capable of assimilating, and in this way to merit the honour of adding the last polish and perfection to that splendid language which he inherited from Cicero.

The father, poor peasant farmer as he was, declined to have his son educated among the petty magnates—the shoneens—of his native place, but took him to Rome, remained with him there, to shield the boy from contact with the vicious allurements of the capital, and was ever ready with a homely maxim to prompt him to good, to build him up in virtue, or to deter him from the vices with which the seductions of a corrupt and dissipated city beset a youth.

Let himself tell the story:—

" If I have lived unstained and unreprieved
(Forgive self-praise), if loving and beloved,
I owe it to my father, who, though poor,
Passed by the village school at his own door:
The school where great tall urchins in a row,
Sons of great tall centurions, used to go,
With slate and satchel on their backs, to pay
Their monthly quota punctual to the day,

And took his boy to Rome, to learn the arts
 Which knight or senator to *his* imparts.
 Whoe'er had seen me, neat and more than neat,
 With slaves behind me, in the crowded street,
 Had surely thought a fortune fair and large,
 Two generations old, sustained the charge,
 Himself the true tried guardian of his son,
 Whene'er I went to class he still made one.
 Why lengthen out the tale? he kept me chaste.
 Which is the crown of virtue, undisgraced
 In deed and name; he feared not lest one day
 The world should talk of money thrown away,
 If after all I plied some trade for hire,
 Like him, a tax-collector, or a crier;
 Nor had I murmured; as it is, the score
 Of gratitude and praise is all the more.
 No: while my head's unturned, I ne'er shall need
 To blush for that dear father, or to plead,
 As men oft plead, 'tis Nature's fault not mine,
 I came not of a better, worthier line.
 Not thus I speak, not thus I feel, the plea
 Might serve another, but 'twere base in me.
 Should fate this moment bid me to go back
 O'er all my length of years, my life retrack
 To its first hour, and pick out such descent
 As man might wish for e'en to pride's content,
 I should rest satisfied with mine, nor choose
 New parents, decked with senatorial shoes.

CONINGTON.

Deprived at a most critical moment of the affectionate surveillance and prudent counsels of the parent to whom the above immortal tribute is paid, Horace, when pursuing his studies at Athens, the university of the day, suffered himself to be carried away by the enthusiasm which infected all his fiery young companions, flung down his books, and took up the sword, and followed Brutus to the disastrous field of Philippi. Without impeaching the young poet's courage, or taking *au serieux* those passages in which he rallies himself on the subject of the stampede at Philippi, we may fairly conclude that he mistook his vocation when he chose the profession of arms. Nor was the cause of a republic—stormy, revolutionary, and licentious as it had been of late years—a cause that Horace, with his natural love of order and peace, could fight for *con amore*.

On his return to Italy he had need of all the fortitude

which his honest father's philosophy had inculcated. All the co-actor's hard-earned gains were lost in the storms of civil war, and the very farm from which his industry and toil had extracted the wealth that he so well knew how to put to noble uses, had passed—by a process not unknown in after times to Cromwell, and practised in all times by other successful robbers and raiders—into the hands of some mercenary of the victorious side. It would be curious to speculate which of all the pregnant proverbs, and homely aphorisms, picked up in childhood's days, by the cabin fireside, and, in the maturity of his powers, embalmed in an exquisite diction never since equalled or even approached, which of those "rugged maxims hewn from life," rose to mind to sustain his courage at sight of the wreck of all his worldly fortunes. A whole treasury of such are at hand in the precious volume he has left us, from which to choose, but to attempt to fix on any one in especial as that on which the homeless, penniless youth leant for support were to be rash, and, perhaps, to do him wrong. If he had not the consolations of supernatural morality, he had a whole store-house of natural morality, and a fund of buoyant spirits and vigorous common sense to draw upon at will. He had, moreover, a ready wit, some promptings of genius, and, as events proved, a good pen. Poverty was the genial inspiration of his muse. He entered the great city a literary, but very needy adventurer, and soon he wrote himself into fame, a competence, and the choicest society of Rome. In the serene evening of his life, when writing his wonderful epistles (by the way, the most finished productions of his muse), at a period when he was separated, by a long experience of ease and affluence that took away all bitterness from the retrospect, from the days of his obscurity and penury, he thus takes up the story of his life:—

Romae nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
 Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
 Adjecere bonae paulo plus artis Athenae:
 Scilicet, ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
 Atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.
 Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato ;
 Civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma,
 Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
 Unde simul primum me demisere Philippi
 Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
 Et laris et fundi, *paupertas impulit audax*
Ut versus facerem.

Some of the epodes which flowed from his pen at this period are characterised by a vigour of composition, and by an ardent

glow, and an intensity of passion congenial enough to his years and condition, but not to his temperament ; for the riper productions of the poet, while they are perfect in their kind—that is to say, as specimens, models even, of exquisite diction, felicitous epithet, sparkling fancies, and the most varied imagery—are wanting in the higher inspirations of poetic genius. Indeed, because his lyrics do not kindle the imagination, thrill the heart, and fire the brain, like those of a Moore or a Burns, we have often heard it said that Horace is no poet. He wrote under different conditions, and it is unjust to judge him by those standards. He could not give utterance to the emotions that stir a people's heart and inspire a people's songs, for there was no Roman people ; the element of nationality was wanting to his inspiration, and he wrote moreover in the relaxing atmosphere of a despotic court. Notwithstanding, we venture to think, that ninety-nine men in a hundred will accept Horace as the type of a poet, and the hundredth would be a man of the Swinbournian species. What Horace, as a national lyrist, could have achieved under circumstances more favourable may be gathered from the vehemence and passion, rising into sublimity, which are embodied in the magnificent address to the Roman people in the 16th Epode. His pictures of Canidia and her unhallowed rites have a gloomy and lurid grandeur which not even Shakespeare has surpassed. But it is not as a poet of passion or daring conception that we remind our readers of Horace's claims on them—claims founded on old associations as well as on the writer's intrinsic merits—but as the poet of every-day life, of ordinary human nature, of dry humour, quiet, playful, and unrancorous sarcasm, as the best model of the most finished Latinity, as the most agreeable literary companion for the evening of a day of labour that ancient or modern times afford, and as an armoury of the most pithy and pointed quotations, a treasury of the neatest and fittest phrases, a study in animation, perspicuity, terseness, and graphic delineation. In his epistles he stands alone. In them his genius attains its consummation. In his satires, too, he is *sui generis*, pungent without malignity, humorous without coarseness, sarcastic without cynicism ; he did not dip his pen in gall, or drink of the waters of Marah. It is as a lyrical poet he is decried. To modern disparagement we would oppose the opinion of old Quintillian, who ought to be no bad judge, reflecting as he did the sentiments of his contemporaries : "Lyricorum Horatius fere solus legi dignus."

As it would be impossible to cite all, and difficult and embarrassing to cull from, those magnificent passages, in denunciation of the corruptions of the age, the degeneracy of the

people, the vices of avarice and luxury, or in praise of country life, purity of manners, contentment, and such like—where we find poetry and philosophy fused together and cast into forms of beauty and grace, we will pay the poet the compliment of allowing him to record his own prophetic vision of his immortality, instead of attempting a selection of those beauties—a task to which, moreover, we are inadequate. The following version of the “Exegi Monumentum” is from Mr. Conington’s admirable translation of Horace—a work from which we have already made more than one extract :—

And now 'tis done : more durable than brass
 My monument shall be, and raise its head
 O'er royal pyramids : it shall not dread
 Corroding rain or angry Boreas,
 Nor the long lapse of immemorial time.
 I shall not wholly die ; large residue
 Shall 'scape the queen of funerals. Ever new
 My after-fame shall grow, while pontiffs climb
 With silent maids the Capitolian height.
 “Born” men will say, “where Aufidus is loud,
 Where Daunus, scant of streams, beneath him bow'd
 The rustic tribes, from dimness he waxed bright,
 First of his race to wed the Æolian lay
 To notes of Italy.” Put glory on,
 My own Melpomene, by genius won,
 And crown me of thy grace with Delphic bay.

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON, S. J.

(Continued from page 503.)

IT is a wonder that F. FitzSimon escaped with his life, since he tells us himself that the ministers, who were all-powerful, hated him, and were bent on his ruin.¹ He fervently hoped to have the honour of being dragged from the Castle to be hanged, drawn, and quartered in College-green, where a few years previously the martyred remains of Archbishop O'Hurley were put into an urn by William FitzSimon, a fervent Catholic. The Jesuit knew how Dr. O'Hurley was tortured ; how Primate Creagh was poisoned ; how the Irish Fathers O'Donnell, MacMahon, Eustace, and O'Colin were hanged ; and he heard in his prison cell how three Jesuits were assassinated by

¹ FitzSimon. Letter of 5th April, 1604.

Protestants in Belgium, and three in England, and one in France, for professing and preaching the Catholic faith. He, too, sighed for death in such a glorious cause, and was, they say, actually sentenced to death.¹

However, though his ambition for martyrdom was not gratified, his hunger for hardship and suffering was satiated. The governor of the prison was his deadly enemy, often plotted against his life, and surrounded him with the most cruel and savage gaolers his malice could find out, deprived him of books and of every comfort, suborned false witnesses against him; reported that he had apostatized, never showed him any indulgence or favour,² and subjected him to cruel crosses and the pillory or *catastae*.³

During all the time of his imprisonment, F. FitzSimon was very delicate.⁴ Four or five years of galling and cowardly restraints, and persecutions, and petty annoyances, and want of food, light and air, told terribly on his frame. Thus, too, his superior, F. Christopher Holywood, grandson of Christopher Holywood (the hero of Knoctua and most stalworth gentleman of the Pale), came out crippled from his prison. This Father wrote a very fine hand before his incarceration; but either because the hardships of the Gate-house and the Tower, of Wisbeach and Framlingham Castle shattered his nerves, or because his fingers were injured by the pressure of the thumb-screw, his handwriting was so illegible after his deliverance, that a list of noblemen and gentlemen imprisoned for the faith in Dublin, written by F. Holywood, is put down as Irish poetry, or *Carmina Hibernica*, in a catalogue of manuscripts drawn up by an Italian! This mistake is paralleled in the error of the Continental scholars, who, before the time of Zeus, looked on the Irish manuscripts of "Marianus, the Irishman" as Saxon writings.

F. FitzSimon was placed in irons, as we are given to understand by himself, and also by a remark of F. De la Field, who wrote, in 1603, that F. FitzSimon was still in prison but not in chains, nor kept as closely as before.⁵

Even though he was not put in chains, the restraints and miseries of prison life in those days were appalling. It was long before the time of Howard. He was a right loyal subject of the queen, and sprung from a loyal stock, but because he was loyal to his God he was led to the black hole, the rusty iron door creaked, the key was turned, and

¹ "Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Comp. de Jesus."

² Letter of FitzSimon, 10th April, 1603.

³ Letter of FitzSimon to F. Aquaviva in "Britannomachia."

⁴ Letter of 10th April, 1603. ⁵ Letter, 25th Feb., 1603.

he was left to pine in a place compared with which a cell in Spike Island or Portland would be a paradise.

There he had plenty of time to pray for the success of his persecutors in their war against the Catholics of the North, and for his merciful queen, Elizabeth, seventy thousand of whose soldiers were sent to fatten the battle fields of Ulster. He had time to pray for Elizabeth's allies, the forty Papist chiefs and lords, thirty thousand of whose galloglach and kerne died fighting against the Ulstermen. His sympathies were all with the Pale, and when he took the air on the tower, he looked for the "Irish enemy," and in imagination followed the footfall of war to the Curlew mountains and the Blackwater.

We may form to ourselves some idea of the terrible persecutions which he endured, by weighing the following words wrung from him by the remembrance of his miseries:—"I was in the midst of Rider's friends, and they *never used such restraint and wardings to any criminal as to me.*" In order that we may understand the full force of these words, let us read them by the light of the history of some cotemporary "criminals." I omit to speak of what this confessor of the Faith suffered by the exclusion from all intercourse with his brethren at home or abroad, which, he often says, preyed much on his sensitive and affectionate soul; I omit to speak of the annoyance he suffered from the calumnious report of his perversion, and from the ingenious cruelties of the Governor who hated him even to the death. I shall merely speak of his physical suffering.

A cell in the Castle of Dublin was not as pleasant a place to live in as a cell in the College of Douay. The Primate Martyr Creagh and the Jesuit Fr. Woulfe found the Castle so incommodious, that they managed to escape from it about thirty years before FitzSimon entered it. When Dr. Creagh was accused of running away by the English Privy Council, he answered:—"I think no man shall wonder at my leaving Dublin Castle that should know how I was dealt therein withal; first in a hole, where, without candle there is no light in the world, and with a candle, when I had it, it was filled with the smoke thereof, that had there not been a little hole in the next door to draw in breath, with my mouth set upon it, I had been perhaps shortlie undone. My dwelling in this tower for more than a month, would make a strong man wish for liberty, if for his life he could."¹

If F. FitzSimon was treated more cruelly than this "criminal," he must have been badly off indeed, and it is wonderful that he never thought of escape, which he might have effected through the converts that he made around him.

¹ State Papers.

While F. Henry was in prison, John de Burgo, Baron of Brittas, was thrown into the Castle, because he was a most zealous, fearless, and uncompromising Papist. This nobleman was hanged three years after FitzSimon's liberation. While in the Castle this young Christian hero gave himself up to devotion, to the recitation of the Hours and the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, to pious reading and meditation. He was so absorbed in these acts, that he did not mind the mice that swarmed on his bed, gnawed the bedclothes and pillow, and crept on his body and on his neck.¹

FitzSimon has not told us that he had formed a particular friendship with these interesting creatures; but if he were treated more cruelly than this noble "criminal," he must have been exposed to the same familiarities.

Another martyr, who was hanged, drawn and quartered, in 1611, was imprisoned in the Castle while FitzSimon was there: this was the venerable Bishop of Down, who was kept there three years, and suffered almost incredible hardships. He would have died of hunger and thirst, if necessity had not taught him an extraordinary way of getting something to eat and drink.

There were in the Castle at that time persons imprisoned for political offences, who at their own expense provided themselves with the necessaries of life. They lived in a cell under that of the Bishop, who could hear the dull sounds of their voices, but could not see them or speak to them. Looking for some chink through which to make known his starving state to them, he found a loose brick, raised it, and through the aperture thus made was able to manifest his wants. His fellow-prisoners were more willing than able to help him, and offered him a crust of bread and a drink of beer; but could not find out how he could take it. The Bishop made a rope by tearing his breeches and drawers into strings, and in this way managed to haul up, now and then, a bit of stale loathsome bread and a glass of bad beer.²

If the Protestants used "more restraints and wardings" with FitzSimon than with such "criminals" as the Primate of Armagh, the Bishop of Down, and the Baron of Brittas, he must have suffered much indeed. The ministers persecuted him not without a purpose. As he was the fearless champion of Popery, they endeavoured to break down and shatter his health and spirits; they isolated him in order to destroy the elasticity of his soul; they kept him in the darkness or twilight of a dungeon in order to weaken and darken his understanding; for two years they did not allow his feverish blood to be

¹ Rothe's Analecta. ² *Ibid.*

fanned by the fresh breeze from the Bay of Dublin, nor his affectionate heart to be cheered by the voice of friend or kinsman. And when they did allow a little freedom, I fear it was

“A pretty contrivance made out of old chains,
Which appears to indulge while it doubly restrains.”

They tried to quench the fire of his soul, to dim the brilliancy of his intellect, and to blunt the keenness of his formidable logic, and the sharpness of his inexorable wit. They hoped to unfit him for a discussion which they intended to force on him in their own time. They were woefully mistaken; for FitzSimon never lost the festivity of his temper, and his face never ceased to flash controversy on the enemies of truth. His great heart never quailed, and we can well address to him the words of the poet:—

“When the whole host of hatred stood hard by
To watch and mock thee sinking, thou hast smiled
With a sedate and all-enduring eye.”

We may judge of his bearing from the following words addressed to him in prison by his opponents. Ussher says: “Mr. FitzSimon, your spear belike is in your own conceit a weaver’s beam, and your abilities such that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of Israel, and, therefore, like the Philistine, you contemn me as being a boy.”¹ Bishop Rider writes, “FitzSimon hath a fluent tongue; he is bewitched with self-conceit; is a gentleman, well-learned, as Catholics account him. You must needs deal with him in writing, for otherwise in words he is too hard for a hundred of you, for you shall find him old dogge in *copia verborum, et inopia rerum*.”² He proclaims still, with his stentorian voice, to every corner of the kingdom, that Rider is overthrown horse and foot. He thinketh to deal with me as he does with others, and that I will take anything on his bare word. With all his words and wit, or rather witless words, he hath not proved one syllable in question with all his Jesuitical and transmarine logic. God help the poor subjects of this miserable land, that are compelled to believe this Jesuit, nay, Jebusite—yea, a second Bar-Jesus that seeks by false allegations to turn the Lord’s flock from the Lord’s fold.”³

To this FitzSimon answers:—“You say you must deal with me in print because I am too hard for a hundred in speech. You are here ‘taken by your own talk.’ You cannot conceal

¹ Letter in Ussher’s Life. ² Rider’s Rescript.

³ Rider’s Rescript, No. ii., 14, 7, 8, 4, 6; and Caveat, p. 53.

the confusion you had ever in talking with me, when at every word I disproved and disturbed your conceits—which you heedfully provided to happen most seldom, and speedily to be abrupted. I do but appeal to Mr. Tristram Eccleston, constable of the Castle,¹ whether it was so or no. If he will not disgrace his gossip, at least Mr. Alderman Jans, Luke Shee, Esquyer, and others, can tell the plunge you and Minister Baffe wallowed in at our last meeting. So, then, to God be glory, and never to me, you felt the brunt of my words at that time by your own confession to be irrefragable.”²

Let us now get near FitzSimon and hear him speak of his opponents, the Protestant champions, some of whom have been condemned to undeserved oblivion.

The first man whom the Jesuit challenged was Dr. Challenor, chief minister among the Protestants of his day. He was, I think, an Englishman, and was the husband of Miss Ball, a daughter of Elinor Ussher and Walter Ball, Mayor of Dublin. In 1603, and again in 1609, he and Ussher were deputed to buy books in London for the library of Trinity College. On his death-bed soon after, he bequeathed to his daughter *a very considerable fortune*—wrung from the Catholic Church and Irish people no doubt—and “he enjoined her not to marry any one but Dr. Ussher, if he should offer.” He did offer, and got the fortune and the heiress, who was a cousin of his.³ Challenor seems to have been one of that saintly brood of English ministers who, says Spencer, came to Ireland for their country’s good. Let us look at him a little more closely, though we cannot get at his “inner man of the heart.” He calls FitzSimon “cousin,” and is called “cousin” by FitzSimon; and such they were, it appears, for Rider says: “Maister FitzSimon wrote to his cousin, Dr. Challenor.” Well, his fond cousin, FitzSimon, gives us the following details about him:—

“As I knew that the Protestants considered Challenor as one of their champions, I challenged him. He refused to have any dealings with the Jesuits, because they were disliked by his sovereign. This was an excuse created by his cowardice. Luke Challenor is their inert Achilles, but he is really an Acheloüs—a hissing serpent, or a helpless bull who has lost his horns. He is a Doctor of Divinity, God bless the mark!⁴ and of such little wisdom, that he, to be a Doctor, could find no matter in Divinitie or other science of disputation; but out of all Divinitie and partly contrary to it, only

¹ FitzSimon’s enemy. ² Replie of FitzSimon, p. 44.

³ Elrington’s Ed. of Ussher, see Index at Challenor’s name. ⁴ *Britannomachia.*”

these three ridiculous theses, which are in part blasphemous paradoxes:—*Christ descended not into hell—The Church of Rome had apostatized—Ireland was not Peter's Patrimoine.*¹ I knew him well in Dublin—he is a manifest seducer, notorious for his impiety and undutifulness to his mother, his levity with regard to celibacy, his perfidy in perjury and treachery, his dishonesty towards marriage, etc.² He could not first allow any marriage of ministers, but now the spirit hath so moved him, that, after once being married and plentifully multiplied, he hath taken a second wife.³ His puritanical perfidy is witnessed in his Andronical treason against Doctor Haddoc, a second Onias. After giving him the right hand with protestations of friendship, he secretly trained a draught to apprehend him—fulfilling the saying of the Prophet Jeremy: *In his mouth he speaketh peace with his friend, and secretly he layeth ambush for him.*⁴ Though this worthy would hold no discussion with a Jesuit, because a Jesuit was a traitor, he insulted Bishop O'Dovany and Father O'Locheran when they were standing at the foot of the gallows. He tried to prevent the octogenarian Bishop from saying his prayers, and 'to deal with' him, although he was about to be hanged as a 'traitor.' I presume he would have wished to see FitzSimon 'the traitor' in the same position; but I am sure he would not even then have the courage to molest him, as he would be afraid of his 'transmarine logic, his fluency, his wit, and his stentorian voice.'

Although Challenor would have no dealings with the Jesuit, another dignitary, Dean Meredith Hanmer, was prevailed upon to go to the Castle cell, and "to beard the lion in his den." As Hanmer was a good kind of man, and as his memory has been neglected by Protestant historians, I will take the liberty of giving a brief sketch of him before I mention his relations with FitzSimon.

Hanmer was a Welshman, became Chaplain of Christ Church College in 1567; while he was Vicar of St Leonard's, London, he converted the brass of several ancient monuments into coin. In 1581 he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity, translated into English the Ecclesiastical Histories of Eusebius, Socrates, Evagrius, and Dorotheus, and he also wrote an Ecclesiastical chronography. About the same time he published three virulent books against Father Campion, two of which were called "The Jesuits' Banner, displaying their Hypocrisy and Superstition," and "The Great Bragg and Challenge of Mr. Campion, a Jesuit, lately arrived in England,

¹ Replie, p. 37. ² About middle of "Britannomachia." I did not mark the page.

³ Replie, p. 97. The author of Ussher's life ignored this fact. ⁴ Replie, p. 17.

confuted and answered." In 1586 he published a sermon pronounced at the baptism of a Turk, then removed to Dublin, where he became Treasurer of Christ Church, wrote an "Ephemeris of the Irish Saints" and a "Chronicle of Ireland." He died of the plague in Dublin, in 1604, and was buried in the Church of St. Michan.¹

F. FitzSimon thus tells us of his dealings with this Welsh worthy:—

"Dean Meredith Hanmer, named in F. Campion's 'Decem Rationes,' being prevailed upon by many high people, and, amongst others, by Sir William Warren, to dispute with me, came with them to my prison. As he remained silent, I, trusting in the goodness of my cause, undertook to defend what was weakest on our side, and to attack what seemed strongest on theirs. Being nettled by this, and stimulated by the cries of his friends and by the fear of disgrace, he said aloud—'Hem! how, how do you prove that anyone besides God can remit sins?' I answered: 'He who baptizes remits sins; but man baptizes; therefore man remits sins. If you deny the major, you are a Puritan and you sin against the 27th Article.' . . . 'Damn the Puritans,' said he; and, amid the jeers of all present, he turned to the governor of the prison, and accused him of treason for allowing me to talk against the king's religion."²

From that moment there was a tacit compact between FitzSimon and Hanmer, as between the hereditary guests of Homer. This appears from a letter which the Jesuit wrote in 1604, in which he says:—"Before her death Elizabeth had exhausted all her resources, and had to pay her army with brass money, which was worthless. Those who refused to take it were fined. Thus trade, fairs and buildings were interrupted, and great poverty was the result. He, who fed Elias and Paul and others through the ministry of ravens, helped me in my great need by Meredith Hanmer. This gentleman gave me a barrel of beer,³ and a barrel of flour. Moreover, he gave me the use of his library, and he has become so attached to me that he does not allow any of the sectaries to speak ill of me, and he has breasted unpopularity for my sake. Since we have become acquainted, he avoids the pulpit and often attacks the Puritans. Hence he is suspected of a leaning towards Rome. However the poor, dear, droll, jolly soul is so much given to banqueting, and drinking, and jesting, and scoffing that he will never have the wisdom of those who seek and find." From this it appears that poor Hanmer, like

¹ Ware's Writers. Bartoli's "Inghilterra." ² FitzSimon's "Britannomachia."

³ Amphora, equal to six gallons.

many of his brother parsons, was partial to strong waters, and appreciated fully the words of the *cruiscin lán*—

“ But I, more blest than they,
Spend each happy night and day
With my charming little *cruiscin lán*.”

This good-hearted and distinguished Dean of St. Patrick's was called to his eternal account very soon after these affectionate and grateful words were written about him by Father FitzSimon,

After Dean Hanmer's defeat, the famous James Ussher went to the prison and had some conversation with his kinsman, the Jesuit. The biographers of the Protestant Primate give the following absurd account of this affair, and they prop up their version of it by a real or forged letter of James Ussher:—

In April, 1599, Essex arrived in Dublin. The University, in order to welcome their new Chancellor, had a solemn act performed for his entertainment, and Ussher was selected as the respondent in the philosophical disputation—a task which he performed with great applause. But he soon undertook a more serious disputation, encountering the learned Jesuit, Henry FitzSimon, on the questions controverted between the Protestants and Catholics. FitzSimon was confined in the Castle of Dublin, and he declared that “as a prisoner he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some one to bait him!” This was considered as a challenge. Dr. Smith says that two or three theologians, venerable for their age and ecclesiastical station, had entered the lists; but finding it of no use to answer his calumnies or chastise his madness, relinquished the task. But from other biographers it would appear that Ussher was the only one that encountered him in public disputation. How he came to be selected is not mentioned. Saldenus asserts that he was chosen by the unanimous consent of the University; but he does not give his authority, and we search for it in vain.¹

Bayle sneers at Ussher's biographers on this point; but the biographers are borne out by a letter from Ussher to FitzSimon which is still preserved, and is couched in the following terms:—

“I was not prepared, Mr. FitzSimon, to write unto you before you had first written unto me concerning some chief points of your religion, as at our last meeting you promised. But seeing that you have deferred the same (for reasons best

¹ Sald. de lib., p. 368, Act. Erud. Lips., 1687, p. 115.

known to yourself), I thought it not amiss to inquire further of your mind concerning the continuance of the conference begun between us. And to this I am rather moved because I am credibly informed of certain reports, which I would hardly be persuaded should proceed from him who, in my presence, pretended so great love and affection to me.

“If I am a boy, as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me, I give thanks to the Lord that my carriage towards you hath been such as could minister no just occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is, in your own conceit, a weaver’s beam, and your abilities such, that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of Israel; and, therefore, like the Philistine, you contemn me as being a boy. Yet this I would fain have you to know, that I neither came then, nor do come now, unto you in any confidence in any learning that is in me (in which respect, notwithstanding, I thank God I am what I am); but I come in the name of the Lord of Hosts, being persuaded that even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he was able to show forth his own praises. For the further manifestation whereof I do again earnestly request you that, setting aside all vain comparison of persons, we may go plainly forward in examining the matters that rest in controversy between us. Otherwise I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so I also, for my own part, may be bold for the clearing of myself and the truths which I profess, freely to make known what hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus entreating you in a few lines to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, I end.

“Tuas (*sic*) ad aras usque,

“James Ussher.”

This letter speaks of but one conference; yet we are told that they were to meet once a week, and that they selected Antichrist as the first subject for discussion. However, they met only twice or three times, as FitzSimon declined to go on with the discussion. Thus the Jesuit confessed himself beaten, and was reduced to silence, nay, to *ελεμθια*, which is the big Pythagorean word used by Saldenus to express the absolute silence of Fitzsimon.¹ He gave Protestants just occasion to boast of victory;² and he was so baffled by Ussher’s arguments that he gave up his cause, and the Protestant champion had confessedly the victory.³

¹ Saldenus de lib., p. 368, Act. Erud. Lips., 1687, p. 115.

² Mason’s “History of St. Patrick’s Cathedral.”

³ Harris—“Ware’s Bishops,” and also Drs. Bernard and Elrington.

Such is the view taken from an Irish Protestant standpoint. But there are persons profane enough to look on this account as an elaborate lie, and who think that fond Protestants have sacrificed truth at the feet of their Irish idol. The learned Protestant, Bayle, laughs at the whole story;¹ the honest Protestant, Anthony Wood, says simply that the Jesuit "grew weary of disputing" with his youthful kinsman;² a writer in Moreri's Dictionary scouts this tale, and says that Ussher in his best days would not have been a match for FitzSimon.³

FitzSimon himself has left us a very simple and truthful account of the matter in a book which he published fourteen years after the event, little suspecting that a different version would be given forty years later, when he was in his grave. In dedicating his "Britannomachia" to Aquaviva, his Father-General, he says:—

"While I was a captive for five years in the Castle of Dublin I did everything in my power to provoke the parsons to a discussion, except perhaps during the two years in which hardly any one was allowed to see me, so strictly was I guarded. Whenever I knew that they were passing in the corridors or Castle yard,⁴ I tried to see them, and by word or gesture to attract their attention towards me. But they neither wished to look up at me in the tower, nor did they pretend to hear me, when from the Castle or the cell I challenged them in a stentorian voice.

"Once, indeed, a youth of eighteen came forward with the greatest trepidation of face and voice. He was a precocious boy, but not of a bad disposition and talent as it seemed. Perhaps he was rather greedy of applause. Anyhow he was desirous of disputing about most abstruse points of Divinity, although he had not yet finished the study of Philosophy. I bid the youth bring me some proof that he was considered a fit champion by the Protestants, and I said that I would then enter into a discussion even with him. But as they did not at all think him a fit and proper person to defend them, he never again honoured me with his presence."

¹ "Dict. Historique." ² "Athenæ Oxonienses." ³ Dictionaire de Moréri.

⁴ Dedication of "Britannomachia."

(To be continued.)

THE DÖLLINGER SCANDAL.

(Translated from the "*Revue Générale*," of Brussels.)

IN the course of the year 1857 the editor of the complete works of F. Baader brought forth a new volume, containing his correspondence, which excited considerable surprise amongst the general admirers of the great thinker of Munich. In it was revealed a spirit of opposition to the Church, pushed even to spite, in his late years, by Baader. As was the custom in those more happy days, recourse was had to M. Döllinger for a solution of the strange problem of this manifest inconsistency of Baader. In compliance with this invitation, M. Döllinger discussed the matter in a postscript which may be seen in vol. xi. "*Hist. Pol. Blatter*," p. 178. In this postscript Döllinger points out the reasons—sufficiently shown elsewhere by the correspondence itself—which explain how the animosity entertained against the Church by Baader in his late years was altogether the result of external and accidental causes, having nothing in common with his philosophy. "No other arguments are required," concludes M. Döllinger, "to explain how Baader has come to cross the great precipice which separates the calm convictions of a man who has attained the highest point of intellectual culture, and the virulent, and almost puerile, attack of an old man whose faculties had undergone a species of decrepitude."

These words, which fell from the pen of M. Döllinger thirteen years ago, have often been read over by us, since we have seen himself, alas! advance step by step in that opposition to the Church which he had so lately and so severely blamed in the philosopher of Munich.

Within certain limits the situation of those two men is identical. The veteran historian of the Church, too, has sunk a vast abyss between his present views and the calm conviction of the Döllinger who had raised himself under our eyes to the pinnacle of intellectual culture. His actions, and his words also, reflect to-day marks of passion incompatible with the position of a man serious and truly master of himself. Here also we are correct in attributing the psychological phenomenon of a similar change to influences totally foreign, and we explain the reason of it by circumstances which have nothing, so to speak, in common with the erudition of the historian, and which are rather purely external and fortuitous. But—and this is the great point of difference—with Baader these motives had an essentially private and domestic character, whilst with Döllinger they are in accordance with public and political

life ; it is, in a word, the spirit of the day, or of the world, that has transported him across the vast precipice. The fall of Döllinger, laying aside his past, is only a particular episode of the political history of Bavaria for the last twenty years. The Council and the dogmatic definition of the 18th July have but hastened the crash, and given to the crisis a decided character, but the rupture was already produced without it. The current in which M. Döllinger allowed himself to be involved drove him irresistibly to this result. And if it be asked how it happened that an eminent *savant*, a man enjoying the highest esteem, placed in a position of absolute independence, allowed himself to be hurried away by a current so opposite to his entire previous life, it seems to me that the answer is simple enough. Since a certain epoch in the contemporary history of Bavaria, there has been no true Catholic in that country who has not been obliged, like the Church, to resign himself to carry his cross, and all do not receive either the spirit of self-denial or the loftiness of soul necessary to enable them to accept the lot of neglect and obscurity, whilst obsequiousness suffices to raise them to the summit of worldly honors. It is the plague of modern times that has tainted our veteran Professor.

It is universally admitted that, as a man of learning, M. Döllinger could add nothing to his reputation. His name, everywhere famous, was revered as that of the leader and most brilliant ornament of the Catholic school of Munich. But it is equally certain that this entire school has never professed or taught on the question of Papal decisions *ex cathedra*, any other doctrine than that which the Decree of the Council proposes to our belief to-day. The writer of this paper has never heard them teach anything else ; and more than a year ago, a number of ex-students of the Theological Faculty of Munich, from the Bishop of Mayence to simple country curés, testified, and furnished proof from their class notes, that Döllinger himself never taught anything else than what the Archbishop of Munich wishes him to admit to-day. Whoever attempts to sustain the fallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff's doctrinal decisions, places himself in opposition to the belief of the universal Church, past and present, and denies the infallibility even of the Church itself. Such was the teaching of the entire Munich school, and such was the teaching of Döllinger himself.

But, from the language of M. Döllinger to-day, the infallibility of the Church herself, as a Church, is purely and simply abolished. He openly places science above the Church, and he submits the decisions of the Church, in the ultimate analysis,

to the judgment of the learned, and especially of historians. This is what M. Döllinger does, theoretically and practically, in his declaration to his ecclesiastical superiors. The Archbishop of Munich justly replies, that by it "the doctrine divinely instituted in the Church is discarded, and all Catholic truth brought into question."

It is superfluous to add, that a man who dares to speak as M. Döllinger has spoken in his *Declaration* of the 28th March, has lost even the Catholic idea of the Church itself. He is now distinguishable from Protestants only in so far as he wishes still to admit, besides the Bible, tradition—the unanimous consent of the Fathers—as a source of religious truth; a principle not repugnant to the Protestant himself, provided that he makes use of the discretion of subjective interpretation, as M. Döllinger does in explicit and manifest terms, when he subjects Pope and Council to the supreme tribunal of science.

Moreover, it was not yesterday that M. Döllinger gave his adhesion to these views. Many years ago we foresaw what has at last come to pass. To our great astonishment there was no importance attached to it in certain quarters of the religious world, and strange revelations, to which the associations of persons and circumstances ought to have lent considerable weight, were passed over too lightly. We have already noticed elsewhere those points which cast an accusing glare on the secret history of Bavaria, and the dangerous interference of Döllinger in the tendencies of an administration which has fallen, but we feel bound to return to them now and treat them at greater length. Amongst others, I wish to recall the academic discourse pronounced on the 30th March, 1864, in memory of King Maximilian II., by M. Döllinger.

The speaker, treating of the lively interest taken by the late king in historical studies, brings to light a special reason—"a most secret motive"—for this royal taste. In order to appreciate at its just worth the import of the extract we are about to make in connection with the person of Döllinger, we must take into consideration the proper character of a man who has passed the greater portion of his life more amongst his books than amongst men. There is not one, perhaps, more accessible than Döllinger to suggestions from without, although he does not even notice their influence on him. What you tell him to-day, he will give you to-morrow, in the very best faith, as his own inspiration. It may be said that this is, to some extent, the consequence of his surroundings, and this it is also which has driven him so rapidly, according

as death or estrangement deprived him one by one of his old friends, to fall back almost exclusively on the society of the *soi disant* elect. By this, too, is explained that unaccountable influence which has been exercised over this great genius by men much younger than himself, and by some obscure members of the learned body, Huher, for example. In such circumstances too much value could not be attached to the action and influence of the secrets which King Maximilian did Döllinger the honor of entrusting to him. It has been said that a sort of intoxication had passed over the latter, and his new friend had furnished but too much food to this mental affection. The impression of those conversations, which must have taken place about the beginning of 1860, must have been so much the more durable because Döllinger, the recognised head of the *Ultramontanes*, could not have reckoned on more notice from the king than the other members of a systematically-slandered party. In a word, it is our firm conviction that an attentive observer will be able to perceive in the following extract the contrast of the old with the new Döllinger, as we retrace in the man the infant in the cradle.

“In presuming to allude to the profound thoughts which guided the king in his general administration, and more especially in his relations with science, I venture to make use of proofs, which I have received concerning them, from his own lips. A sincere and faithful Christian, he was convinced of the indefectibility of Christianity, and therefore he could not bring home to himself that the great discord and contention of Christian creeds should live on hopelessly through ages, or that so many vigorous and noble powers should perpetually waste themselves in mutual and fruitless conflicts. By the Divine permission, he said, separation has had its era, and it is now to yield to a more exalted design. Its time has not yet, perhaps, fully flown by, but it is very near its end; and I firmly believe, he added, that, notwithstanding the bitterness of dispute, notwithstanding the mean egotism which insinuates itself on all sides, notwithstanding political interests which rival each other in sowing dissension, the day of union for Christian nations shall close gloriously, and the prophecy of one fold under one pastor shall receive its complete accomplishment. If the great bodies of the Occidental Churches became reconciled, and if, their spiritual strength united, and more than doubled, they directed their action on the Graeco-Russian Church, this latter would not long resist the magnetic attraction which would restore it in triumph to the bosom of unity. And reciprocally, if the union of the Catholic and Oriental Churches were

accomplished, all the Protestant communities would be at once hurried along in the current of unity.

“From the standing point at which the king was placed, he could not, naturally, take into consideration every issue which, remotely or nearly, is connected with the reconciliation of the Occidental Churches, those of Germany more especially, as the happy harbinger of an approaching peace. He was perfectly well aware that this future union shall never be the effect of a reconciliation, simple, immediate, mechanical in any way, of contradictory creeds; it was equally evident to his eyes that it is useless to dream of an absorption, purely and simply, of one church by another. It will at first, he said, be necessary for both sides to have recourse to a kind of refining abnegation—if you will—by which an avenue may be opened to this mutual avowal, that each has some good feature to borrow from the other (even though it should be in an unequal degree); each has certain vices, certain prejudices, which the other can help it to cast off; certain blemishes in its religious system to gloss over; certain wounds to heal; and neither can be compelled to yield up a real benefit which shall have passed the test of time and history. On these conditions reconciliation and unity shall, sooner or later, be effected in the heart of Europe—in Germany. Such were, as nearly as possible, the ideas expressed to me by the king in a conversation which I will never forget. I know not how far they savour of Schelling’s famous Utopia concerning the universal Church of the future; it is certain that this thinker exercised a great influence over the mind of the king, even before the latter’s accession to the throne. Besides, the king was not unmindful that this idea of a religious union in the future had been admitted to be a necessity, and desired with a firm hope by the greatest men of Germany, by Leibnitz, and even by illustrious princes and sovereigns of his own family, amongst others, by his kinsman Frederick William IV. of Prussia.

“As a German patriot, he saw in this union the salvation of his country; as a Christian he perceived in it the bulwark destined to defend the faith of Christ against its powerful enemies. Besides, he was convinced that Bavaria was called upon to play an important part in it, and that he was bound, as king, not only to set her upon the track, but to lead her along it in person; for, in his opinion, it is not the result of pure chance that the most numerous element of the Bavarian people—that of Franconia—is almost equally divided between the two creeds, and that nowhere, not even in Prussia, have the local admixture, and the amalgamation of Catholic and Protestant, produced so intimate a union as in Bavaria.

“The king imagined that, it being in his power, it was his duty to lend a twofold aid to the attainment by Germany of this great end; first, in labouring—which, independently of every other consideration, he ever considered his first duty—to establish amongst his subjects of various denominations such an equality of civil rights and standing as that neither should ever experience the least sense of oppression, tyranny, or contempt, which might crush at the outset all attempt at reconciliation; but in the second place he considered that science, and more particularly historical science, was here intrusted with a mission, so much the more important that religion itself is history, and that it is impossible to understand and appreciate it otherwise than as a historical fact, and by the knowledge of historical laws. The science of history was, to him, that land of benediction where, to use the words of Scripture, ‘Justice and peace exchange the kiss of peace.’ For history alone, studied thoroughly and impartially, gives men a true idea of their own part, and the part of others, of their own perfections and their own defects, as well as of the perfections and defects of others, and thus prepares them for concord, liberality, and mutual love.

“The soil of historical science thus seemed to the king like the mediæval truce of God, or *like a sanctuary where men can meet without being united by any religious bond*, to study and work in common, where all, drawn by the same thirst of learning, refreshing themselves together at the sacred fountains of truth, lose their personality in their desire for the common good. And from this commonwealth, from this scientific brotherhood, one day, he hoped, that when a gentle breeze shall have melted the icy barriers which separates creeds in general, unity and universal reconciliation, desired and longed for of the patriot and the Christian, shall arise, embracing in their span the entire domain of history and all religious truth.”

It is evident that this passage was written under the influence of a warm personal conviction. Although the argumentation is exclusively an attack on the notion of symbolism, on the Church as a system, M. Döllinger adds not the slightest plea in behalf of his Church. It must have appeared strange to so able a critic, and so sound a thinker, to mix himself up in such politico-religious speculations. We see, in short, tossed about in the confused medley of the royal programme, three ideas totally different, and partly contradictory, but having this in common—that they are absolutely at variance with the idea of a Church divinely instituted for the salvation of mankind.

There is first the Johannite church of love—Schelling's famous church of the future—with which M. Döllinger seems quite at home. His actual revolt does not savour very much of the spirit of the disciple of love. The phantom which could work on a contemplative and enthusiastic nature like that of King Frederic William IV., or take possession of the mental fortress of the good-natured King of Bavaria, must have exercised very little influence upon Döllinger. It was not the same, perhaps, with the second idea that King Max. had worked out in his politico-religious system, that of a national German church; nor with the third royal vision, which consisted in fusing all creeds into one common republic of *savants*, and in transforming the Church into an universal academy of science. Here the thread or mysticism gives way—without, perhaps, the king perceiving it; this is coarse rationalism, or, if you will, it is the open portal which gives us a vague glimpse of the stage.

If we cast our eyes on Döllinger's Declaration of the 28th March, we shall perceive that these two ideas stand out in relief from it. So hateful an opposition of nations in the matter of religious views as that which is embodied in the cant phrase in which he speaks of *Romanism* and *Germanism*, can indeed flatter the reigning spirit of political passion, but it is far from being consistent with the principles of the Catholic Church. The man who, in the name of nationality, sets about preaching unity to the children of Rome, either knows not what he does, or ought to advocate at the same time the schism of the German national church. There is but one step—and that not an arduous one to a soul filled with pride, and puffed up with learning—from thence to the notorious declaration of Döllinger to the Archbishop. What is it, in short, but this scientific fraternity of the students of history, whose supreme authority he places above that of the Church, and which, in the ultimate analysis, he constitutes the arbiter of supernatural matters of faith. The man of learning who writes thus can scarcely pass for a Christian; certain it is, that we can no longer look upon him as a Catholic.

We are, in truth, reluctantly overwhelmed by a profound terror, when we contemplate the abyss of error into which this man, ordinarily so clear a thinker, and so acute a logician, has fallen. And ought not the eyes of the world be sufficiently opened by this one fact—that the most disreputable apostles of German Catholicity and the free commune seize upon this opportunity of republishing their blasphemous works, as “an interesting commentary on the protest of Doctor Döllinger.” M. Döllinger has, assuredly, with regard to God, nothing in

common with such people ; but these draw their inferences as readily as the party of progress draw theirs, and M. Dollinger has lost, once for all, the right of repudiating any use that may be made of his teaching.

The first snare laid for his religious opinions must, undoubtedly, have been the meaningless hint at nationality in the Church. This was the bait by which the man was completely won over by the arrogant leaders of the religious rebellion. Nothing was even more at variance with the fundamental idea of Catholicity than the false principle of nationalities. It has ever been, on the contrary, the task and mission of the Church to sweep away national barriers, and embrace all peoples in bonds of the closest unity. And it is in our day that national fanaticism has given birth, among peoples, to relations and sentiments which bring us nearer and nearer to barbarism ; it is in our day also that there is scattered abroad a desire of bursting the last links that still unite mankind, by means of an indifference and a cruelty which seems incapable of being displayed by any fanaticism, except the most miserable of all—that of party. We can well imagine a German national church, indoctrinated by the new Neros of national liberalism, but we cannot understand it in other hands.

We are well aware that nothing was further from the mind of M. Döllinger than any kind of schismatical tendencies, when he spoke in 1850 before the meeting of Catholics assembled at Linz, of the position of the *German nationality in the Church*. But he was no longer of the same opinion when he made his declaration to the congress of scholars assembled at Munich in 1863. His bearing on that occasion already bespoke a change.

This was shortly after the time when the country—the merely scientific part of it, at the outset—was inflamed against the so-called Romanists or neo-scholastics. The suspicions of this party were thenceforward only too well justified by M. Döllinger, but it is our personal conviction that up to this period these suspicions had been groundless. But the readiness with which he imbibed certain liberal theories, a singular leaning towards opinions previously opposed, and, above all, his endeavours to rebut every suspicion of ultramontaniam, became day by day more strongly developed. The danger which was to prove fatal to M. Döllinger begins with his actual and practical implication in the policy of the Bavarian Government in connexion with the relations of science to ecclesiastical authority. The rallying cry of “German Science” was thenceforward the focus in which were centred, more or less consciously, the leanings of the great scholar. The decisive crash cannot have come before 1863.

In the course of this period, about the close of 1861, the writer of these pages, being at Frankfort, made a visit to Boehmer, the remembrance of which will never leave him. The illustrious historian was at this time seriously indisposed; he had lost nothing of his gayness of spirits, but his temper had become peevish and sour. The conversation turned upon the University of Munich. Boehmer deplored deeply what was passing at Munich, but he more especially attacked with asperity, the celebrities of the period previous to the month of March. Amongst others, he reproached Döllinger with not having known how to avail himself of a good opportunity of founding a historical school in a spirit of religion. We know that M. Döllinger has had many pupils during his long professional career, but he has erected no school, and we may assert that out of all he has not left a single follower. Cast adrift on an ocean of books he has not had leisure to fashion young minds, and, moreover, the gift of sociability has been entirely denied him.

These charges of Boehmer became more and more bitter, until finally his anger found vent in the following anecdote:—The last time that Döllinger came to Frankfort to visit him, they took a walk together round the city. Döllinger being full of his literary projects, Boehmer represented to him that it were better for him to discharge his previous engagements, and asked him why he did not continue his half-finished ecclesiastical history. Upon this, Döllinger stopped, and, playing with his cane, said: "It is, you see, because I cannot. I have reached a point in my researches from which the sequel is not in harmony with the commencement. The continuation of my history should be altogether Protestant." I imagine I see yet the indignant form of Boehmer at the conclusion of his recital. "It was *he*," he exclaimed, "it was *he* who said that!"

But already, in the autumn of 1860, Döllinger's masterpiece had appeared—*Christianity and the Church at the period of their establishment*. This work, which was raised upon the summit of the most recent conquests of science, and which appeared in the most attractive shape, strengthened and rejoiced thousands of Catholic hearts, as it did mine. What impelled Döllinger to retouch his magnificent fabric, so as to make of it a kind of mausoleum? He had written this book at the age of sixty years, and when he published a second edition of it in 1868, it was only after suppressing the principal points that touched on the promises and institution of the Primacy itself, or at least distorting them into the sense of religious liberalism, without expressing the motives which

had determined him to such an act, or condescending in the least to explain it.

M. Döllinger is truly gifted with a wonderful memory concerning everything that has left its stamp on the universe, but he is, unfortunately, not so heedful of himself and his own proceedings. We might say that, whilst addressing his *Declaration* to the Archbishop, he had completely forgotten the corrections which he had determined, in 1868, to make in his celebrated work. However, the success which this work had met with, throughout the entire of Catholic Germany, left no opportunity for appealing to the tone of it, and inquiring of what text there was question—the good version of 1860, or the modified, not to say vitiated text, of 1868. Moreover, Janus, whose inspiration was drawn from it, soon afterwards finally suppressed whatever Döllinger had allowed to remain in his second edition favouring the Primacy; setting himself up in opposition to the unanimous testimony of the Fathers, and the researches of theological science. In other words, Janus erased the Primacy with a stroke of the pen.

What a salutary influence M. Döllinger might have exercised upon his contemporaries and upon posterity, had he continued, as in his work of 1860, to diffuse the rich treasures of science over Christendom. The Almighty, who had held him erect amidst the wasting struggles and fiery passions of those latter years, would have allowed him to reach a very rare old age, if M. Döllinger had remained faithful to his project of consecrating his remaining days to that calm and impartial science which had been his glory. This work was the last fruit of the professional career of the man of genius; soon began the period of the triflings of the man of party full of bitterness and rancour, not to speak of the future Counsellor of State of Bavaria. He had broken for ever with true science.

At the end of the autumn of 1861 appeared the work—*The Church and the Churches: the Papacy and the Pontifical States*. It was a kind of colossal apology for two celebrated discussions on the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, which had taken place on the 5th and 9th April of the same year. Döllinger had therein stepped upon the soil of politics, which were not congenial to him, and which his natural credulity hindered from being so. Besides, he had fallen into opinions so impious and so repulsive to the Catholic heart, that lively fears were entertained concerning them in ecclesiastical quarters. We also dreaded their consequences. Döllinger himself, it was pretended, had been evidently embarrassed by the unexpected effect produced by his unexplained interference. The book

which he published in consequence of these debates, and which was, in other respects, a gem of historical composition, only betrayed his violent struggles to escape the consequences of the theories he had subscribed to.

Be this as it may, notions borrowed from the royal interviews, especially the endeavours to reconcile all opinions with the spirit of the Church, are clearly perceivable in the preface. It would not be a difficult task to refute M. Döllinger from his own book of 1861, and to meet the charges against the Church and the Papacy of the middle ages, with which he (either personally or by his *Amanuensis*) later on embellished the celebrated articles, "*Council*" in the *General Gazette*, and still more recently, the *Declaration* to his ordinary. We should find therein even an exposition and vindication of the Encyclical and the articles of the Syllabus regarding the relations of the Church and the State. M. Döllinger, at this period, was still well aware that he might defend the genuine sense of certain decrees or bulls of the Popes by bearing in mind the semi-political, semi-religious character of the middle ages; he had not yet forgotten the distinction between what is eternally true and what is but transitory. With what a burst of laughter he then greeted the herald who announced to him that Napoleon III. agreed to put into execution the bull "*Cum ex apostolatus officio*," addressed in 1559 by Paul IV. to the Protestant princes of Prussia and Germany. And yet he to-day advances absurdities of the same class without as much as wincing.

M. Döllinger commenced, thenceforth, to apply practically his principles (at which we have already glanced) concerning the relations of science with religious authority, at least in Bavaria. During the space of some years conflicts were perpetually cropping up there, and M. Döllinger failed not to demean himself on each occasion as if the case concerned him personally. Thus he kept up, for an entire year, a most passionate dispute with his Archbishop in favour of Dr. Pichler, a personage unworthy of such a champion. Even then he experienced those sudden fits of anger which people tried to attribute to some physical cause, and which M. Döllinger, more than any other, was sure to regret on the morrow.

Meanwhile, the Council of Bishops assembled at Fulda resolved to take steps towards giving a more lively and active impulse to the realization of the project of erecting a free Catholic University. To M. Döllinger this resolution was the proof of the weaving of a dark plot against German science. His eyes were blinded to the fact, that the anti-religious, not to say anti-Christian, spirit rampant in the universities, would

cease to engage his sympathy, were he a pastor responsible for his diocese. The feeling which had dictated an appeal to the Catholic bodies of Germany on the nature of superior education, set him beside himself. He regarded the question of seminaries, mooted at Spires, as an attack framed by the Romanists on free German science; and without as yet declaring open war, he omitted no opportunity of ranking himself on the side of the most decided opponents of the just claims of the episcopate.

Almost at the same time the public obtained information of a statement addressed to the king, by the minister of worship, on the occasion of a vacancy open to the theological faculty of Wurtzburg. In this statement the minister painted in the darkest colours the theologians educated in the German college at Rome. A chance coincidence threw upon Döllinger the suspicion of having been its principal author. In the beginning of 1866 a pamphlet appeared entitled "*For the instruction of the King*," which, disguising M. Döllinger under the general appellation of "the new school of Munich," represented him as the chief actor in the puppet-show known as the ministry of worship. It was rumoured that he had said to the king—speaking of the conduct of the bishops in the Spires affair—"They wish to take advantage of the king's youth." It is not our business to inquire whether the anecdote be founded on truth, or how far the version of the pamphlet bespoke an exchange of compliments between the cabinet and the ministry. However, the pamphlet became the rage, and just two years before the appearance of the famous articles "Council," it was refuted by a master-hand in the *General Gazette* of Augsburg. The manner and style leave us room to suspect that the famous *Amanuensis* carried away his first honors on this occasion.

The *Articles* do not even attempt the refutation of the facts advanced, they but urge a crowd of accusations, and if we select from them the necessary declamation against Romanists, Jesuits, and seminaries of young people, we shall discover that they contained the complete ground-work of the anti-conciliar revolt, which was to burst into flame two years later. Meanwhile Döllinger, together with some other members of the faculty (Haneberg and Reithmayer), was represented in them as riveted in an opinion which nothing had been able to change. "If during so many years," it was said, "these men afforded no ground for such an accusation (that of being attached to dangerous novelties), by what right are they accused of them now, since they have remained fixed in their convictions." From this it is evident that this boasted even-

ness of belief had already become a thing of the past, and that the extraordinary charge of Döllinger "not one of us believes it!" affected each of his colleagues no less than himself. The *Articles* quoted also the expression of a professor of Bonn: "Suspicion has become more widespread, and Döllinger and Michelis are no longer believed stainless." What would the writer say of the present attitude of these two men?

On the 1st January, 1867, the statesman Hohenlohe assumed the helm of affairs. It cannot be asserted that Döllinger's influence was strengthened by the elevation of Prince Hohenlohe, one of his old acquaintances; on the contrary, it is the prince who must have found a powerful support in the learned professor, and he certainly could not do less than favour in return the latter's designs. The prince had hitherto ever been considered a stanch partizan of the Church; but he found no better means of dispelling the bad effect of his Prussian sympathies in high quarters than to encourage this superstitious dread of ultramontanes and Jesuits which had been, for some twenty years past, a perpetual bugbear within the walls of the royal residence of Munich. This is precisely what renders M. Döllinger so interesting after his passage through the laven of regeneration, in which he had been cleansed from the ordure of ultramontanism. It was imagined that it would be much more easy, and less dangerous, to crush the ultramontane or clerical party with such an auxiliary, than if the alliance of the party of progress had been sought. This explains how Prince Hohenlohe, at the head of foreign affairs, resolved on no account to refuse Döllinger his assistance against the Curia, and all that is dependent on it.

Nevertheless, the famous articles "*Council*," of the *General Gazette*, of the 10th to the 15th March, 1869, appeared under a most untraceable *nom de plume*, every earthly pains being taken to render it impenetrable and to mislead the public. For ourselves we never doubted the real author, but so surprised were the uninitiated that for a long time the greater part refused to believe it of him. Meanwhile, the articles were reprinted in the equally anonymous book of *Janus*, and on the 9th April, 1869, Prince Hohenlohe published his famous circular, whose fathership M. Döllinger might well have laid claim to. The council of ministers had not been apprized of the matter, and even the five known questions which Prince Hohenlohe hoped to propose to the Faculties of Theology and Law of Munich and Wurtzburg, relative to the future Council had reached the ministry, and the ministry of foreign affairs by a secret channel.

It was incumbent on M. Döllinger to reply to his own questions in the name of the majority of the faculty of Munich. Compared to the frank and explicit declaration of Professors Schmid and Thalhofer, his exposition produced but a poor effect. No one could well understand this tissue of superficial and perplexing arguments. One thing alone was clearly perceptible—the quibbling by which the author endeavoured to extricate himself from the difficulty, and so evident was the want of a sincere conviction in his complicated work, that no one could conceal his feeling on reading the slanderous articles of the *General Gazette* more fully developed in *Fanus*.

We shall not here enter into the merits of this work, of which we have elsewhere treated. Not only does it reject infallibility, but the entire Primacy, at least since the year 845, is represented in it as the consequence of an uninterrupted chain of falsehood and deceit, and, to use the words of *Fanus* himself, an excrescence that disfigures, weakens, and cramps, the organization of the Church. Not only is the future Council greeted beforehand with a sentence of réprobation, but the last general Council of Trent is treated as a synod whose liberty had been trampled on by the legates, and in which the Romans alone had enjoyed freedom, in a word, as an assembly of knaves and fools. As to M. Döllinger, he had evidently forgotten this condemnation of the Council of Trent, when, in his declaration of the 28th March of this year, he appealed to the Tridentine Profession of Faith sworn to twice by him, forgetting at the same time the essential point of his oath—the promise of not interpreting the Holy Scripture, save “in the sense of our mother the Holy Church.”

Whilst labouring earnestly at works completely outside his province, the learned Professor had fully equipped himself for the campaign which was about to open against the Council. The *Grenzboten* of Leipsig of the 24th June, 1870, is worth consulting on this point. “Thanks to the inflammatory circulars of Prince Hohenlohe,” says this journal, “the results foreseen by *Fanus* are being realized in politics, and are penetrating into governmental and diplomatic spheres. The present Bavarian envoy, an insignificant creature, entirely devoted to the Curia, has been recalled and replaced by Count Taufkircher, the ablest diplomatist that the Government could employ just now. His influence at Rome will be most active, and if the preparations for the Council have already aroused such a rapid and radical movement in the press and in literary circles, this is due in no small degree to the Bavarian Ambassador.” We now know that M. Döllinger and Lord Acton Dalberg did the rest. This was the origin of the *Correspondence on the Council in the General Gazette*.

Towards the end of the year—in the month of October—appeared the *Reflections for the Bishops of the Council concerning Papal Infallibility*. It was written anonymously, but M. Döllinger made no secret of his being its author, and soon after he published—this time with his signature—in the *General Gazette*, now become the official organ of the new Catholic Theology, the *Declaration on Infallibility* of the 19th January, 1870. In this declaration, says the Leipsig correspondent of whom I have already spoken, M. Döllinger openly declared his adhesion to the views of *Fanus*. The announcement of his name was the signal for jubilant acclamations by which the party of progress welcomed so important a proselyte. The press had greeted him long since, Parliament was to do so now.

On the 7th February a deputy—Dr. Volk—seized on the occasion of the discussion on the address to introduce, in spite of the majority of patriots, the Döllinger case. He might have imagined, on reading the most flagrant and violent passages of the *Reflections* and the *Declaration*, that the majority of the Chamber shared the same sentiments, or that at least they would declare for Döllinger against the Pope and the Council. Until then, the patriotic majority had carefully avoided embittering the debates by introducing into them religious questions, but it was necessary to ward off the stroke which had now been prepared for them. It were well to read, in the reporter's account of the sitting, the excitement which was caused by the following declaration of Deputy Jörg:—

“I have been for many years on intimate terms with the man who has just been introduced by Doctor Volk to the notice of this Chamber; it was at a time when no one in Bavaria could have believed that a day would come when Döllinger would be quoted, before a full house, by Doctor Volk, in similar circumstances. I look upon this as a great misfortune, and behold why I notice it. It is, gentlemen, a personal misfortune. This man was an authority in my eyes—he has ceased to be so since he has become the slave of an unbounded passion—would that, for his sake, I were able to say—an enfeebling passion—which has so deprived him of mental calm that he is no longer in a fitting condition to propose a dogmatic question, as a theologian ought to propose it.”

But this is precisely what M. Döllinger does not understand. His reputation for shrewdness has met with so severe a check in this matter, that he has conceived a profound horror for the critic who is faithful to his duty. He makes of the definition of the Pope's teaching authority a hideous spectre, against which he strikes with all his might, without allowing himself

to be staggered by any argument whatsoever, and his sneers serve but to render his scarecrow still more frightful to himself and others. The most odious feature in the whole proceeding is the spirit of opposition which is there displayed in face of the secular power. The whole system of his adversaries appears to him open to criminal prosecutions. We pretend that, by an infallible Pope, we can depose princes who have not the good fortune to please us, release subjects from their obligation of obedience, suspend constitutions—annul all rights! M. Döllinger—the Bavarian ex-particularist—seized with a passion of unmeasured abuse, applies himself to the diffusion of the same idea in the new monarchy. “I cannot conceal from myself,” he says, observing that it has scarcely been known in Germany, “that this doctrine, whose consequences have brought on the ruin of the old German empire, if it were to become general amongst the Catholic party of the German nation, would implant in the new German empire also, which has just been erected, a seed of weakness and decrepitude.”

But, as we have already shown, the matter did not terminate to the taste of those who were interested in it. They had reckoned that the accession of Döllinger would draw over the body of the clergy, and intimidate the bishops, and they hoped to reach, without much danger, the end, which, losing itself in the dim distance, should not less surely entail the prostration of *Ultramontanism*, the *Clerical party*, the *Jesuits*, in Germany. They expected to attain this end, without the aid of the party of progress, whom they considered somewhat dangerous allies, by the sole weight of the name and influence of Döllinger. And meanwhile this name has not rendered the expected service, the longed-for allies remain without; others—uninvited guests—have, in meagre groups, taken up their places. National liberalism has scarcely recovered from the labours it has undergone to ruin the great German nation, and cripple Bavaria, when it seeks to enter the lists again, under the banner of Döllinger, to help in the accomplishment of its dearest and greatest task—the destruction of the Catholic Church in Germany.

We are far from denying that in the early excitement, and under the pressure of excessive calumny and vituperation, many well-meaning persons were hurried away in the throng; we confidently hope that they will calm down, and God forbid that we should cast the stone at anyone. But if M. Döllinger examined more closely the quibblings of the address, as he will undoubtedly do; if he applied himself to collecting professions of faith from all Catholics, I do not believe that he has

so lost his sense of right as not to blush at such followers. It is not from his colleagues of the university that he ought to seek a profession of faith—from men who hesitated not to reproach the entire episcopal body of the Catholic Church with a lie. Henceforth we ought to know how many of them have a moral right to speak in the name of Catholic Christianity. In this controversy we have been surprised at the adherence of many; and from another point of view, we have been surprised only at the adherence of one. And it is in the face of such occurrences that M. Döllinger thinks of constructing a church, whose bishops would only have the power of laying down what the assembly of the faithful, represented by science, wish to think or believe on a religious question.

DOCUMENT.

THE HOLY FATHER AND THE CLERGY OF OSSORY.

*Address of the Clergy of Ossory to our Most Holy Father
Pius IX.*

“BEATISSIME PATER,

“Clerus Ossoriensis tam saecularis quam regularis hac die Anniversaria electionis B. Tuae in Sancti Petri successorem, in Ecclesia Cathedrali, praeside Revmo. Episcopo Coadjutore Ossoriensi, solemniter congregatus, ad Sanctitatis Tuae pedes humillime provolutus et omnia fausta adprecatus vigesimum septimum Pontificatus annum feliciter incoeptum toto corde gratulatur.

“Utinam, Beatissime Pater, non illud nos, in praesentiarum, et Ecclesiam universam triste spectaculum deprimeret, Christi Vicarium captivum regno spoliatum! Utinam gaudium nostrum esset plenum et liceret nobis Te, summum Patrem et Pontificem, non spirituali tantum auctoritate, sed et temporali inter gentes, ut fas est, potentia eminentem contemplari. Haec namque suprema et independens auctoritas non solum maxime proficua sed et plane necessaria est in praesenti rerum ordine ut Christi Vicarius pro munere divinitus collato Ecclesiam Dei per orbem diffusam salubriter administret.

“Verum, et hoc unum nobis levamen affert, miram dispensationis divinae oeconomiam juvat recolere qua et virtus in infirmitate perficitur, et qui in lachrymis seminant venient

aliquando cum exultatione portantes manipulos suos. Neque enim dubium nobis est quin supplicia Tua et angustiae quibus tota Ecclesia Christi vexatur et opprimitur uti pignus misericordiae Dei habendae sint et celerem victoriam sicut et divitem charismatum coelestium segetem polliceantur. Nec minimum hanc nostram spem fovet et erigit quod inter tot et tantas mundanas misérias, manifesto miraculo, Pontificatus Tuus coelesti luce orbem irradians et infinitis in Ecclesiam collatis beneficiis insignis, exemplo anteactis saeculis haud concesso, ultra annos Petri longe producat.

“Quis vero beneficia memorare posset, quibus et universam Ecclesiam et praesertim hanc nostram Hiberniam cumulasti? Sunt haec omnibus notissima: sed etsi caetera deessent, propter Beatissimam Virginem Mariam Immaculata corona redimitam, et propter Vaticanum oecumenicum Concilium, non tantum solemniter incoeptum sed et fausto progressu usque ad Infalibilis Pontificii Magesterii definitionem celebratum nulla unquam in Ecclesia aetas a tua laude cessabit.

“Interim, Beatissime Pater, Tibi intimo affectu et toto corde gratulantes Deum opt. max. enixe quotidie deprecamur ut Te ad multos adhuc annos incolumem conservet in quibus et Ecclesiam pietate ac sapientia gubernare, et totum orbem verbo ac exemplo illustrare valeas, atque simul Apostolicam Benedictionem pro nobismet et pro grege Dei nostris curis concredito suppliciter imploramus.

“Datum Kilkenniae, die 17 Julii, 1872.

“Nomine totius Cleri, Sanctitatis Tuae humillimus et devotissimus filius et servus,

✽ “PATRITIUS FRANCISCUS MORAN,

Coadjutor Ep. Ossoriensis.

“Sanctissimo D. Nostro Pio PP. IX. feliciter regnanti.”

[TRANSLATION].

“MOST HOLY FATHER,—The Clergy of Ossory, secular and regular, solemnly assembled in the Cathedral Church, under the presidency of the Most Rev. Coadjutor-Bishop of Ossory, on this day the anniversary of the election of your Holiness to the dignity of successor of St. Peter—prostrated most humbly at the feet of your Holiness, and praying all blessings, offer heartiest congratulations that on this welcome day you enter on the twenty-seventh year of your Pontificate.

“Would to Heaven, most Holy Father, that we, with the universal Church, were not at present saddened by this sorrowful spectacle—namely, the Vicar of Christ a captive,

robbed of his kingdom! Would that our joy were full, and that we might behold you, Supreme Pontiff and Father, eminent not only by reason of spiritual authority, but also, as is just, eminent among the nations by reason of temporal power. For this supreme and independent power is not only most advantageous, but even plainly necessary in the present order of things, that the Vicar of Christ, according to the office conferred on him from Heaven, may profitably rule the Church of God spread throughout the world.

“Nevertheless—and this brings a consolation to us—it is well to call to mind the wonderful economy of the Divine dispensation, according to which virtue is perfected in infirmity, and those who sow in tears will one day come carrying with joy their harvest sheaves! For we have no doubt but that your sufferings, and the troubles by which the entire Church of Christ is vexed and tortured, are to be looked upon as a pledge of God’s mercy, and a promise of a speedy victory, and of an abundant harvest of heavenly gifts. And it nourishes and strengthens this hope of ours not a little, that amongst so many and so great afflictions coming from the world, your Pontificate should, by a manifest miracle, be extended far beyond the years of Peter—your Pontificate which illumines the world with heavenly light, and is illustrious for innumerable benefits conferred on the Church.

“For who could enumerate the benefits which you have heaped on the universal Church, and especially on our Irish Church? They are well known to all. But even though all the rest were wanting, no age of the Church will ever cease to extol your name for these great blessings—the crowning of the Most B. Virgin Mary with the Immaculate Crown—and the General Council of the Vatican not only solemnly begun, but auspiciously continued till the definition of the Infallibility of the Papal teaching was solemnly proclaimed.

“Meanwhile, Most Holy Father, we greet you most lovingly and cordially, and we earnestly every day implore Almighty God to preserve you for many years to come, during which you may govern the Church with piety and wisdom, and teach the whole world by word and example; and also we suppliantly implore the Apostolic Benediction for ourselves, and for the flock entrusted to our care.

“Given at Kilkenny, 17th July, 1872, in the name of all the Clergy, &c., &c.”

THE HOLY FATHER'S REPLY TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.

"PIUS PAPA IX.

"VENERABILIS FRATER, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

"Quo luculentiora excipimus testimonia filialis dilectionis et observantiae Hibernorum erga Sanctam hanc Sedem eo gravius afficimur eorum vice; simulque miramur fidei vigorem devotionisque constantiam non modo non dejectam adversis, sed auctam veluti novis incrementis. Quocirca dum consideravimus corrogatam in inope patria et a te, Venerabilis Frater, et ista Ossoriensi Dioecesi collatam liberalem stipem levandis necessitatibus Nostris, significationesque legimus effusissimas amoris, obsequii, studii quo Nos prosequimini; nequivimus ab iis suavissime non commoveri, et ex imo pectore mitiore patriae vestrae sortem non ominari. Equidem quos Deus amat, eos probat, indurat, exercet; et id fieri reapse credimus in vobis ubi calamitates inter et rerum angustias sic invalescere, confirmari, explicari conspiciamus fidem et pietatem, ut sicuti e nostris sic e vestris tribulationibus solatium haurire debeamus. Verum cum haec probatio fidei vestrae multo pretiosior auro tamdiu protracta constanter inventa fuerit in laudem et gloriam et honorem Jesu Christi; nequimus non optare vehementer ut citius perseverantiae suae praemium assequatur, illudque plane dignum diuturnitate et difficultate certaminis ac liberalitate retribuentis. Fervente tamen adhuc in dies acrius bello in Ecclesiam universam confortetur cor vestrum, impavide pugnare pergite; et dum humani generis hostis, sciens quia modicum tempus habet, ad vos universosque fideles venit habens iram magnam, coronas vestras augere et exornare contendite. Cumulata supernae gratiae auxilia vobis ad tantum opus adprecamur; caelestiumque munerum auspicem interea, ac praecipuae Nostrae benevolentiae pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi, Venerabilis Frater, totiusque hujus Ossoriensis Dioecesis Clero et populo peramanter impertimus.

"Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 12 Augusti, Anno 1872.

"Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimoseptimo.

"PIUS PAPA IX."

[TRANSLATION].

"PIUS THE IX. POPE.

"Venerable Brother, health and Apostolic Benediction.

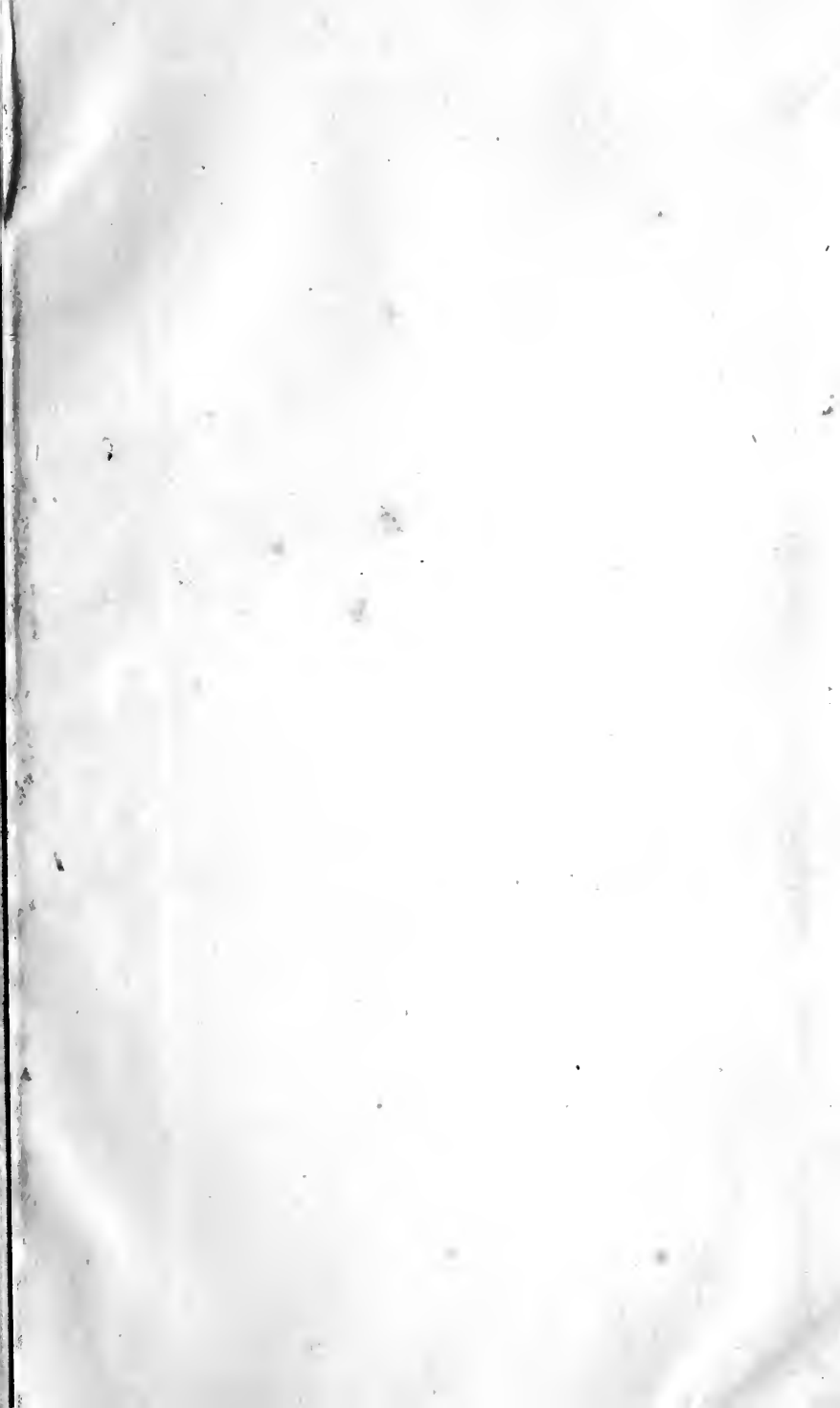
"The more striking are the proofs which we receive of the filial love and attachment of the Irish nation to this Holy See, the more deeply are we moved considering its lot; whilst at

the same time we cannot but admire how the vigour of its faith and the firmness of its piety are not only not weakened by adversity, but are, on the contrary, daily strengthened and increased. Wherefore, when we considered the immense offerings of your poor country, and the sum forwarded by you, Venerable Brother, from the Diocese of Ossory, together with the most cordial expressions of love, and reverence, and devoted attachment to us, we could not but be deeply affected, and from our inmost breast we prayed that a happier destiny might be granted to your country. It is true, indeed, that those whom God loveth are subjected by Him to severe discipline and trials and temptations ; and we are confident that it is precisely thus that so many trials have fallen to your lot, for we see that amidst your calamities and afflictions, faith and devotion have grown strong and been confirmed and developed, so that even your tribulations, as our own, have been a fruitful source of consolation to us. But whilst these trials of your faith, much more precious than gold, though so long continued, have always resulted unto the praise and glory and honour of Jesus Christ, we cannot but earnestly desire that you may quickly attain the reward due to your perseverance, and that this reward may be commensurate at the same time with the length and difficulty of the contest, and with the infinite bounty of Him who bestows it. And as the war against the whole Church of Christ goes on raging with increased violence every day, let your hearts be strengthened, and let your ardour be redoubled in this sacred cause : and whilst the enemy of mankind, knowing that only a little time remains to him, full of wrath assails you and all the faithful, let it be your care to adorn and to multiply your crowns. We pray that the most abundant aids of Divine grace may be given to you for so great an end ; and in the meantime, as a harbinger of these heavenly gifts and a pledge of our special affection, we most lovingly impart to you, Venerable Brother, and to all the clergy and people of the Diocese of Ossory, our Apostolic Benediction.

“ Given at St. Peter’s, in Rome, the 12th August, 1872.

“ The 27th year of our Pontificate.

“ PIUS THE IX. POPE.”





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